

MANNING THE RIGS: A STUDY OF OFFSHORE EMPLOYMENT IN GHANA'S OIL INDUSTRY



AUSTIN DZIWORNU ABLO
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
SPRING 2012

MANNING THE RIGS: A STUDY OF OFFSHORE EMPLOYMENT IN
GHANA'S OIL INDUSTRY



BY

AUSTIN DZIWORNU ABLO

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT GEOGRAPHY

Spring, 2012

DEDICATION

*To my mum Rebecca Dutenya and my late dad Geoffrey Worlanyo Ablo
for their love and care*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for His grace and mercies in my life.

I am grateful to my supervisor Professor Ragnhild Overå for her insightful comments, and support throughout the writing of this thesis. I am also grateful for her facilitation of my field support grant. I also thank Peter Andersen and Tor Halfdan Aase, for their critiques during my presentations which helped shape this thesis. My studies would not have come this far without the support of the Norwegian Government through Lånekassen. I am grateful for the opportunity to study at the University of Bergen. To the Faculty of Social Sciences, thank you for the field support.

I am also thankful to the Nordic African Institute (NAI) for the study grant to use their library and interact with other researchers. Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), I am grateful for the study space and opportunity to interact with students and researchers. To Ivar Kolstad I thank you for making time to comment on my thesis. My thanks also go to Dr. Akosua Darkwa and Professor Agyei-Mensah for your advice during my fieldwork. To my mentor Dr. Joseph Yaro, your continuous advice and guidance has been helpful in bringing me this far. God richly bless you.

My fieldwork would not have been successful without the support of the management and staff of the oil and gas service companies and the international oil companies. Mr. Bonney, Mr. Braimah, Tuffic, Mawuli, Bethel and Gladys thanks to you for all the help you gave me during my fieldwork. Mr. Hanson, you made the necessary calls, and opened the offices for me. I thank you very much for being my gatekeeper during my three months stay in Takoradi.

I am thankful to all the Ghanaian rig workers. Without you this study would not have been possible. You spent time with me, granted interviews, invited me to your homes, shared drinks with me; God bless you all especially Mr. Kotoku and other executives of the rig workers association. I also want to thank Mr. Francis Sallah for your time. The Western Regional Chief Labour Officer Madam Elizabeth you made time out of your busy schedule to respond to my questions; thank you.

My good friends Bubu, Owusu (Beans), Diana, Festus, Ameg and Dickson, thank you all for your supports in diverse ways. Peter Offori-Atta, thank you for the maps. To all my colleagues and Ghanaians in Fantoft, thanks for your words of encouragement and comfort in those troubled periods of my study. Your visits and messages were helpful.

I also want to thank my family especially Elorm, Mark, Joshua, Godson, Prosper, Evans and Adams. Your words of encouragement and phone calls were helpful. To my mum Rebecca Dutenya and my late dad Geoffrey Ablo, words cannot describe how grateful I am. Your sacrifice and dedication is what has brought me this far. How you do it I cannot tell but one thing I know is your sacrifice and love is what keeps me going. Thank you.

Soteria, I have known you for many years now and you have been encouraging, supportive and most importantly loving and caring. Thanks so much.

To all who have helped in diverse ways thank you.

ABSTRACT

Since the discovery of oil in Ghana, expectations for the oil to stimulate economic development are high. Essential to economic development as an outcome of resource exploitation is local participation. This study examined Ghanaian participation in the offshore sector. The general objective of the study is to explore the offshore employment opportunities, challenges and outcomes for Ghanaians in the emerging oil and gas industry. The specific objectives are to examine (a) the processes involved in getting recruited to a rig (b) employment opportunities available for Ghanaians (c) how the employment opportunities are gendered (d) which categories of Ghanaians get employed (e) the role of social network in the employment process and (f) how offshore employment made an impact in the lives of rig workers.

To achieve the research goals, I used conceptual frameworks derived from theories of social networks (Granovetter 1983, 1995), labour markets (Fields, 2011; Fevre, 1992; Loveridge and Mok 1979) and gender (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). The concepts of ‘strong ties’ and ‘weak ties’ within social networks theory is used to identify and analyse how rig workers get to hear about employment opportunities. It has been found that access to information through social contacts influences the types of jobs they get. Using gender and feminists, theories the study found that ideologies of gender appropriate work influence the employment opportunities of both men and women. The concept of intersectionality identified that, people face multiple challenges in their search for offshore jobs. From a labour market perspective, the human capital difference between men and women influence the demand for their labour and their career decision.

A sample of 70 informants comprising 59 men and 11 women were interviewed. Findings from the study include the following: (i) the employment opportunities available for Ghanaians are in the low echelon jobs, (ii) employers prefer to recruit people with previous offshore experience, (iii) men have better chances of employment and career advancement than women—socio-cultural structures and beliefs of gender appropriate work limits women’s offshore employment opportunities. Social networks have been found to be crucial in the employment process and outcome; it influenced the type of work people get and is gendered. These and other empirical findings are discussed in details in the thesis.

Contents

DEDICATION i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTiii

ABSTRACT.....iv

LIST OF MAPS.....ix

LIST OF FIGURES.....ix

LIST OF TABLES.....ix

LIST OF PLATES.....ix

ABBREVIATIONS..... x

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 The Study Area..... 3

1.3 Problem Overview..... 4

1.4 Research Question.....6

1.5 Organisation of the Study..... 6

**CHAPTER TWO: The natural resource paradox, local content policy and
employment in ghana..... 8**

2.1 The paradox of natural resource abundance in Africa 8

2.2 Ghana’s Local Content Policy..... 10

2.3 The Employment Scenario in Ghana 12

 2.3.1 *Changing gender dimensions of employment*..... 13

CHAPTER THREE: Theoretical Framework..... 15

3.1 Labour Market theories 15

 3.1.1 *Neoclassical labour market theories* 14

3.1.2	<i>Segmented labour market theories</i>	16
3.1.3	<i>Segmented labour market critique of neoclassical labour market</i>	16
3.2	Gender and work.....	19
3.2.1	<i>Gender roles</i>	20
3.2.2	<i>Persistence of segregation from feminist/gender perspectives</i>	21
3.2.3	<i>Persistence of segregation from human capital/neo-classical perspectives</i>	23
3.2.4	<i>Persistence of segregation from institutional perspectives</i>	24
3.3	Intersectionality.....	25
3.4	Social network theory.....	27
3.4.1	<i>Strong ties and weak ties</i>	31
3.5	Conclusion.....	33
 CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology		34
4.1	The first phase of fieldwork.....	35
4.2	Role and status during fieldwork: outsider and insider perspective of research.....	37
4.3	Sample population.....	40
4.4	Methods of Data Collection.....	41
4.4.1	<i>Interviews</i>	42
4.4.2	<i>Group Interviews</i>	45
4.4.3	<i>Participant Observation</i>	46
4.4.4	<i>Photo Elicitation</i>	48
4.4.5	<i>Case Studies</i>	49
4.4.6	<i>Data Analysis</i>	50
4.5	Ethical Issues in Research.....	50
4.6	Validity and Reliability of Data.....	52
4.6.1	<i>Validity</i>	52
4.6.2	<i>Reliability</i>	53

4.7 Conclusion.....	55
---------------------	----

**CHAPTER FIVE: Offshore employment process and job opportunities available for
Ghanaians 56**

5.1 The Recruitment Process.....	56
5.1.1 Regionalization of recruitment.....	58
5.1.2 Variations in the conditions of service provided by recruitment companies	60
5.2 Offshore Employment opportunities for Ghanaians.	61
5.3 The Ghanaian rig workers	64
5.4 Social networks used in getting offshore jobs.....	67
5.5 Conclusion.....	69

CHAPTER SIX: Rig work and employment outcomes..... 70

6.1 Women's work and men's work.....	70
6.2 In a Man's World: differences in access to jobs	71
6.3 Do men and women have equal opportunities for career advancement on the rig?.....	75
6.4 Economic impact of offshore employment in the household.....	76
6.5 Business opportunities for rig workers wives	78
6.6 Challenges in offshore employment.....	80
6.6.1 Labour conflicts.....	81
6.7 Offshore employment gender roles and marriage	82
6.7.1 Increase responsibilities and change in child care roles	82
6.7.2 Offshore work and marriage	84
6.8 Conclusion.....	84

CHAPTER SEVEN: Discussion of findings	85
7.1 Getting a rig job.....	85
7.1.1 <i>Offshore employment and labour market perspectives</i>	86
7.1.2 <i>Segmented labour market perspective</i>	88
7.2 Contacts, information and offshore employment	89
7.2.1 <i>The role of social network in offshore employment</i>	89
7.2.2 <i>Forms and consequences of social networks used in offshore employment</i>	91
7.3 Men and women on the rigs	93
7.3.1 <i>Gender ideologies</i>	93
7.3.2 <i>Gender division of jobs</i>	94
7.4 Intersectionality and offshore work.....	95
7.5 Gendered consequences of offshore employment.....	96
7.5.1 <i>Child care responsibilities in the household of rig workers</i>	96
7.6 Conclusion.....	97
CHAPTER EIGHT: Summary and conclusion	98
8.1 Summary of findings.....	98
8.1.1 <i>The Recruitment Process</i>	98
8.1.2 <i>Gender-intersectionality and work</i>	98
8.1.3 <i>Social networks</i>	99
8.2 Conclusion.....	99
References	103
APPENDICES.....	112
APPENDIX ONE: Questionnaire for rig workers	112
APPENDIX TWO: Interview guide for employers	116
APPENDIX THREE: Interview guide for expatriates and officials of rig companies	117
APPENDIX FOUR: Interview guide for government officials	118

APPENDIX FIVE: Guide for group interview.....	119
---	-----

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: A map of Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis.....	4
Map 2: A regional map of Ghana showing the catchment area of the offshore labour market	59

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A conceptual model of social networks in offshore employment: strong and weak ties.....	32
--	----

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Profile of expatriates interviewed.....	42
Table 2: Profile of Ghanaian officials interviewed.....	43
Table 3: Profile of rig workers surveyed.....	45
Table 4: The most common occupation of Ghanaians.....	63
Table 5: Background of rig workers surveyed.....	66
Table 6: Social contacts used in access to jobs.....	68

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Participant in an executive meeting with the rig workers association.....	40
Plate 2: A pre-departure briefing for rig workers.....	47
Plate 3: A prayer section prior to rig workers departure offshore.....	47
Plate 4: A training section of the rig workers association.....	48
Plate 5: Student mopping floor on a rig.....	48
Plate 6: Student with some rig workers after interview.....	48
Plate 7: Student during observation on a rig.....	48
Plate 8: Ghanaian roughnecks assisted by expatriate toolpusher.....	49
Plate 9: A dishwasher getting the mess ready for breakfast on a rig.....	70
Plate 10: A chef serving supper on a rig.....	70
Plate 11: Ghanaian roughnecks connecting pipes on a rig.....	71

Plate 12: Ghanaian roustabouts cleaning a drill floor.....	71
Plate 13: Appropriate women’s work.....	74
Plate 14: Appropriate men’s work.....	74
Plate 15: Lily’s three bedroom house.....	78
Plate 16: Afua selling in her cosmetic shop.....	79

ABBREVIATIONS

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program

ERP: Economic Recovery Program

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

OPEC: Organisation of petroleum producing countries

FPSO: Floating Production Storage and Offloading

STMA: Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly

GPRS: Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy

GLSS: Ghana Living Standard Survey

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

SLM: Segmented Labour Market

ICT: Information Communication Technology

GNPC: Ghana National Petroleum Corporation

RWA: Rig Workers Association

POB: Persons on board

PASW: Predictive Analytic Software

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences

HUET: Helicopter Underwater Escape Training

BOSIET: Basic Offshore Safety Induction and Emergency Training

OPITO: Offshore Industry Training Organisation

MDWU: Maritime and Dock Workers Union

GTPCWU: General Transport Petroleum and Chemical Workers Union

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The oil industry is important to the development of many economies and can thus be a vital engine for the growth of economic activities in industries and the service sector. Oil and gas supplies currently meets about two-thirds of global energy requirements (African Development Bank and African Union, 2009).

Current price hikes and increased global energy demands, led international oil companies to shift focus to exploratory activities in Africa in recent times. The petroleum industry has invested more than US\$20 billion in exploration and production activities in Africa since the 1990s (Ghazvinian, 2007). The British-Dutch consortium Shell, the French's Total, and American's Chevron for instance, are said to be spending 15%, 30%, and 35% respectively of their global exploration and production budget in Africa. However, Africa has only 10% of the world's proven oil reserve, which cannot be compared to the Persian Gulf (ibid.).

Several factors accounted for the increasing interest in Africa's oil. It is said to be of high quality, referred to as "light" and "sweet"; easier and cheaper to refine. Geographically, Africa is surrounded by water, reducing the transport-related costs for oil companies. Also, most Sub-Saharan African countries also operate on the basis of production-sharing agreement, in which oil companies assume the up-front costs of exploration and production. Apart from Nigeria, none of the oil producing countries of Sub-Saharan Africa belongs to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which puts strict limits on output and keep the price of oil artificially high (Ghazvinian, 2007). Finally, most of the recent oil discoveries in Sub-Saharan Africa are offshore so that in case of civil war or violent insurrection onshore (the case of Niger Delta Region), the oil companies can continue production. They will be faced with little likelihood of sabotage, banditry, or nationalist fervor which is one of the major challenges in the Niger Delta (Watts, 2004). Significantly, Ghana is no exception to the aforementioned factors with its oil discovery over 65 kilometers offshore.

On the 18th of June 2007, Kosmos Energy, a US based oil company carrying out exploration in Ghana, announced the discovery of 'a significant oil accumulation' West of Cape Three

Points (McCaskie, 2008). The discoveries were made in two deepwater blocks: West Cape Three Points and Deepwater Tano which are currently operated as the unitised “Jubilee Field” (Ministry of Energy, 2011). Expected recoverable reserves in the Jubilee field is about 800 million barrels of light crude oil, and an upside potential of about 1.8 billion barrels. Oil production has started since December 2010.

After the announcement of the oil discovery, the president at the time, John Agyekum Kuffour in an interview with the BBC on 18th June 2007 stated that, “Even without oil, we are doing so well, already. Now, with oil as a shot in the arm, we’re going to fly”. This quote summarises the ever-increasing expectations of Ghanaians about the oil discovery to stimulate economic growth. Empirical studies have shown that, extractive activities (including oil exploration) can have positive effects on development by creating jobs, encouraging business and providing vital infrastructure such as roads, electricity, education and health (UNCTAD, 2007; Mehlum 2006; Sachs and Warner, 1995). Norway for instance, was the poorest country in Scandinavia at the end of the 1960s but at the end of 1990s, it had become the wealthiest as a result of the discovery of oil in 1969 (Larsen, 2006).

Oil and other natural resources extraction have however plunged especially developing countries into chaos, poor economic performance and increased poverty in resource extracting regions. Norway’s ability to prevent rent-seeking and corruption, which have been identified as core elements of the poor performance of resource rich countries in the developing world was the underlying reason for their success (ibid.).

The development of the oil industry has the potential to improve Ghana’s economy like countries that have transformed their economies through the spin-off effects of oil discovery (Norway, Malaysia, and etc). However just like Nigeria, Congo DR and Angola, the oil discovery in Ghana can plunge the country into conflicts, increase corruption and economic mismanagement. This thesis would inform policy and institutional arrangements to ensure that the oil industry brings the anticipated socio-economic development. The risk level, high capital and technological requirements for the exploration and production of the new-found oil resource in Ghana presupposes that, there might be little domestic investment from both government and the local private sector. Indeed current investment in Ghana’s oil industry is largely done by multinational oil companies such as Kosmos Energy, Tullow Oil, Vanco among others.

Ghana's Ministry of Energy noted that, there is uncertainty as to the ultimate size and future developments of Ghana's oil and gas resource. This has made it even more important for Ghana to ensure local participation and maximum benefits from the oil. This is done with the development of a local content policy in March 2011 which requires firms to use local goods, services and personnel in their operations. My study examined rig work which represents one of the significant dimensions of local participation in Ghana's oil industry at its current stage of development.

1.2 The Study Area

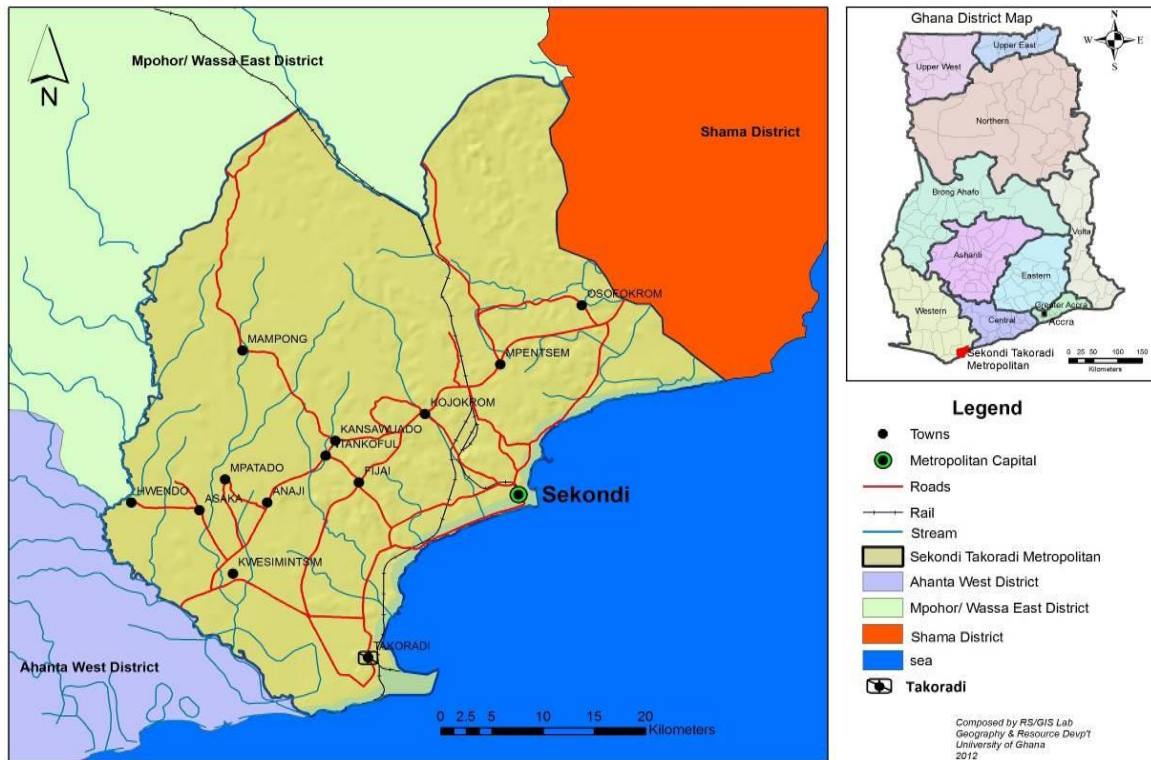
The study was carried out in Takoradi located in the Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly (STMA) of the Western Region of Ghana. Takoradi has a population of 175,436 according to the 2000 population census and has the second biggest port in Ghana after Tema (Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly, 2010).

The Western Region covers an area of 23,921 square kilometers, which is about 10 per cent of Ghana's total land surface. The region is located in the south-western part of Ghana, bordered by Ivory Coast on the west, Central Region on the east, Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions on the north and on the south by 192 km of coastline of the Atlantic Ocean (Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly, 2010).

Takoradi is one of the hubs of industrial activities in Ghana. It is the third most industrialized city and has some of the manufacturing industries in the country. However commerce continues to be the dominant sector of the economy in Takoradi (ibid). The Takoradi Port was completed in 1928 and is Ghana's main export port. The port has played a major role in the export of raw materials to the global market and is expected to play a major role in Ghana's emerging oil industry (ibid.).

The discovery of oil in Ghana comes with both benefits and attendant problems. Oil and gas activities in Takoradi for instance, may contribute to high costs of living due to the mass migration of people into the city in anticipation of getting employment from the oil and allied industry. It could result in increased pressure on social amenities—health care, housing and transport. The industry however, does have the potential to promote socio-economic growth and development (UNCTAD, 2007).

Map 1: Map of Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolis



Since 2007, several international oil companies have invested in Ghana, with anticipated increased capital injection into Ghana’s economy. Tullow oil—one of the leading oil companies in Ghana for instance, has listed on the Ghana Stock Exchange in 2011. Additionally, there are expected employment opportunities for Ghanaians at each level of the oil and gas value chain and this is the entry point of my study.

1.3 Problem Overview

According to Rajan and UK Offshore Operators Association Limited (1988), employment effects of offshore operations can take *macroeconomic*, *horizontal* and *vertical* forms. The *macroeconomic* form stems from an economy-wide effects of higher tax revenue, and improved trade balance enabling the economy to operate at higher level of output resulting in employment generation. The *horizontal* effect results from oil companies setting up operations in Ghana creating employment. The *vertical* form, results from operations of contractors and suppliers involved in creating new offshore and onshore structures. My study focused on both the *horizontal* and *vertical* effects of the oil industry. The operations of

international and local oil and gas (service) companies in Ghana have created various forms of employment opportunities for Ghanaians such as rig work.

The study examines the employment processes and opportunities that are available for Ghanaians on the oil rigs. Specifically, the study identifies and examines the segment (class and gender) of the Ghanaian workforce utilizing these employment opportunities, and the social networks that people use in getting work on the rig. Some important issues that the study addresses are whether men and women use the same social networks in getting jobs offshore and the ways in which the employment process include and exclude people from getting jobs on the rigs.

There have been various studies of the oil industry globally. But most of these studies have focused on the ‘curse’ of oil discoveries especially in the developing world (Engobo, 2011; Frankel, 2010; Soala, 2009; Mehlum et al., 2006; Watts, 2004; Sachs and Warner, 1995). Offshore employment has received little research attention largely due to the assumption that, the jobs directly created by the oil industry have never been great in number (Neal and Windisch-Cole, 2003). Karl (2007) noted that the enclave nature of the industry combined with its capital-intensity fosters especially weak linkages to the broader economy and consequently does little to create employment. He further argued that, because the industry is the world’s most capital-intensive industry, the sector creates few jobs per unit of capital invested, and the skills required by these jobs usually do not fit the profile of the unemployed (ibid.).

In the Ghanaian context however, offshore employment serves a symbolic significance for local content and participation in the oil industry. The slow pace of infrastructural development in Ghana for onshore oil activities implies that, the offshore sector remains crucial in terms of Ghanaian participation in the oil industry at this nascent stage. Several oil and gas related projects including gas processing plants are yet to be installed meanwhile production has already started. More significantly, Ghana’s operation of the floating, production and offloading vessel (FPSO) implies that, a lot more of the production, storage and transport will be carried out offshore. It is therefore important to explore the dynamics of offshore employment especially in Ghana to understand the extent to which the local content policy is implemented as the country attempts to avert the ‘curse’ of the industry.

This study makes valuable contribution and informs effective policies and institutional arrangements to avert the dire consequences of the oil discovery in Ghana. A better understanding of the employment process is relevant for identifying the extent to which current management regimes are adequate in ensuring local participation and sustainable development. This will inform policies tailored to ensure that Ghanaians get maximum benefit from the oil industry.

It is important for policy makers to know the current employment opportunities available for Ghanaians, and which segment of the population takes up these employment opportunities in order to offer the relevant policies and supports, as well as make appropriate projections regarding Ghana's oil industry. The level of Ghanaian participation in the oil industry is the basis for the local content policy and the general benefits that the oil industry is expected to bring to Ghana. My study also provides a baseline for further studies on employment in Ghana's oil industry and a basis for further studies of rig workers in an attempt to ascertain the long term socio-economic impact of offshore employment.

1.4 Research question

What are the offshore employment opportunities, challenges and outcomes for Ghanaians in the emerging oil and gas industry?

The specific research questions:

- Which offshore employment opportunities are available for Ghanaians?
- How are the employment opportunities gendered?
- Which categories of Ghanaians get employed?
- What are the processes involved when Ghanaians are recruited as oil rig workers?
- What role do social network play in the employment process?
- How has offshore employment made impact in the lives of rig workers?

In order to answer these research questions, the study draw on labour market, gender and social network theories. These theories are explained in details in chapter three.

1.5 Organisation of the Study

The thesis is organised into 8 chapters. Chapter 1 comprises of the introduction, problem statement, research questions, study area, and organization of the study. Chapter 2 explores

the resource curse and Ghana's local content policy aimed at ensuring that Ghana's oil find is a blessing. The chapter also looks at how employment has changed in Ghana over the years. Chapter 3 reviews literatures on the theoretical frameworks used to analyse study: labour market, gender and social network theories. In chapter 4 the methods used to collect data are discussed. Chapter 5 and 6 is a presentation of findings of the study while chapter 7 discusses the findings in light of the theories used. Chapter 8 then concludes the study by summarising the key findings and making some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURAL RESOURCE PARADOX, LOCAL CONTENT POLICY AND EMPLOYMENT IN GHANA

This chapter presents an overview of the poor economic performance of African countries, despite the availability of natural resources. It also reviews Ghana's Local Content Policy, intended to create opportunity for Ghanaian's participation in the oil industry in order to avoid the "resource curse" syndrome. I will later focus attention on changing employment patterns in Ghana since the era of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

On one hand, oil and gas discoveries make the eradication of poverty and the development of strong economies a possibility. It has been observed that western countries seem to derive more "blessings" from oil discovery and exploration than developing countries. Despite Africa's natural resource wealth it has suffered economic stagnation over the years. Below are some explanations to the poor performance of resource rich countries.

2.1 The paradox of natural resource abundance in Africa

Development theorists W. Rostow in the 1960s argued that natural resource endowments would enable developing countries transition from underdevelopment to industrialised countries. But by the late 1980s, scholarly literature emerged suggesting that the abundance of natural resource does not lead to the anticipated development. This poor socio-economic performance of resource rich countries or the inverse relation between natural resource abundance and development is now referred to as the resource curse (African Development Bank, 2009; Auty, 1995).

Three major explanations have been given as the cause of the resource curse. These are the "Dutch disease" which involves the decline of manufacturing and services output, either as result of labour and capital moving to oil sector or as result of high income from oil, and high demand and wages in service sector, driving out manufacture, pre-existing export and import competing industries (Frankel, 2010; Bacon and Tordo, 2006). The second explanation is rent-seeking behaviour, which entails attempts to capture existing wealth by elites rather than creating new wealth, which is usually a result of weak institutions and corruption. A World Bank report by Bacon and Tordo (2006) indicated that, discovery and exploitation of natural resources has

the potential to increase public spending which corresponds in large part to a rent on the resource and are therefore not the direct result of the efforts of any individuals in the society, which may lead to various corrupt practices. This takes the form of awarding shady contracts, siphoning of resource payments, among others (ibid.).

Thirdly, the volatility in consumption and public spending is another cause of the resource curse. A large share of government expenditure is exposed to fluctuation in oil prices. The long-term price deflation and price volatility of the international primary commodities market has the tendency to hinder economic development in some oil rich countries. This volatility has worsened since 1970 and oil prices are twice as variable as those of other commodities (Karl, 2007; Bacon and Tordo, 2006; Sachs and Warner, 1995). This implies that, dependent oil economies are more likely to face more frequent economic shocks, and are more susceptible to acute boom-bust cycles. This has a negative influence on budgetary discipline and the control of public finances as well as state planning (Karl, 2007). Volatility also exerts a negative influence on investment, income distribution and poverty alleviation (ibid.).

According to the United Nations Environmental Program (2009), from 1990 to 2009, not less than 18 violent conflicts have been sparked by the exploration of natural resources including oil in regions such as Angola, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur in the Sudan and the Middle East. The tendency for resource exploitation to induce conflict is not limited to civil conflicts but also conflicts between nations. There has been observed tension, between Uganda and Congo DR on their shared border along Lake Albert since oil was discovered there (Katshung, 2007). Similar tension exists between Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire since Ghana's oil discovery in 2007.

Some resource rich developing countries have however managed to avoid some, if not all, of these resource related problems. According to Bacon and Tordo (2006), countries like Botswana (diamond), Chile (copper), and Malaysia (oil), have managed to derive maximum benefit from its natural resource extraction. The report further noted that, the nature of the political system in resource producing countries have played a crucial role in their ability to benefit from the resource.

For developing countries to be able to derive maximum benefits from resource extraction there is the need to put in place strong and effective institution, good governance and stable political system (Mehlum et al., 2006). Most resource related conflicts are results of exclusion and exploitation which leads to local uprising as the case of the Niger Delta (Watts, 2004). As a result, calls have been made for policies that will not only ensure revenue management but local participation, to create equitable and just societies. One such important policy is the local content policy. In the next section, I shall focus on Ghana's local content policy and the extent to which it promotes local participation. Ghana has enjoyed relative political stability in the recent past, with a fledging constitutional democracy in the African context since 1992. With strong institutions and sound economic management, Ghana could have the potential to gain from the oil discovery.

2.2 Ghana's Local Content Policy

The quest to increase economic benefit from the oil and gas industry is the driving force behind local content policies world over. The negotiation for local content by governments with interested international oil companies (IOCs) is an attempt to secure for the country a higher share of the value from oil and gas projects (Hackman, 2009). Local content means the development of local skills, technology transfer, use of local manpower and local manufacturing in a sector.

“A local content policy is one that requires firms operating within an economy to ensure that their business transactions incorporate a set amount or value of local materials or services” (Ayine, 2010:37). Ghana's local content was defined by the Ministry of Energy (2011:6) as “the quantum/percentage of locally produced materials, personnel, financing, goods and services rendered to the oil industry and which can be measured in monetary terms”. Lack of finance, human resource capacity and technology has been identified as the main hindrance to local participation in Ghana's oil industry.

To ensure local participation, six key objectives were outlined in the policy. It require the use of local expertise, goods and services, job creation for people, businesses and financing in all aspects of the oil and gas industry value chain. Secondly, it called for the development of local capacity in all aspects of the oil and gas value chain through education, skills and expertise development, transfer of technology and know-how and an active research and

development portfolio. Thirdly, the policy also hopes to achieve a degree of influence or control over development initiatives for local/domestic stakeholders. It is aimed at achieving at least 90% of local employment and in-country spending in the oil and gas industry value chain within a decade of the start of every petroleum license or contract. Ironically, Norway the model for good practice in local content has about 70% local content after about four decades of oil extraction; it is quite doubtful how Ghana can achieve the 90% target in a decade. My doubt is based on the backdrop that, Ghana has been extracting other natural resources like gold, diamond, bauxite etc for several decades now and is yet to achieve 90% local participation.

The policy further seeks to increase the capabilities and international competitiveness of domestic businesses and industries. Finally, it aims to create supportive industries that will sustain economic development and provide a rigorous and transparent monitoring and reporting system to ensure delivery of the policy goals (Ministry of Energy, 2011: 10; Ayine, 2010).

The policy also called for operators or agents in the petroleum sub-sector to ensure that opportunities are given as far as possible for the employment of Ghanaians who have the requisite expertise or qualifications of the various levels of their operations. In exploration and production, it is required that operators have 50% of Ghanaians in the management staff at the start of operation and at least 80% in five years. They are to have at least 30% Ghanaians as core technical staff from the start of petroleum activity license and increased to at least 80% in five years. Finally, it is mandatory to have 100% Ghanaians as other staff. The question here is what the government is doing to ensure that Ghanaians are provided with the needed skills for these jobs.

Regarding gender the policy states government's commitment to ensuring the participation of women in the oil and gas industry. The local content commission is to ensure that operators maintain a gender balance in their recruitment and training programmes. Noteworthy is the fact that, to develop policies alone is not a guarantee of local participation. There is the need for the government to monitor and ensure that, actors in the oil industry adhere to policy requirements and regulations. Indeed if Ghana can implement these policies, Ghana's oil is a

step closer to becoming a “blessing”. In the next section, I will focus on the historical pattern and change in employment in Ghana.

2.3 The Employment Scenario in Ghana

The poor economic performance of Ghana after independence compelled the then Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government to turn to the World Bank and the IMF for economic assistance in 1983. As a condition, the government adopted the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and the Economic Recovery Program (ERP); which saw a cut in government spending, removal of trade restrictions and liberalisation of Ghana’s economy to allow the interactions of market forces.

The reforms emphasized restrictive macroeconomic policies and a more open trade environment with a greater private sector role in direct productive activity (World Bank, 1995 in Baah-Boateng, 2007:1). The implementation of the SAP and ERP resulted a significant amount of “fiscal discipline, a fair degree of domestic price and real effective exchange rate stability and a reasonable economic growth by sub-Saharan African standards” (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2007:1). There was a considerable improvement in foreign direct investment in Ghana.

The social cost of the SAP was however adverse. It led to unemployment and underemployment, income inequality and an increased poverty level (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2007; Overå, 2007; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000). The program put large number of people out of work especially in the formal sector (Overå, 2007; Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2007). An estimated 60,000 civil servants for instance, were made redundant between 1987 and 1998 (Overå, 2007). Total employment in the large- and medium- scale formal sector also fell by almost 60% from 464,000 in 1985 to 186,000 in 1991. Structural adjustment also had adverse impact on education and health care as subsidies were removed. A follow up to the SAP and ERP was the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) in 2000. At the core of the GPRS was employment generation with emphasis on educational, health and infrastructural investment by the government.

It has however been observed that, too much effort has been focused on the achievement of macroeconomic stability through strategies that are constraining for the expansion of the

private sector (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2007). The ‘over-liberalization’ of the external trade system made it difficult for Ghanaian enterprises to compete in the global market. Meanwhile the private sector is the largest employer of Ghanaians (GLSS 5¹). These restrictive fiscal policies coupled with the liberalization of trade and its resultant impact on local enterprises resulted in job losses (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng, 2007; Overå, 2007).

2.3.1 Changing gender dimensions of employment

The redeployment of the SAP has not only lead to job loss but has also resulted in a shift of employment from the formal to the informal sector of the Ghanaian economy (Baah-Boateng 2007; Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2007; Overå 2007; Baah-Boateng 2007 in Amoako-Tuffuor and Armah 2007; Oppong 1994). According to Overå (2007: 139), “this informalisation process has gendered consequences”. She noted that, the unemployed people, migrants and school-leavers (both men and women) seek employment in the urban informal economy; resulting in the increasing take-up of ‘female’ occupations by men.

The post SAP era saw the gradual entry of men into female domains in Accra (Overå, 2007). According to Overå (2007: 542), the norms regarding the gender appropriateness of particular occupation(s) are negotiable in light of changing social, political and economic environment. The economic downturn in Ghana has forced men to cross gender barriers and enter female domains. It is however more difficult for women to cross to male domains and only few manage to do so (Overå 2007: 557). In my study, by identifying the jobs that men and women do on the rigs, we would be able to see the extent to which men and women do jobs hitherto thought of as a reserve for the opposite sex.

2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the abundance and extraction of natural resources in Africa has not resulted in the expected economic growth. These are due to poor management frameworks and political systems. Ghana came out with a local content policy aimed at increasing the level of local participation in the oil industry. Significantly, the policies alone will not ensure sustainable management of resource wealth but rather, its implementation. Historically, even though Ghana has been praised for achieving economic stability after structural adjustment, the social

¹ GLSS5 is the Ghana Living Standard Survey of the fifth round

cost has been adverse. This is demonstrated by the changing Ghanaian labour market with high unemployment and underemployment. Indeed Ghana's oil discovery can induce the expected socio-economic development or make little or no impact depending on how well it is managed. Crucial to this is local participation and the aim of this study is to explore Ghanaian participation in the offshore sector. In the next section, I will explore some theoretical approaches on which this research is grounded.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study draws on labour market, gender and social network theories in answering the research questions. Section 3.1 discusses the labour market debate between neoclassical and segmented labour market theories, to explore which people get recruited to the oil rigs. In section 3.2, the concept of gender, role expectations, work and segregation is examined. Emphasis will be on how gender ideologies influence access to offshore jobs and the outcome of men's and women's employment. The section further examines the feminist epistemology of intersectionality to explain the multiple challenges rig workers face. Finally, the social network theory and its role in the employment process and outcomes are explored in section 3.3.

3.1 Labour Market theories

Labour market theories have been used to offer explanations to why some people have satisfactory and well paid jobs while others do not, and why some people are employed and others are unemployed. The labour market can be seen as the place where labour is bought and sold and the mechanisms and institutions through which the purchase and sale of labour power are arranged (Hayter and Patchell, 2011; Fields, 2011; Loveridge and Mok, 1979). The field of labour economics is focused on the dynamics and functioning of labour. Drawing on Thomas Hardy's fictional book *Far From the Madding Crowd*, Fevre (1992) provides an abstract analogy of the labour market as a hiring fair. In Fevre's analogy, the labour market process begins with the exchange of information; prospective employers and workers inform each other about availability of work and labour respectively. Next is the screening process, in which prospective employers and workers acquire sufficient information about each other. The final stage in Fevre's (1992) analogy is the offer stage where prospective employers decide to offer a job or not and workers decide to offer their labour or not. In the next section, neoclassical labour market theories are explored.

3.1.1 Neoclassical labour market theories

From the time of Adam Smith, the classical and later neoclassical school of labour economics represents the orthodoxy and has been challenged over the years. Neoclassical labour market theories consider the labour market as an entity regulated by price mechanisms in which

buyers and sellers of labour meet each other (Satz, 2002; Gomme, 1998; Loveridge and Mok, 1979: 27). Simply, the neoclassical labour market theory is based on the concept of marginal productivity theory of demand and supply. This is useful in answering my research question on the employment opportunities available for Ghanaians (demand) and the categories (characteristics/qualification) of people getting these jobs (supply). But as we shall see later, the labor market is much more complex than the simple analogy of demand and supply.

Neoclassical labour economics rests on the assumption that, employers pay the lowest wages they can for the workers in order to maximize their profit while workers, maximize gain (pay) by accepting the highest paying job for their skills. The labour market has several employers and workers and both groups act independently resulting in competition; employers attempt to keep wages down while workers bid them up (Hayter and Patchell, 2011). This interaction (demand and supply of labour) leads to equilibrium between the number of jobs available and the number of qualified persons. The labour market is in effect shaped by economic motivations (Montagna, 1977 in Hall, 1994).

Employers evaluate workers by taking into consideration their individual characteristics or their human capital which is the basis for labour demand (Reich et al, 1973). Labour supply is driven by people's investment in their human capital which determines their skill and/or occupational choice (OECD, 1998; Glen, 1976). It has been increasingly documented that labor markets are pervasively imperfectly competitive and the neoclassical idea of demand and supply is an over simplification of reality (Manning, 2010). The neoclassical labour market theory (demand and supply) has been challenged by theories of segmented labour market (hereafter SLM).

3.1.2 Segmented labour market theories

Labour market segmentation argues that political economic processes and institutions encourage the division of the labour market into separate submarkets (Hayter and Patchell, 2011; Reich et al, 1973). Some theories of segmentation are job competition, dual labour market and radical theories. These theories provide alternate explanation of the labour market and challenge the neoclassical theory in several ways. The job competition theory by Lester Thurow argues that, the type and number of jobs are determined by technology and workers' skills (human capital). Thus their willingness to work for certain wages is irrelevant in their

participation in the labour market (Glen 1976; Skidmore 1976). The radical theory with its ties to Marxian dialectical analysis likened the idea of dual labour market to an underdeveloped economy or a colony, which is exploited by an imperialist power (Skidmore 1976: 16).

The dual labour market theory came as a result of growing literatures on the divisions among American workers based on race, sex, education and industry grouping (Hayter and Patchell, 2011; Reich et al 1973). The dual labour market theory by Doeringer and Piore thus considers the labour market as two separate markets (primary and secondary, or formal and informal) (Pratap and Quintin, 2006; Gottfries and McCormick, 1995; Glen, 1976; Reich et al, 1973; Skidmore, 1976). According to Pratap and Quintin (2006), the primary sector involves jobs in large firms or those that are unionized and are highly paid, with better working conditions as well as better prospects for career advancement and job stability. The secondary sector on the other hand, are low paid jobs and are taken by workers discriminated against and a susceptible to job instability (Hayter and Patchell, 2011). Workers allocation to either primary or secondary sector according to this theory is based on “mutually reinforcing” effects of their motivations, work habits, attitudes which confines them to a particular sector on one hand, and employer discrimination on the other hand. However, in a study by Pratap and Quintin (2006) in Argentina, they found that, earnings in the formal sector are not very different from those of the informal sector. This is also the case in Ghana, with people often employed in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy with no remarkable earning difference (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2007). This is confirmed by Hayter and Patchell (2011) who found that, segmentation patterns and practices are place-specific.

3.1.3 Segmented labour market critique of neoclassical theories

Segmented labour market theories challenged neoclassical theories in three aspects; empirical, theoretical, and policy related (Felipe and McCombie, 2009; Glen, 1976). At the empirical level, SLM argued that, the facts describing the labour market are not reported fully and accurately or are not interpreted in a way that reveals a number of pervasive failures in the working of the market. Some of these failures are the persistence of poverty, income inequality and failure of education and training to alleviate poverty (Hayter and Patchell, 2011). While neoclassical labour economists consistently found a positive correlation between educational attainment and earnings, sociologists on the other hand, have expressed

pessimism about this positive correlation in light of persistent poverty in our societies despite increase in the number of people going to school.

In addition, education and training is only used by employers as a screening tool. Invariably, the human capital model in the neoclassical approach misrepresents the positive relation between education and earnings as a productivity relation (Pratap and Quintin, 2006; Glen, 1976). Fevre (1992) observed that a lot of people are coming into the labour market with high educational credentials however, “holding more [educational] credentials need not mean possessing more skills” for employment (ibid: 4). Thus people do have educational qualification but not necessarily the “skills” required by employers. Since it is only when job seekers start work that they are able to compare their labour requirement and their pay while employers are able to access their ability to do the work, educational credential becomes only a hiring tool and not a good indicator of human capital.

The persistence of discrimination in the labour market has also been used to challenge the neoclassical assumption of competition neutralising discrimination in the labour market. There is persistent discrimination by race, gender, ethnicity and class in the labour market. Wages in female segments of the market for instance, are lower than male segments. Competition has failed to bridge the wage gap between men and women. It is important to point out that, both segmented labour market and neoclassical theories could agree on the fact that there is persistent wage and unemployment difference in monopolies and protected labour markets.

Even though neoclassical labour market theories have not fully explained the process and outcomes of how the labour market operates and have been heavily criticized and challenged, segmented labour market theories have also failed to provide adequate explanation. The dual labour market theory especially has been challenged by models of labour market flexibility. According to this model, the advent and usefulness of ICT for firms required them to adapt quickly to changing circumstances. Thus employers must require greater flexibility from their employees to enable them learn new skills and take up new responsibilities. The argument made here is that, the right of workers in the primary sector is undermined and also leads to an expansion of the secondary sector (Hayter and Patchell, 2011). Workers in the primary sector for instance, are expected to be multi-skilled and adaptive to changing technology. The job

categories under the flexible labour market becomes fewer than in the dual labour market. Career advancement is also no longer based on seniority but performance and ability. The divisions in the labour market are also blurred.

Both neoclassical and SLM theories have not fully offered an explanation to how people seek employment; the strategies they pursue in their search for jobs, why there is inequality and discrimination, and outcomes of peoples' labour market participation. Nonetheless, both neoclassical and SLM theories provide a good overview of the operations of the labor market. These theories have provided insights on some determinants of wage differentials, and discrimination. In the next section, I shall discuss gender perspectives and the feminist epistemology of intersectionality and the extent to which these theories address the employment process, discrimination, segregation and importantly, outcomes and consequences of employment in the house hold.

3.2 Gender and work.

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of and relations between men and women. As an ascribed status, gender is constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means (Padavic and Reskin, 2002; West and Zimmerman, 1987). Sex on the other hand, is the biologically determined categorisation of male and female (Padavic and Reskin, 2002); sex then forms the foundation on which societies constructs gender.

The field of geography has over the years been masculinist, with substantive oversight, and institutional discrimination against women (Dixon and Jones, 2006:43). Feminist geography has played important role in bringing greater understanding on the sources, dynamics and spatiality of women's oppression. It entails scrutinising all aspects of research (Moss, 2002). Feminist geographers proposed some social scientific theoretical traditions in explaining gender. The first is gender as a difference—the spatial dimension of the difference between men and women across cultural, economic, political and environmental arenas. According to Dixon and Jones (2206: 46), feminist geographers have transformed for instance the question “where does work take place, to who works where?” These more specific questions can help researchers unravel the spatial dimensions of gender divisions of labour among others. The second approach is gender as a social relation which goes beyond the simple study of men and women to a look at the social relations that link men and women in complex ways

(patriarchy—social structures that work to dominate women and children). The last is gender as a social construction which focuses on how discourses establish differences between people, aspects of meaning, experiences and landscape (Dixon and Jones, 2006; Risman, 2004). The importance of these approaches is that they provide us the basis to explore how individual sex differences originate, whether biological or social, and how social structure creates gendered behaviour. They help us understand how social interaction and accountability to others' expectations, with focus on how "doing gender" creates and reproduces inequality. These inequalities result in occupational segregation and wage gap between men and women.

According to Ridgeway and Correll (2004: 510), gender is not an identity or role that people learn as children through family relations but rather, "an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women" on which social relations are organised (ibid. 510). One major consequence of gender is its basis for perpetuating inequality (Ridgeway, 2011).

3.2.1 Gender roles

Gender roles however, are a set of social and behavioral norms that, within a specific culture are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. Gender roles and differences have been noticed even among elementary school children in America (Adler et al., 1992). These attitudes that people hold toward appropriate gender roles influences and perpetuate gender differentiated opportunities in employment, education, politics, and other areas (Blee and Tickamyer, 1995). Studies among African American women in the US for instance have shown that, there were standard, rigid expectations regarding a "woman's place" which was primarily oriented toward homemaking and child upbringing responsibilities (Burgess, 1994) or unpaid family workers (Clunies-Ross et al., 2009; Jenkins, 2004). McDowell (1997: 27) noted that, gender ideologies about gender-appropriate behaviour, varies across space and time. In my study, outcomes and consequences of offshore employment on gender roles and relations within the household of rig workers is examined.

The use of the term *gender* as a verb describes the creation of differences between men and women. Thus the process of gender differentiation between men and women is called

gendering while activities attached to one sex or the other is called gendered (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). These terms are used to describe socially constructed outcomes which normally give men advantage over women. Over the years, gender division of labour at the work place has been changing with a recorded increase in women's participation in the labour market (McDowell, 2001). Despite this, there is still a persistent gendered occupational segregation in both the developed and developing countries with a wage gap between men and women (Ridgeway, 2011; Clunies-Ross et al, 2009; Risman, 2004; McDowell, 2001, 1997). There are types of work that are classified as men's and others that are classified as women's (Kornhauser, 2004). By examining the categories of people taking up the offshore work and the type of work they do, my study explored the extent to which rig work is gender differentiated.

Theoretically, socioeconomic and technological transformation of society should upset the systems which work to perpetuate gender inequality (Ridgeway, 2011: 4). However, occupational segregation is still persistent in both the developed and the developing world. Below are some theoretical explanations.

3.2.2 Persistence of labour market segregation from feminist/gender perspectives

According to the feminist theorists, women are disadvantaged in the labour market because of patriarchy and women's subordination in society. Risman (2004: 432) noted that, "social structures create actions indirectly by shaping people's perceptions of their interests which also affects their life choices". Our day to day social interactions and relations directly or indirectly, influences our ideologies about what men and women can do. This "cultural component of the social structure includes the interactional expectations that each of us meet in every social encounter" (Risman, 2004: 433). Socialization processes affect men's and women's career choices. Segregation occurs when certain jobs are culturally stereotyped as being either "feminine" or "masculine" (Estevez-Abe, 2006; Padavic and Reskin, 2002). In most societies in the developing world especially, child care (reproductive work) and household responsibilities are women's responsibility while the men are considered bread winners in the family. But in Ghana, Overå (2007) and Clark (1999) found that, women not only have majority of the household management responsibilities, but they also actively participate in the informal economy and contribute significantly to the household economy. My study examined the extent to which socio-cultural factors in Ghana reinforce segregation

of rig work. Additionally, consequences of men and women's offshore employment on childcare and household responsibilities were also studied.

In addition, feminists argue that occupational segregation also occurs as a result of employers' tastes and "cultural norms" about "appropriate" gender roles (Estevez-Abe, 2006). Thus high-status jobs and manual jobs that are strenuous are associated with masculine qualities. Gender norms affect both supply and demand for labour; motivate women to choose non-manual and lower-status jobs as well as motivate employers to hire more women for such jobs (ibid: 145). Even though the bases of gender inequality has reduced in recent times, with more women in male dominated jobs like lawyers, managers, or doctors, the pattern of gender hierarchy is still persistent placing men in more advantaged positions than women (Risman, 2004; Estevez-Abe, 2006; Ridgway, 2011).

As McDowell (1997) stressed, embodied social structures reinforce occupational segregation. These are beliefs that women lack aggressiveness, strength, endurance, and capacity for abstract thought and possess greater dexterity, tolerance for tedium and natural morality than men (Reskin, 1986). All these assumptions create barriers for women's participation in the labour market. Organisational as well as workplace structures are characterised with gendered meanings and practices that construct different categories of work as fitting with particular gender identities (McDowell, 1997).

The persistence of occupational segregation can better be understood in light of Anthony Giddens (1984) structuration theory which suggested an inherent spatiality in social life. Society does not exist independently of human activity neither is it a product of it (Holt-Jensen, 2009; Dyck and Kearns, 2006). Giddens theory focused on the recursive relationship between social structure and individuals (Risman, 2004). These recursive relationship means that, not only do social structures shape us but we also shape the structures. And so while we are socialised with stereotypical ideas about occupation, our day to day actions either reinforce these ideas or correct them. Occupational segregation is created and recreated through our day to day interactions. A key concept in Giddens theory is duality of structure which is the influence both humans and social structures have on each other. According to Holt-Jensen (2009: 162), "individuals are formed by society and its institutions, but they are also skilled agents who direct their own lives through actions". Agency (human action) and

social structures “are in real life knitted together by social practice” (ibid: 162). The repetition of social practices creates social systems such as schools and workplace. And since we cannot isolate the socialization process from its outcomes, occupational segregation would be persistent.

3.2.3 Persistence of labour market segregation from human capital/neo-classical perspectives

The human capital theory draws on the neo-classical approach of demand and supply to explain segregation. They posit that, workers and employers are rational and hence the labour market functions according to demand and supply (Anker, 1997). Workers seek jobs that suit their qualification while employers minimize cost and maximize productivity. Educational attainments and work experience of men and women gives them different human capital. The human capital difference between people affects their productivity. Since workers choose jobs that suit their qualification, men and women end up doing different jobs. It is notes worthy that, the human capital difference between men and women can be partly attributed to patriarchy (see Padavic and Reskin, 2002).

On the labour supply side, the argument is that women have lower education than men. The resultant impact on employment is that women do the jobs that suit them vis-à-vis men. Also, the discontinuous labour market participation of women because of marriage or child care responsibilities influences their choice of occupation. Pregnancy and child care force women to withdraw early or permanently from the labour market and so they gain less work experience. Men however, have a much higher education and continuous labour market participation. With different productivity levels, men and women choose different jobs or employers hire them for different jobs resulting in occupational segregation. Essential here is the feminists’ argument that, patriarchy appropriate roles according to gender. In Ghana, these patriarchal role appropriations are expressed in proverbs and everyday sayings, for instance, “a woman’s office is the kitchen” or “women sell garden-eggs and not gun-powder”. These role stereotypes as Kwansa (2012) noted, influences both educational and labour market opportunities for women in Ghana.

On the labour demand side, the theory posits that, jobs requiring relatively higher skills employ more men than women since men have relatively higher education than women

(Anker 1997). Anker (1997) further noted that, because women are said to have higher absenteeism, and come to work late, they are said to have higher labour turnover rates an indirect cost for employers as they have to train new workers. But by feminists' perspective, the woman is probably late or absent from work because of child care or other home care responsibilities.

Another issue noted as responsible for occupational segregation is laws and regulations. Some labour laws prevent women from working in certain occupations or under certain conditions. From section 55 to 57 of Ghana's labour Act 165 for instance, the conditions of engaging a pregnant woman are outlined. Among other things, employers are not permitted to engage pregnant women at night. Section 57 subsection 2 states that, "A woman worker on maternity leave is entitled to be paid her full remuneration and other benefits to which she is otherwise entitled". Employers in their quest to minimize cost would not employ women since they have to pay them during maternity leave. Thus these laws increase the comparative cost of employing women (Anker 1997). The core of this theory is that systematic differentiation in the human capital accumulated by men and women is responsible for occupational segregation. My study took into account education and experience of rig workers to ascertain its impact on the type of jobs they get.

3.2.4 Persistence of labour market segregation from institutional perspectives

The third explanatory frame that I shall concern myself with for the purpose of this thesis is institutional and labour market segregation. According to Anker (1997), the assumption of the institutional and labour market segmentation theories are that, institutions, unions and large enterprises play an important role in determining who is hired, fired and promoted (ibid.: 321). This looks at how the labour market is segmented by dual structures. Some of these structures are "primary" and "secondary", "static" and "progressive" jobs, "formal" and "informal" sectors (ILO 1971 in Anker 1997: 322). The idea here is that, segregation is a result of each of the labour market segmentation comprising of women and the other men.

Important in this theory is the statistical discrimination. According to Anker (1997: 322), statistical discrimination operates on the assumption that, "there are differences on average, in the productivity, skills, experience...and high search and information costs associated with recruitment and promotion decisions" (ibid.). There is perpetuation of occupational

segregation based on assumption of employers that particular groups of people lack the skills for a particular job. Men or women therefore dominate or make up entirely some occupations even though each of the sexes qualifies to do these jobs. It is argued here that, gender ideologies about appropriate roles play key role in employers' assumption that a particular group(s) of people lack or have the skills for particular jobs.

By far, gender, human capital and labour market segmentation theories provides a complementary explanation of occupational segregation. Nonetheless, theories about occupational segregation do not explain the multiple discriminations people suffer in their search for jobs and on the job. Both men and women in search of job face different obstacles that they have to overcome to get employed. In the next section, the feminist epistemology of intersectionality explores how different people face different levels and types of discrimination in the labour market. I shall draw on the idea of discrimination faced by people of different social categories to explore the multiple challenges that people face to get employed on the oil rigs.

3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the differences between different social categories: gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality among others (Valentine, 2007; Cope, 2002). According to Cope (2002), people suffering discrimination or oppression face multiple forces and hence fighting it along one axis only makes little sense. The concept of intersectionality in geography is a result of black feminists' challenge of the use of women and gender "as unitary and homogenous categories reflecting the common essence of all women" (Valentine, 2007). According to Crenshaw et al. (1995 in Valentine, 2007), race, ethnicity, gender among others, should not be treated as separate categories. These social categories interlock and interact to further discrimination and oppression and cannot be separated (Fernandes, 2003; Cope, 2002). Feminists argued that, these forms of social stratification need to be studied in relation to each other, and must be conceptualized as for instance "matrix of domination" (Collins, 1990 in Choo and Ferree 2010: 129) and "complex inequality" (McCall, 2001 in Choo and Ferree 2010: 129).

Minow (1997: 38 in Valentine 2007), defined intersectionality as "the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups." Intersectional analysis

looks at the multiple discriminations that people face in everyday interactions (Fernandes 2003; Valentine 2007). Essential here is what Andersen and Hill Collins (1992, xii) cited in Valentine (2007) termed “interlocking categories of experience”; pointing to the interconnection between gender, race, class, and sexuality and their interdependence with other categories. The CVs that people submit for jobs for instance contain their age, gender, marital status, which employers look at before recruiting them. Even though no employer explicitly states that they are employing one person or the other based on these social categories, these social categories are taken into consideration.

As Phoenix (2006: 187) noted, the concept brings to light the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it. According to Davis (2008:70), the fundamental theoretical normative concerns within feminist scholarship is addressed by intersectionality; thus the acknowledgement of differences among women and men. Fernandes (2003: 315) argued that, intersectionality should not be treated as a binary difference in gender (men or women) or race (black or white) debates but rather, it should be used to “unpack the tension between articulation and aphasia”. Thus discourses on difference should not just look at gender, race, ethnicity or class in isolation but how they interplay to affect people. This is what theories about occupational segregation do not emphasize. Intersectionality has become the key concept in the feminist project of deconstructing the binary oppositions and universalism which are inherent in the modernist philosophy and science (Phoenix, 2006; Davis, 2008). The concept is essential in answering my research questions such as what are the processes involved in getting recruited to the rigs and how the offshore job is gender differentiated.

Inspired by postmodernism, intersectionality has been used by feminists to further the postmodern idea of conceptualizing multiple and shifting identities (Davis, 2008). This idea coincides with the perspective of Foucault that, “it is no longer an identity that we need to recover...but a difference” (Harrison, 2006:122). It entails the need to focus on power relations, reflexivity, situated knowledge and deconstructs the simple categorization of men and women in our attempt to understand and explain social events (England, 2006).

Intersectionality has been criticized by many researchers as vague but Phoenix (2006 in Davis 2008: 77) concludes that, there is no single concept that can assume perfection. Moreover,

Davis (2008: 76) noted that “theories thrive on ambiguity and incompleteness”. There is no single theory that can better and completely capture whatever we are interested in studying. The vagueness of the concept intersectionality is what opens up the opportunity for us as researchers to use it to be more reflexive in our research and also enables a more comprehensive insight to investigating issues.

Even though labour market and gender theories will be useful in exploring the offshore employment process, outcomes and consequences, they are inadequate in fully explaining how people access information about work, and the impacts of the information source on the type of jobs they get. In the next section, I shall examine the social network theory with focus on the issues of strong ties and weak ties and its relevance to understanding the offshore employment process.

3.4 Social network theory

As an analytical frame for the study of social relations, social network theory has been applied to the study of migration, employment, urban and several other multi-disciplinary studies (Overå, 2007; Granovetter, 1995; Grieco, 1995; Vertovec and Rogers, 1995; Granovetter, 1983; Fischer et al 1977; Laumann, 1973). Mitchell (1969b in Laumann, 1973:7) defined a social network as “a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved”. Fischer et al (1977: 17) also defined people’s social relations “both personal and intimate ones and impersonal and formal ones” as “strands in the webs of their social network” (ibid.).

People’s network thus branch out from them to their close associates, to society and beyond (Prell, 2012; Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Fischer et al., 1977). The social network theory is useful to my study because of its applicability to situational perspectives through the abstraction of aspects of interpersonal relationships which cut across class, gender, kin, neighborhood or workplace (Vertovec and Rogers, 1995). A person’s social network may include neighbors, kin, school mates, work associates and members from the same ethnic group. The formations of many social links are similar; we are born into or marry into our kinship ties, education and sports presents us with colleagues, our jobs present us with work associates, among others (Prell, 2012; Fischer et al., 1977).

Wasserman and Faust (1994) identified structural and composition variables as key in exploring social networks. The structural variables involve a consideration of the type of relation between people while the composition variables takes into account the characteristics of each individual in the social network; age, gender, education, ethnicity and so forth. Holmes-Eber (2003:11), also noted that, network analyses have structural modes that examines the structure of social networks and looks at the nature and content of links in social networks.

Increasingly, social networks have been recognized to play an important role in labour market outcome. In her study of the informal economy of Accra, Overå (2007) highlights the significant role of network of kinship, conjugal and collegial relations in people's search for jobs. Her study also points to the significant role of networks for survival in Ghana's informal economy. Meagher (2010) in her study of informal manufacturing clusters among the Igbo in Nigeria also found that social networks play important roles in the sector. Similarly, Zaami (2010) found that, social networks play important role in securing job among Northern migrants in Madina. My study examined the role that social networks play in securing offshore jobs and outcomes of people's offshore employment.

Social networks have been used by Granovetter (1995) to examine individuals' access to information about job opportunities. My study examined how Ghanaian rig workers became aware of the offshore employment opportunities and how they got the jobs. The influence of the information source on the type of jobs people get, and their ability to advance in career was explored.

There is a mutually reinforcing relationship between employment and social networks. It has been argued that, "employment relations in modern society frequently harness and depend upon existing patterns of social relations, or social networks in their recruitment dynamics, whilst social networks frequently come to 'own' sets of clusters of employment vacancies" (Grieco 1995: 190). In my study, I looked at how the circulation of information about employment opportunities within identified social networks results in *containment* so that; job seekers outside these particular social networks might be insulated from offshore employment opportunities in Ghana's oil industry. Unlike labour market theories which focus on individual characteristics (example human capital) in explaining employment, social network

theory looks at attributes of interpersonal relations as the key to explaining employment. For that matter, membership in a social network is not the important issue, but the ability to draw on this membership, to secure jobs. I shall now focus on Granovetter's (1995) study of contacts and careers to explore how Ghanaian rig workers might access the offshore employment opportunities.

According to Granovetter (1995), it has been assumed that, the advent of modernization leads to the use of formal and standardized procedures and hence people are no longer subjected to the limitations imposed by particular "social milieus" (Sjoberg, 1960 in Granovetter, 1995). However, there has been evidence from empirical studies that, informal interactions between people are still important in systems (employment) even when they become formalized (Crozier, 1964 in Granovetter, 1995). Though Granovetter's study is focused on the significance of personal contacts about job change opportunities, it still proves to be an important frame for my study of how people hear about the offshore employment opportunities in Ghana's oil industry and how they get the jobs.

Studies done by Lee (1969); Coleman et al. (1966); Katz (1957) in Granovetter (1995), found that, "information which leads to action is more likely to move through chains of personal contact than through mass media or more impersonal routes" (Granovetter, 1995:4). Employers use several mediums (including print and electronic media) to advertise job opportunities. By the argument espoused above, job seekers are more likely to follow up on information about job opportunities received from personal contacts than those advertised in the media. In my study, I found out which information source is the most important used by rig workers in securing their jobs. Even if people follow up on job advertisements in the media, it now becomes a question of how many of these follow-ups result in successful employment.

In his study of professional, technical and managerial workers, Granovetter (1995) found that, people use formal, personal and direct application to get their jobs. The formal means included advertisement and public and private employment agencies and job seekers had no personal relationship with the potential employer. The personal means involves the potential employee knowing someone personally in a context outside the search for jobs while the direct means involves the job seeker writing application directly to the employer without any

prior knowledge of job opening and no personal or formal contact (Granovetter 1995). Majority of informants in Granovetter's study used personal contacts in finding out about job opportunities. To better understand the offshore employment process in Ghana, my study identified the various information sources and examines the most dominant ways the rig workers hear about and get jobs, and why the particular information source are dominating.

Furthermore, the study done by Granovetter (1995) showed that, respondents believe that, information from personal contacts is of higher quality than those acquired through other means. Significantly, friends go beyond simple notifications of job openings, to explain further to the prospective worker, the working environment, remuneration, potentials of career advancements and major challenges associated with the work. This is contrary to Fevre's (1992) argument that, it is only when job seekers start working that they are able to access their full labour requirements and working environment. When people get information about jobs from personal contacts, they are more likely to have greater knowledge about the work, based on which they decide to go for the job or not.

Finally, Granovetter's study has established that, "personal contacts are of paramount importance in connecting people with jobs" (ibid. 1995:22). However there are others who do not use personal contacts to get the jobs. This can be understood by looking at their position in the social structure. One's position in the social structure goes beyond knowing people; the relations with people, the set of people known by that set, and the structure of the connections plays a role in people's decision to use a social network. Thus social relations should be looked at in the context of other relations (Marin and Wellman, 2011). Job seekers must have the right contact in order to hear about and get jobs. My study examined the demographic characteristics of the rig workers to ascertain its influence on use of a particular method to get recruited to the rigs. I also explored the influence of religion, ethnicity, education, gender, marital status and age of rig workers on the type of method that rig workers use to get the jobs. Significance of membership in a social network is the individual's ability to use it to secure a job. However, the ability to harness membership is influenced by the nature of the social relation. In the next section, the theory of strong and weak ties will be explored in order to understand the nature of network ties and its influence people's access to jobs.

3.4.1 Strong ties and weak ties

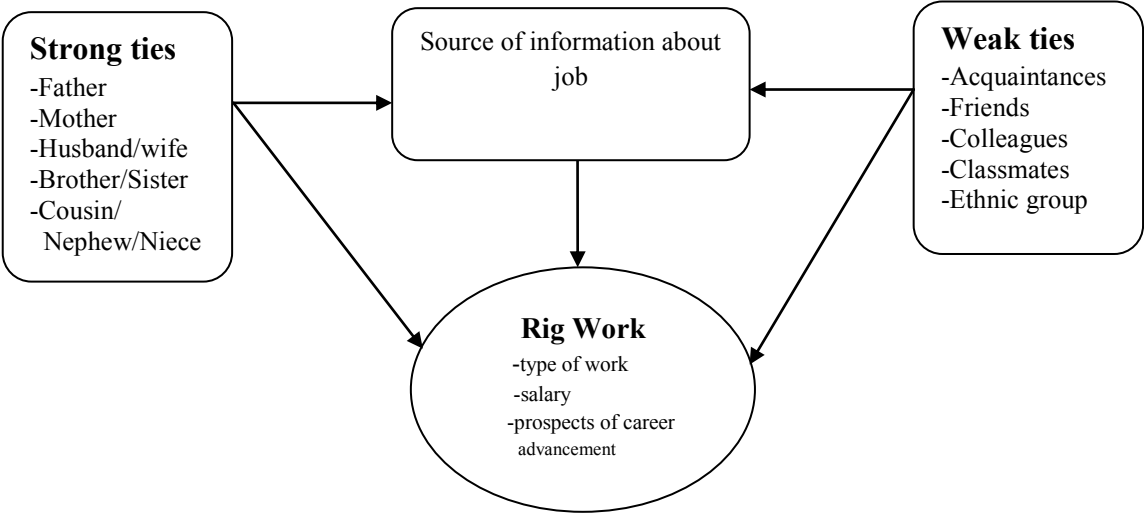
My research is grounded in the conceptual framework of strong ties and weak ties derived from the social network theory by Granovetter (1983; 1995). Granovetter used the concepts of strong and weak ties to classify and analyse the strength of social networks. Granovetter (1983) starts on the premise that, “our acquaintances (*weak ties*)/low-density network are less likely to be socially involved with one another than are our close friends (*strong ties*)/high-density network (ibid.:1983: 201).

Granovetter used the analogy of an individual (Ego) who has closely knit friends, most of whom are in touch with one another— “a densely knit clump of social structure” (Granovetter 1983:202). Ego also has acquaintances, few of whom know one another. Each of Ego’s acquaintances is likely to have close friends in their own right and hence is themselves enmeshed in a closely knit social structure but different from that of Ego (ibid.). Granovetter (1983) noted that, the weak tie existing between Ego and his acquaintances is an important bridge between two closely knit clumps of social structures. In effect, the strength of the weak tie is its usefulness in bridging the gap between the several strong ties in the network.

People with few weak ties, then, are likely to be deprived of information from distance parts of the social system (Granovetter, 1983). Thus these individuals are limited to information and opportunities from their close friends. This limitation *insulates* individuals from ideas, innovations and labour market opportunities outside their circle. As Granovetter (1974 in Granovetter. 1983) documented, knowing about job opportunities at the right time is crucial in active labour market participation and career advancement. In my study, various close networks are identified and the extent to which information about offshore opportunities transcends these close networks examined.

Weak ties are also usefulness in organizing labour unions. Labour unions play an important role in promoting the interest of workers (Hayter and Patchell, 2011). Individuals are mostly recruited into labour movements by friends. However, for a union to galvanize enough support to take a collective action, it needs to move beyond close friends. The weak ties come in here by bringing together different close social structures to enable the spread of momentum generated (Granovetter 1983).

Fig.1: A Conceptual Model of Social Networks in offshore employment: Strong and Weak Ties



Source: Author’s model based on the concept of Granovetter (1995).

My study identified various close networks that exist among the rig workers and the weak ties that link these networks and their role in the spread of information was examined. How the rig workers are organised into labour unions and the ability of the union to propagate the interest of the members was also explored. This is based on the assumption that, the Ghanaian rig workers are employed by different companies and they come from diverse social, economic and ethnic backgrounds. The weak ties between these various groupings become important in mobilizing the rig workers into a larger group with the capacity to negotiate salaries, conditions of service and to promote the overall interest of members. As argued, social systems lacking weak ties, will be fragmented and incoherent (Granovetter, 1983:202).

In addition, individuals who are close in relationship are more likely to be similar in various ways. Weak ties between several close social structures enhance diversity by bringing together, different groups of people. Accordingly, individuals to whom one is loosely tied (weak ties) are more likely to relay information that one does not already have (Granovetter, 1983). Since our close ties are likely to be people we share similarities with, the information they might have (for instance about jobs), might not be different from what we already have. As Granovetter puts it, our “acquaintances as compared to close friends are more prone to move in different circles” than us (Granovetter, 1983:205). In consequence, they possess information about jobs that we are not already previewed to.

The type of ties people use in getting jobs varies with age, education, and ethnicity among others (Ericksen and Yancey 1980 in Granovetter 1983). In a study by Ericksen and Yancey in 1975 around Philadelphia area, for instance, they found that, less-well-educated informants were those likely to use strong ties for jobs and this dropped with increase in educational attainments of informants (Granovetter, 1983). My study also examines the gender, ethnic, and educational class disparity in the network used to get jobs offshore. Additionally, where one's social contact used in getting job is located in the occupational structure could also influence career.

Finally, Granovetter (1983:208) suggested that, among people in lower socio-economic groups, weak ties represents friends' or relatives' acquaintances and are often not bridges. Consequently, the information they provide does not broaden opportunities, and in terms of employment, the effect of using such networks is actually negative. Thus weak ties only have positive effect only when they connect one to people with a higher status. Significantly, weak ties link people to information and resources beyond those available in their social structure. Nonetheless, strong ties are easily available and are people who are more motivated to offer assistance when it is needed.

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the labour market theories provide a good conceptual basis for looking at employment in Ghana's oil industry. Gender and feminist epistemologies of intersectionality has also been discussed highlighting its usefulness in exploring segregation of work and how people face multiple discriminations in the labour market. Gender theories are also useful in my exploration of outcomes and consequences of offshore employment in the household of rig workers. The social network theory is important in understanding the dynamics involve in getting recruited offshore. Access to information about jobs is as crucial as getting the jobs. The social network theory with its conceptual themes of strong and weak ties, provides a good frame for analysing how people hear about offshore jobs, how they get the jobs and their income and overall satisfaction with their jobs. For effective policies for Ghana's emerging oil industry, it is essential to understand how men and women use various strategies to get jobs offshore and the impact of their employment in their household. The next chapter will discuss the various methodologies used to gather data for the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the overall decisions regarding procedures and plans that went into attaining my research goals: the methods used in generating data, the statuses I was ascribed, and the role I played during my fieldwork, highlighting the outsider and insider perspectives of a researcher. In this research, I used the mixed method comprising both quantitative and qualitative methods. I used the mixed method because as DeCuir-Gunby (2008: 125) observed quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other and are continuum not polar opposites. Since majority of data collected during the fieldwork was done using qualitative methods, I will lay more emphasis on it than quantitative methods even though the latter will also be highlighted.

Norman and Yvonna (2003: 5) described qualitative research as the collection of a variety of empirical data that describe routines and meanings in people's lives. It "connects our thinking and perception about the social world with what we find in it" (Neuman 2011: 199). By considering the accounts of informants, qualitative methods made visible the mechanisms and processes involved in getting recruited to oil rigs in Ghana. As Barbour, (2008) noted, qualitative research is well suited for studying context and in my case, offshore employment. Qualitative methods also enabled me to gain an understanding of the various circumstances leading to offshore employment and the meaning rig workers attributed to their experiences offshore (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011).

Quantitative method on the other hand, enabled me to identify statistically significant correlations between variables such as type of work and income, age and employability. Some of these correlations would be shown through diagrams, tables and patterns if necessary. As indicated earlier, I will pay less attention to the quantitative methods. Barbour (2008) highlighted the fact that, what eludes quantification is its inability to explain the *how*, of a phenomenon or a process under investigation. In my research of process, and outcomes of offshore employment, quantitative method was not so relevant a method for attaining my research goals even though it played a complementary role.

The qualitative methods used included participant observation of informants at work and in social gatherings, interviews and group interviews as well as case studies. The research included key informant interviews and discussions with national petroleum policy-makers, planners (GNPC, Labour Department and Ministry of Energy), as well as international rig companies. The interviews were done using unstructured questionnaires, which enabled me to be flexible and address issues as they arose in course of the interview. I will also discuss the challenges, limitations, reliability and validity of the data.

I started the field work from May to August 2011 and the study area was Takoradi, the new oil city of Ghana. During the fieldwork, I interacted with my informants without an interpreter because all of them could speak either English, Ewe, Ga-Adangbe, Twi or Pidgin English all of which I speak. I asked questions and spent time with the informants during meetings and social gatherings, at work and in their homes.

4.1 The first phase of fieldwork

On my first visit to Takoradi, I contacted the man who became a very important *gatekeeper*—provided directly or indirectly access to key resources needed to do research (Campbell et al 2006: 98). My gatekeeper was a Ghanaian who has lived and worked in the oil industry in Norway. I was introduced to him by my supervisor who met him during a previous field visit to Ghana. He was happy to meet me; we shared our experiences in Norway. He currently works with an oil and gas service company that recruits Ghanaians for employment offshore. He took me around his office and introduced me to the staff as a student from Norway. He indicated that, I would be staying with them throughout my research period and requested that they all give me the necessary support. He also introduced me to his business partners as the student he had told them about.

After the introduction, we went back to his office where I had an hour conversation with him regarding my study. He gave me an elaborate ‘lecture’ on his views and opinions on the Ghanaian oil industry, local content and the training and recruitment business in general. I used the opportunity to talk more about my research and the kind of information I was hoping to obtain during the fieldwork. Throughout my fieldwork he continuously linked me with other recruitment companies. At any time that I needed to speak to business owners, he either called them and introduced me or gave me a note all of which enabled me have easy access to

such key informants. His business partners, the staff and the company as a whole became important gatekeepers. I was given office, free internet access, and access to their employment data base. All these supports facilitated my fieldwork.

Later that day, I contacted a friend I knew from Accra who took me around the town to look for accommodation. The following day I left for Accra and returned to Takoradi four days later and started the fieldwork. The fieldwork was started on the topic ‘Entrepreneurship in Ghana’s oil industry’. This initial study was aimed at gaining insight into the operation of entrepreneurs establishing companies training and recruiting people for offshore employment. However, when I started the fieldwork, it was difficult to get access to the entrepreneurs for interviews. Majority of those I managed to interview, were also not ready to disclose salient information concerning their business strategies, sources of capital and their personal background. Some of them were however forthcoming and open for discussion. I also realized that, most of the companies recruiting people for rig work were not providing technical training for the people they recruited. They only provided offshore safety training and medical certifications which are requirements for anybody going offshore. One training company also trained people in technical and vocational qualification but for onshore oil and gas related construction activities which are yet to commence and so it was difficult to study the employment effect of the training.

Throughout this early phase of the fieldwork, I spent time at company premises and made friends with their staff. I had the opportunity to meet and interact with prospective rig workers. I also met the rig workers and observed them when they returned onshore and when they were going offshore. I listened to them discussing their experiences, and making fun of each other about issues on the rig. I made friends with some of them, and it was interesting to observe them talking about their experiences, challenges and plans for the future concerning offshore work. They were very open to me and shared information concerning rig work with me. This ignited my interest in studying rig workers. They represented the current developmental stage of Ghana’s oil industry. I became enthused about how these people got recruited to the rigs, the qualification they had and most importantly, the fact that a majority of them returned from oil rigs in other African countries to work in Ghana. After considering the difficulty in access to information on entrepreneurship and discovered the interesting case of the Ghanaian rig workers, I decided to change my research focus. I informed my supervisor and after discussing it with her, I switched the focus to the study of rig workers.

Interestingly, after changing the research focus to rig workers, almost all the company owners and managers opened up and showed interest in my new topic. They gave information on their recruitment processes and the categories of Ghanaians they recruit. This I think could be because I had already gained their trust to a large extent after two weeks of ‘hanging’ around their premises and made friends with most of them and their staff. It could also be that, they did not consider the information I sought on the new topic as ‘threatening’ and sensitive to their operations as the previous topic.

4. 2 Role and status during fieldwork: outsider and insider perspective of research

Linton (1936:113) described status as the position an individual occupies in relation to the total society in which he or she lives. Role on the other hand, represents the way the status is performed. An individual could occupy several statuses in relation to others and in different conditions. During my fieldwork, I occupied several statuses; a Ghanaian, a student, a researcher, a friend, a potential rival (in the sense that I posed a threat to young male rig workers who would not allow me interview their wives in their absence), and a “son” (the older rig workers affectionately called me *son*). My statuses changed over time and in relation to different informants. The statuses I occupied came with rights and duties. As Linton (1936) noted, when these rights and duties are put to use, then a role is being performed. At the start of the fieldwork, I presented myself as a student researcher and therefore my expected roles were to ask questions. The student researcher status gave me an ‘outsider’ position. Thus I was not part of a group (rig workers) and have little or no knowledge about the group; and in this case, knowledge about offshore employment. The educational privilege which I currently enjoy (as a Ghanaian master student from Norway) also created a symbolic difference between me and some of my informants and made me an outsider in relation to them. However, I simultaneously gained an ‘insider’ status; where a researcher belongs to the group he or she is studying. I was ascribed the ‘insider’ position due to my multi-lingual background and Ghanaian nationality.

The insider-outsider positions came with advantages and shortcomings. As Mullings (1999: 340) observes, insiders “are able to use their knowledge of the group to gain more intimate insights into their opinions” and have access to information much more easily. My ability to communicate with the rig workers in their native languages enabled me to gain their trust to

some extent. For instance when I wanted to interview two rig workers, and I introduced myself using their native language, one said:

“We wouldn’t have granted you the interview opportunity if you were not our brother; as for this job if you don’t know talking about it, they will sabotage you”.

Informants are cautious about who they speak to for fear of career sabotage. My ability to speak their language made it easier to relate to them and in the case above, as their *brother* (common term to indicate friendship).

Throughout the fieldwork, I assumed both the insider and outsider positions depending on the place I found myself. While I was ascribed an insider status among some informants, I was an outsider among officials of international oil companies and recruitment companies, who needed information about their operations. I was simultaneously an “insider, outsider, both and neither” as Mullings (1999) puts it. At some points during the research, my status could not be clearly defined. For instance when I asked an informant if I could interview his wife, he said in Pidgin English²: *“Chaley you paaa? I no go fit allow make you interview my wife wey I no go dey there”*. This means; my friend, I cannot allow you to interview my wife in my absence.

In Ghana, ‘Chaley’ is the pidgin word for friend. Pidgin English is mostly used by cohorts, friends with an informal relationship. My informant’s use of Pidgin English and ‘chaley’ indicated friendship between us (insider) and one would expect that, I had his trust. But the informant expressed shock at my request. His expression, ‘you paaa’, means he was not expecting that I would make the request to interview his wife while he is gone offshore. At that point, I asked myself how he regards me. I had interviewed him twice already, had several informal discussions with him, and we got along very well. However, he was still skeptical about my intents and considered me ‘threat’ to his marriage. At this point I became aware of the fact that, I probably was both an insider and an outsider to this informant.

² Pidgin English is a type of English language derived from the combination of English words and words from local languages to form sentence.

The advantage of being an outsider is that, by not belonging to a group under study, one is more likely to be perceived as neutral and might have a greater degree of objectivity (Fonow and Cook 1991 in Mullings 1999). In Ghana's oil industry however, being an outsider could restrict access to information. When I started my fieldwork, officials of oil and gas service companies were very suspicious about my intents, some considered me as a spy, or as someone with a hidden agenda. For instance after showing my student identity card and introductory letter from my supervisor, an official of a recruitment company said: "*But you could still be a spy from our competitors*". Being an outsider therefore could impede access to information in some contexts.

During the Rig Workers Association (RWA)³ meeting and training which I participated in, I was straight forwardly introduced by an executive as a student from Norway. This was because most of them had a considerable level of education and an understanding of what research is all about. After the meeting, they made contributions towards the management of the association to which I also contributed some money. Contributing money towards the association management was relevant for me because, after I had participated in their training, and asked questions during their meeting, I was ascribed an insider status as a concerned Ghanaian seeking clarification on issues concerning the welfare of fellow Ghanaians (rig workers). My insider status became more apparent to me when I was invited to their executive meeting in which I participated actively.

³ The Rig Workers Association (RWA) is the association of Ghanaians working on the rigs headquartered at Tema. However not all the rig workers are members of RWA.



Plate 1: Participant in an executive meeting with the Rig Workers Association

4.3 Sample population

Seale, et al. (2004:437) defines a sample as “just subsets of cases”. Sampling, according to Rice (2010: 230), entails gathering “information about a relatively small part of a larger group or population in order to make inferential generalization about the larger group”. I used the purposive sampling method which enabled me choose cases because they offer explanation to the offshore employment process or as Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) put it, has characteristics that are determined by the objectives of the research. Snow ball sampling technique which involves selecting informants with ‘necessary characteristics’ and through their recommendations, finding other informants was used to get access to the rig workers (Seale, et al 2004:449; Bryman, 2008: 184). For example I was introduced to a representative of the Rig Workers Association, who in turn introduced me to other rig workers and I was able to get access to the rig workers.

My sampled population consisted of seventy (70) informants out of which fifty-nine (59) were men and eleven were (11) women. More men were interviewed than women corresponding to the gender disparity in the offshore industry. The eleven (11) women interviewed, consist of six (6) rig workers, two (2) human resource managers in recruitment companies, a chief labour officer and two (2) wives of rig workers. The fifty-nine (59) men in the sample were eight (8) expatriates (some of whom are working on oil rigs and others managing companies), seventeen (17) Ghanaian officials (government and recruitment company officials), and

thirty-four (34) rig workers. All interviews were conducted either in English and/or three of the major southern Ghanaian languages (Ewe, Ga-Adangbe and Fante). In the next section, I will elaborate on the approaches; including the forms of data collection, analysis and interpretation techniques used during the fieldwork.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

In order to understand the processes involved in obtaining offshore jobs, qualitative methods were used supported with quantitative methods. I consider the qualitative data useful as they enabled me to gain an understanding of people's experiences within the social structures and processes that were taking place when people seek employment (Phophalia 2010; McNaghten and Myers 2004). According to Creswell (2009:14), the mixed method (triangulation) aids the neutralisation or cancelation of the biases of a single methodology. It involves integrating and connecting qualitative and quantitative data. As Norman and Yvonna (2003: 8) observed, triangulation adds "rigour and depth" to any study while Neuman (2011: 164) noted that it enables a researcher to learn more by "observing from multiple perspectives".

Five interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder and responses transcribed afterwards. These recorded interviews took place either at informants' home, office or a convenient place of their choice. The recorder was used because these informants were key informants and case studies with a lengthy interview process. It was also used during group interviews. The recorder enabled me to make observations of events in their natural settings since I did not have to focus too much on writing. The rest of interviews were recorded in my field note book. The questionnaire I used was semi-structured with many open-ended questions which enabled respondents elaborate on questions.

I also used data from secondary sources such as journals, POB⁴ lists of oil rigs, staff data of recruitment companies, websites, literature on offshore employment as well as all other relevant literature.

⁴ POB list is the list of Persons on board a rig at a particular time, their nationality and type of work they do.

4.4.1 Interviews

Interviews enabled me to gain an understanding of the role of actors in the employment process (Hardesty 1994 in Porta and Keating 2008). According to Loghurst (2010), talking to people is an excellent way of gathering information. Interviews enabled me access various stories and narratives through which people describe their world (Creswell 2009). The interview methods used included interview guide, questionnaire survey, and informal conversation. The interview guide was used to interview key informants while the questionnaire interviews and informal conversations were used to interview the Ghanaian rig workers.

Table 1 below is the sample of expatriates interviewed using the interview guide (see appendix). They are grouped according to nationality, gender, duration of offshore experience (in years) and type of work. A total of eight (8) expatriates were interviewed all of whom were men. These key informants were interviewed to gain an understanding of their view on the Ghanaian labour force (rig workers).

Table 1: Profile of expatriates.

Nationality	Gender	Experience (years)	Type of work
British	Male	22	Offshore Installation Manager (OIM)
Norwegian	Male	42	Drill Superintendent
Croatian	Male	25	Tool Pusher
Canadian	Male	35	Rig Manager
Canadian	Male	20	Logistics Coordinator
South African	Male	10	Medical Officer
Swedish	Male	10	Safety Officer
Norwegian	Male	10	Dynamic Position Operator (DPO)

Source: Field work data 2011.

They explained why they do not recruit Ghanaians directly but rather through recruitment companies. They also gave their opinions on the quality of work that Ghanaians do on the rig. The duration of their offshore experience was also noted to give an impression of how long at least it might take Ghanaians to attain some of these high level positions on the rig. The challenge faced was that some of them especially those interviewed on the rigs were interviewed while they were working. The interview process was therefore frequently

interrupted. Nevertheless we managed to discuss all the issues outlined on the interview guide.

The second group of key informants interviewed using the interview guide was Ghanaian officials. A total of twenty (20) Ghanaian officials made up of seventeen (17) men and three (3) women were interviewed. Table 2 below is the Ghanaian officials interviewed grouped according to occupation and gender. The government officials were interviewed to investigate the role government plays in the employment process. Specifically, the policies and regulatory frameworks for the offshore industry were discussed. I wanted to know if there were employment policies for the offshore industry. Other issues discussed were labour rights and monitoring and evaluation. I faced difficulties in getting access to informants.

It took several disappointments and countless cancellations of interview appointments to meet some of them. I was tossed between the Ministry of Energy and the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation on several occasions as officials of both institutions recommend each other as appropriate to respond to my questions.

Table 2: Profile of Ghanaian officials interviewed.

Position	Gender	Number
Chief Executive/Operation Officer	Male	4
Operations Manager/Director	Male	3
	Female	1
Technical Director	Male	1
Human Resource Manager	Male	4
	Female	1
Consultant	Male	2
Logistics Manager	Male	1
Regional Labour Officer	Female	1
Senior Geologist	Male	1
Industrial Relations Officer	Male	1

Officials of recruitment companies on the other hand, were interviewed to solicit information on the categories of Ghanaians they recruit and why those people, the jobs for which they are recruited. Other issues dealt with were the conditions of service of their workers.

Source: Field work data 2011.

Generally issues on gender and Ghana's local content policy were discussed with these three categories of key informants. For example, the extent to which gender forms part of their

planning process was explored. The adequacy of Ghana's local content policy to ensuring Ghanaians benefited from the oil discovery was also delved into. Special attention was paid to whether and how the policy ensures and protect Ghanaians employment in the oil industry.

Finally, the questionnaire survey and informal interviews were used to solicit information from rig workers. The surveys enabled me to gain information about characteristics, perception, attitudes and experiences of rig workers (McLafferty, 2010). It also enabled me to explore impacts of offshore employment in their lives. Rig workers' view on the political debate surrounding the local content policy was also explored. Another aim of conducting the survey was to get an impression of the background of informants, their income prior to offshore employment and income as rig workers, gender, education and ethnicity.

The questionnaire used for the survey had open ended questions. Face-to-face interview was used to conduct thirty-four (34) surveys. Table 3 below shows the sample of Ghanaian rig workers. The sample of informants is fairly representative of the population of Ghanaian rig workers. When table 3 is compared to the list of persons on board a rig (see table 4), the proportion of gender disparity in informants and type of work is similar.

Some informants had deeper knowledge on a range of issues pertaining to offshore employment hence they were interviewed more than once using different methods. For instance, three (3) informants were interviewed using the questionnaire and then on later occasions interviewed through informal conversation. During the second interview section, specific issues were discussed in more detail or clarified. Since I was conversant with the languages spoken, there was no need for an interpreter and the interviews lasted between 25 minutes to 3 hours. The interviews that lasted more than an hour were conducted in informants' home or place of choice. During these interviews, we spent time discussing some outcomes of their employment and its consequences for gender roles in the household as well as challenges of offshore employment and their plans for the future.

Table 3: Profile of rig workers surveyed.

Type of work	Gender	Number	Age (yrs)	Ethnicity
Roustabouts	Male	13	25-55	Fante, Ga-Adangbe
Welder	Male	4	25-55	Fante, Ashanti, Ewe
Painter	Male	2	30-45	Fante
Floorman	Male	2	55-60	Fante, Ga-Adangbe
Roughneck	Male	5	35-55	Ewe, Fante, Ga-Adangbe
Rig Electrician	Male	1	40	Ga-Adangbe
Motorman	Male	2	40	Ga-Adangbe, Ewe
Assistant Derrickman	Male	2	35-56	Ewe, Ga-Adangbe
Utility Hand (house keeper)	Male	1	35	Ewe
	Female	4	25-39	Fante
Chef/Baker	Male	2	30-40	Fante, Dagomba
	Female	1	35	Fante
Sample Catcher	Male	1	58	Ewe
Radio Operator	Male	1	35	Fante
Safety Officer (Trainee)	Male	1	40	Ewe
Total		42		

Source: Field work data 2011.

4.4.2 Group Interviews

During the field work, I organised group interviews with rig workers. The group interview was done only for male rig workers because there were very few Ghanaian women working offshore. The women were also located at different places and it was difficult bringing them together for group interview. The men on the other hand, usually gathered at company premises when they were onshore so it was easy to organise group interviews for them.

The group interviews were important because informants provided diverse viewpoints on issues discussed. The group interviews also provided me with additional insights about rig work as they corrected each other on issues that were discussed. I realised that, some informants were better informed than others. Some of these well informed informants were interviewed individually before the group interview hence they were preview to the issues that were discussed. There was however other informants who had no prior interview before the

group interview but they still showed much knowledge and better understanding of issues discussed. The significance of the group interview was that, when an informant misunderstood a question, made an exaggeration or an understatement of issues, others stepped in and corrected them or offered explanations.

I also realised during the group interview that informants were willing to discuss some topics and not others. There were cases when informants told others not to answer a particular question because of its implication. These reactions were largely due to what they called “*the mafia system*” [ascribe career sabotage, mostly as a result of workers reporting each other to employers about comments they made or their displeasure over issues]. Below is what transpired during a group interview.

Interviewer: *Is your condition of service better than [that of] your colleagues from other companies?*

1st Respondents: *All of them [companies] are cheaters and exploitative.*

2nd Respondent: *Please stop it before you put yourself and all of us into trouble. Don't forget walls have ears.*

The dialogue above made me realise that, informants were cautious about what they discussed even among themselves. Additionally, the location of the group interview also influenced what informants chose to discuss. The dialogue above took place during a group interview organised at the conference hall of one of the oil and gas services companies. However, during the group interview held during the association meeting at Tema (the headquarters of the Rig workers Association), a few weeks later, and informants were more willing to discuss all kinds of subjects and express criticism about their employers.

4.4.3 Participant Observation

Bryman (2008: 256) defined participant observation as involving the engagement of the observer (researcher), in the social setting they want to observe. This, he noted, brings out the understanding people attribute to their environment and behavior. Barbour (2008: 17) also highlighted the fact that, observation enables the researcher to see events occurring in their natural environment, hence acquiring a better understanding of how social practices are enacted in daily life. My gatekeeper helped me get an office in his company. I participated in some of their activities like pre-departure briefings (held before rig workers go offshore) and

feedback meetings (held when rig workers returned onshore during which they discuss the challenges they face offshore).



Plate 2: A pre-departure briefing being delivered by members of a crew management team (in white shirt).



Plate 3: A prayer section lead by the human resource manager just before the crew's departure in which I participated (far right).
Photo: Ragnhild Overå.

I also joined the Crew Department of companies to send the rig workers to and from the airport. This provided me with the platform to engage in informal conversation with the rig workers and make interview appointments. Sometimes I introduced topics that we discussed. Some of the topics concerned their condition of service and impact of offshore employment on the household economy. During these trips, I listened to the rig workers, discussed their expectations and experiences on the rig; funny moments, frustrations and their relationship with the expatriates. During an emergency evacuation when one of the rigs had a problem, I spent the whole day with the crew management team at the airport to receive the rig workers. I was able to observe how the various companies organize and respond to emergency situations. I also used the opportunity to listen to various discussions of the cause of the accidents, and how the rig workers reacted and responded to these emergencies.

On my field trip to one of the rigs, I observed how the rig workers performed their duties. I made ten (10) field trips to Accra and Tema and one to an oil rig. During these field trips to Accra and Tema, I participated in the Rig Workers Association meetings, conducted interviews and follow up on informants and visited their homes and interacted with them.



Plate 4: A training section of the Rig Workers Association in Tema



Plate 5: I am mopping the deck floor on a rig

On the rig, I observed the Ghanaians doing their various jobs. I also joined housekeepers to mop floors, clean rooms and lay beds on the rig.



Plate 6: With rig workers after an interview.



Plate 7: During observation on a rig; in the background Ghanaians working.

4.4.4 Photo Elicitation

Photo elicitation involves taking photos and showing or displaying them afterwards to informants so they can offer explanations of the social situation (Harper, 2002). Harper (2002:13) noted that, “images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words”. Throughout the fieldwork, photos were taken of informants at work or during training and shown to them to explain; this aided my understanding of social events that I observed. It also enabled informants to explain things better to me as an outsider lacking knowledge.

This method was very useful, especially on my field trip to a rig. On the rig, there were regulations and restrictions regarding where one can go at any particular time. To gain an understanding of the work Ghanaians were doing, I took photos of them while they were working and when they had breaks, I showed the photos to them and discussed their activities. This was useful in filling my knowledge gap about rig work.

On the rig, I was also assigned an expatriate Tool Pusher⁵ who took me to the various sections of the rig. Some sections of the rig were very noisy and we could not hear each other; so I took photos and later shown to informants to explain. On the drill floor for instance, my attaché (tool pusher) rushed to go and help some Ghanaian roughnecks working.



Plate 8: Some Ghanaian roughnecks assisted by a tool pusher.

While the tool pusher was helping the roughnecks, I took a photo and when he returned, I showed it to him and asked what he went there to do?

He said: *“They are having difficulty fixing some pipe so I helped them. You know, the Ghanaians are hardworking people, but sometimes they are overzealous, therefore making mistakes”.*

The response above sums up what Harper (2002) noted that, images evoke peoples’ actual interpretation of events. After looking at the picture, this informant provided extra information which I would otherwise not have gotten.

4.4.5 Case Studies

Bloor and Wood (2006: 27) defined case studies as a “strategy of research that aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings”. Stake (2006) identified three types of case studies. The *intrinsic case study*; which is a case of

⁵ The Tool Pusher is responsible for administrative works including ensuring that the rig has sufficient materials, spare parts, and skilled personnel to ensure efficient operations.

interest for the researcher, the *instrumental case study*; which provides insight into an issue or draw a generalisation and the *multiple case studies*; when a number of cases are studied in order to investigate a general phenomenon (ibid.). The cases are mostly representative of typical phenomena or a category.

I used instrumental case study in my research to get insight into processes and outcomes of offshore employment. The case studies explore the networks that rig workers used to secure jobs offshore, the barriers they had circumvented to get the jobs. Other case studies examined the economic impact of offshore employment at the household level. In presenting the various case studies, I shall use pseudonyms for all informants in the cases.

4.4.6 Data Analysis

The Predictive Analytic Software (PASW) formerly known as Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used to do a quantitative analysis such as educational background, previous experience, duration of offshore employment and pre-offshore and offshore salaries of informants. This enabled me to generate descriptive statistics for illustrations and explanations. However most of the data was analysed qualitatively to enable me present case studies and direct statements from informants for analysis. The qualitative analysis was done by coding responses into themes based on the research questions and theoretical frameworks used. Different narratives about and discourses surrounding offshore employment process and its outcomes in Ghana were also analysed.

4.5 Ethical Issues in Research

According to Silverman (2001: 271) researchers have to obtain the informed consent of informants before carrying out research. It entails providing relevant information to enable informants decide whether or not to participate in the research. Informants must also understand what their information would be used for and participation must be voluntary. Silverman (2010:155) and Ryen (2011) also noted that, it is important to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of informants. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality of companies and informants, all names that are used in the various case studies are pseudonyms.

During my fieldwork, I sought the consent of my informants. They were informed about the nature and purpose of the research. Before I started an interview, I introduced myself by mentioning my name, where I came from, the information I required from them and what this information would be used for. Most of the informants, especially the rig workers, were enthusiastic about my research after I introduced myself as a Ghanaian studying in Norway. They have worked with Norwegians offshore and most of them were well informed about Norway's success in petroleum extraction. I was easily accepted and many of them said: *'We hope you'll come back and improve our system after your studies'*. I also told informants that their participation was voluntary and not obligatory. After saying this some choose not to participate because they saw the interview process as a waste of their time and not beneficial to them.

When I used the digital audio recorder, the consent of informants was sought and the audio recording played for them. The photographs presented in this study were all taken with the informants' consent. I informed them about what the photographs would be used for and they accepted that I could use their photo. Some informants objected to this and their pictures were not taken. Since photo elicitation was used, informants looked at all the pictures taken and some requested that, I should print copies of their pictures for them.

The snowball sampling technique presented some methodological/ethical dilemmas during the fieldwork. Informants gave me the phone numbers of their colleague rig workers so I could interview them. But immediately they added: *'Don't tell him I gave you the number'*. I asked why I should not disclose their identity. Most of them, said there are lots of career sabotage (people lost their job because of comments they made) so they were careful about who they talked to and what they said. I circumvented this dilemma, by speaking to informants as a group during their meetings; mostly before they went offshore, or upon their return. I used the opportunity to take their phone numbers and make interview appointments with them. Other informants also called their colleagues and informed them about my study and asked if they could give their phone numbers out. On most occasions, they accepted that their phone numbers be given to me.

In one instance, a female rig worker gave me the husband's phone number and asked me not to tell her husband she gave his phone number to me. When I asked her why, she said: *'We*

would quarrel if he knows I gave his number to you'. I asked if she could contact the husband and introduce me but she declined. Since the husband is also a rig worker, they presented an interesting case for my research. The ethical dilemma however was ensuring the woman's anonymity. I called the husband and introduced myself as a student from Norway doing research on offshore employment. I used his native language during the introduction so he was excited and wanted to know where I came from and how I got to Norway. He also showed interest in pursuing further studies in Norway. He then went ahead and suggested some people I should interview and when I informed him later that I had interviewed some of them he asked when we could meet for the interview. He did not query me about where I got his number from. I gained the trust of this informant through a common language. He even suggested later that I should interview his wife too.

4.6 Validity and Reliability of Data

According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007: 233), at the design, analysis and interpretation stage of any research process, there exist threats to the validity and reliability of the research and my study was no exception.

4.6.1 Validity

Validity according to Hammersley (1990:57 in Silverman 2005: 210) is the extent to which a research finding 'represents the social phenomena' studied. This means whether or not interpretation made is supported by the data gathered or earlier studies (Perakyla 2011).

A crucial factor that posed a validity threat to my data was whether I asked the relevant questions or not. And whether both my informants and I had the same interpretation of the questions asked. Understanding and interpreting questions correctly depends on whether or not I conveyed the questions correctly to elicit the appropriate responses. To ensure a higher degree of validity, I rephrased questions in situations where informants misunderstood questions asked. For example when informants were asked how working in the oil industry has affected their family/household economy, some interpreted it only as the negative impacts of offshore employment. In such situations, the question was rephrased either as: *has your family economy improved or not since your employment offshore?* Alternatively, since I spoke the local languages, I asked the question in the local Ghanaian language the informants

speaks. This way, informants and I had similar understanding of the question to a large extent which improved validity of the data.

4.6.2 Reliability

Reliability on the other hand, is defined as “the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions” (Hammersley, 1992: 67 in Silverman 2010: 275). Reliability, then, concerns whether or not the data gathered and findings are trustworthy.

Several factors posed threat to the reliability of my data. Some of these factors are my gender and those of my informants as well as the location and condition under which the data was gathered. Though I was accepted by informants as a student seeking understanding about offshore employment, some would not allow me to interview their wives. I wanted to examine the consequences of offshore employment on household economy. This could not be done only by interviewing the men. The views and experiences of their spouse were very relevant. In such situations my male gender and my status as a student from Europe became an obstacle especially in my access to interview rig workers’ wives. Some of the young men of my age considered me as a potential ‘threat’ to their marriage. Only few informants agreed that I could interview their wives in their (husband’s) absence. Some requested that the interview be conducted in their (husband’s) presence. I avoided these informants because, during one such interview, I observed that, the woman was reluctant to express herself. The woman asked the husband: ‘*Should I answer?*’ when I asked how things (the economic situation) had improved. The informant might conceal salient information which could affect the reliability of such data. Since only few of the men allowed me to interview their wives, it was difficult gaining a more balanced view on some of the consequences of rig work.

Another major factor that posed threat to the reliability of the data was the location of the interview. At the initial stage of the fieldwork, some informants were interviewed at company premises. My observation was that, during the interview process, they turned and looked around to be sure nobody (example employer) could hear them before responding to some of the questions. I got this reaction mostly when I asked questions about conditions of service and their plans for the future. To ensure a higher degree of reliability of data, I created what Mullings (1999) called positional spaces—“areas where the situated knowledges of both

parties in the interview encounter, engender a level of trust and co-operation” (Mullings, 1999:340). I did this by truncating the interview process and rather made a later appointment with informant at a location convenient to them (mostly their homes). I also avoided interviews in such locations entirely.

The degree of trust between my informants and I also influenced the reliability of data gathered. At the initial stage of the research, informants did not trust me. They were suspicious of my intentions. They were therefore cautious as to the type of information they released to me. This affected the credibility of the data at that point. For instance some informants were not willing to disclose information about their salary to me. But after meeting them on several occasions, and follow ups, I gained their trust to some extent. I made friends with them, visited them at their homes, work and social gatherings. After these contacts, informants now discussed issues which were hitherto concealed from me. This has improved the trustworthiness of the data. Throughout the data collection process, cumulative interview strategy was used—drawing on information derived from previous interviews to improve the quality of the research process.

Also, since my study draws on social network theory, using the snow ball sampling technique also posed a threat of limiting my sample, to only those within the social networks. The effect this could have on the data is that, information gathered might not necessarily be representative of the population. That is using the social network; I might not capture those rig workers who did not use any social network to get their jobs. Since I was aware of this, I made conscious efforts to get informants who got their jobs without any social contact. There were only few of them as can be seen from the composition of my sampled population.

Finally, some issues such corruption were identified during the fieldwork. These corruption allegations involved officials of recruitment companies and GNPC officials. It was however, difficult to substantiate these allegations. None of those purported to be involved were willing to discuss any of the allegations. As a result, though it was important to explore these corruption allegations as one of the outcomes of the employment process and its consequences for Ghana’s oil industry, I had to abandon it. In the presentation of my findings and discussion, I will not pay much attention to it even though it could not be overemphasised.

4.7 Conclusion

Despite the above challenges, efforts were made to improve the degree of reliability and validity of interview responses, participant observations, and the research explanations as a whole. Indeed discussions and presentation of the research findings are my subjective interpretation of peoples' experiences, realities and events taking place in Ghana's oil industry at the time of my fieldwork. I have however been able to add new knowledge about employment in Ghana's oil industry.

In conclusion, using the qualitative approach, I was able to gain insight and understanding of informants' experience regarding offshore employment in Ghana. I used an unstructured interview guide which enabled my informants to express themselves. The open-ended questions enabled them to throw more light on their offshore experience, and its impacts in their lives. The qualitative method does have its disadvantages including its time consuming nature due to sometimes lengthy interview periods. In the next chapter, I shall present findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

OFFSHORE EMPLOYMENT PROCESS AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE FOR GHANAIS

This chapter presents the employment process, job opportunities available for Ghanaians, and profile of the people getting the jobs. I shall present the recruitment processes from employers' and workers' perspective and a description of the jobs for which Ghanaians are recruited. The employment opportunities available for Ghanaians are the low echelon jobs with more than half of the Ghanaians employed having previous offshore experiences mostly from other African countries. Informants with previous offshore experience had worked in at least one of these countries; Gabon, Angola, Cote D'Ivoire, Cameroun, and Saudi Arabia. Generally, there are few women working on the rigs and they are mostly employed as cooks and utility personnel (housekeeping and dish washing).

5.1 The Recruitment Process

The basic requirement for any potential offshore worker is to be medically fit. Before workers are recruited, recruitment companies send them to internationally recognized medical facilities for offshore medical examination. Two of these major medical facilities in Ghana are SOS International and West Africa Rescue Association (WARA). Some key medical examinations done on prospective rig workers are hearing, eye sight, and respiratory tests. After the medical examination, the doctor certifies whether a person is fit to work offshore with or without any restriction, or only for a limited period.

Those, who are given medical clearance, undergo offshore safety training known as Basic Offshore Safety Induction and Emergency Training (BOSIET). It includes offshore safety induction, basic firefighting and self rescue, sea survival or helicopter underwater escape training (HUET) and basic first aid. The BOSIET is run by the Regional Maritime University and is internationally certified by the Offshore Petroleum Industry Training Organisation (OPITO), in the UK. The recruitment companies pay for the cost of the medical certification and the safety training. After the medical certification and safety training, the recruitment companies now have as they often put it, a "pool of labour" from which they can supply workers to the rigs.

Currently, none of the rigs operating in Ghana employ Ghanaians directly. All recruitment is done by the local recruitment companies. This is partly a fulfillment of Ghana's local content policy requirement (see chapter 2). Also the local recruitment companies are better positioned to identify qualified Ghanaians to work on the rigs at a minimal cost than the rig companies. Owners and staff of four of the recruitment companies I studied had previous offshore experiences. Some of them were once employees of the rig companies. They are therefore networked with the rig operators with a mutual trust existing between them. As we shall see in the subsequent sections, trust plays an important role in the employment process. Additionally, local recruitment companies are able to link up easily with Ghanaians with previous offshore experience than the rig companies could have done. As such, the logistics manager of a rig company indicated that they refer everyone seeking employment on the rig to the local recruitment companies.

When the services of Ghanaians are needed on the rigs, the recruitment companies are notified. The companies then submit their bids and the company with the most competitive advantages in terms of quality of rig workers and cost are awarded the contract to provide the workers. Some rig companies have alliance with specific recruitment companies and recruit most of their rig workers from these companies. This alliance, officials of both rig and recruitment companies noted is a result of trust developed between them after years of collaboration while some of the owners of the Ghanaian recruitment companies were once workers on some of the rigs in other countries.

Two approaches are used in selecting which rig workers to employ. Either the recruitment companies present a list of qualified applicants for the rig companies to select workers or the recruitment companies do the selection of offshore workers themselves. In the first approach, the rig companies screen the candidates presented by recruitment companies and select those who meet their standard. This approach was used largely to recruit the very first group of Ghanaian rig workers during the exploration and the first production stage of the oil industry in Ghana. The manager of a recruitment company noted that, the rig companies at the time did not have confidence in the Ghanaian companies and their rig workers. It has taken some time for the rig companies to trust the quality of Ghanaian recruitment companies and the rig workers. The implication of this approach is that, even if a potential rig worker is selected by recruitment companies, they are not guaranteed offshore employment. Cases were reported

where people selected by recruitment companies did not meet the standard of rig companies and were dropped. However, as the rig companies gain more confidence in the quality of work Ghanaians do, the second recruitment approach in which the local recruitment companies select the people who go offshore is far gaining grounds. Offshore employment in Ghana is characterized by high level of job insecurity. That is workers get laid off easily. For instance once a rig stops or changes its operation, most of the Ghanaian rig workers become unemployed until the recruitment companies get contracts with other rigs. It is common to see several aspiring or laid-off rig workers at the premises of recruitment companies in anticipation of jobs.

5.1.1 Regionalization of recruitment

Three out of the five local companies studied dominate in the recruitment of Ghanaians offshore. The owners of these three companies come from three of the major ethnic groups in southern Ghana (Ewe, Fante, and Ga-Adangbe). My observation was that, companies tend to employ workers from the ethnic background as the owners and managers.

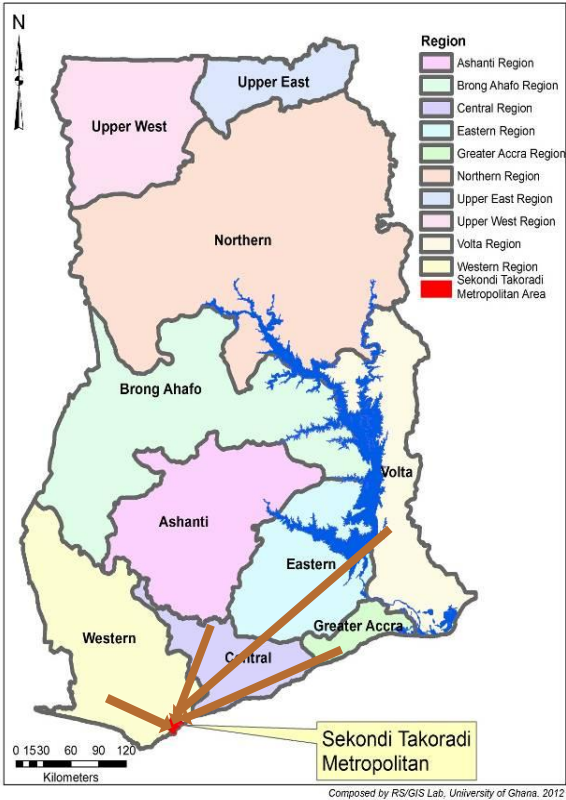
Though I observed ethnic favoritism, the officials and staff of two companies claimed that it was a coincidence that a lot of their employees come from the region of origin/ethnicity of the company owners and their staff. Companies prefer to recruit people with experience from working at sea. In Ghana, the Ewe, Ga-Adangbe and Fante dominate the fishing industry (Odotei, 2002; Overå, 1998). People with experience working on the sea either as canoe fishermen or trawler crew, or as sailors on merchant vessels, also tend to belong to these coastal ethnic groups. A consequence of their maritime skills and experience then is that, they are in majority (combined total of 97.6%) among the rig workers. In my survey sample only 1 informant is a Dagomba from Northern Ghana (see table 5).

In each recruitment company, there are more rig workers from the ethnic group of the owners/employers. For example if the owner of a company is Fante, most of the staff and rig workers are Fante too. Responding to a question on the process of getting jobs offshore in another company, a rig worker said: “*Oh these people only recruit their home people*”. He was referring to the ethnic group of the employer. According to this informant, he was the only person from a different ethnic group during a particular shift. When I confronted a

human resource manager about the issue of ethnic favoritism, he responded that: “Everybody would prefer to work with people they are comfortable with”.

Trust thus plays a crucial role in recruitment of workers in the oil industry in Ghana. The sense of belonging is important in building trust and there seem to be a greater degree of trust between people with the same ethnic backgrounds. According to the manager of another recruitment company, they make conscious effort to employ people from his home region/ethnic group. He agreed that, it makes sense to recruit Ewe, Ga-Adangbe and Fante workers since they have the exposure to working on the sea.

Map 2: A regional map of Ghana showing the catchment area of the offshore labour market.



However, he pointed out that, people from his own region/ethnic group (Fante) were not benefitting enough from the oil industry, similarly to how they have been marginalized in past resource extractions in Ghana. His company therefore has made it a point to favour people from his region/ethnic group. In his words, “our people are left out of the oil industry, which is why we have come in. We want to give them opportunities so that they can benefit from the oil industry”. He noted that, apart from the financial motives of his company, they aim to provide avenues for people from his region through employment to also benefit from the oil discovery and this

was also a motivating factor for his venturing into the oil and gas service sector. The various recruitment companies operate with little government regulation with the potential for labour exploitation. In the next section, I shall focus on an outcome of this free unregulated operation of the recruitment companies.

5.1.2 Variations in the conditions of service provided by recruitment companies

Condition of service is a common term in the oil industry to ascribe employment benefits (salary, allowances) and contract terms between the rig workers and their employers. The contract terms vary between the companies.

Generally, there is an inconsistency in the salary of the rig workers between the various companies and within companies. Rig workers are paid different salaries for the same work. For instance, two roustabouts working on the same rig received different salaries for the same job done. The salary difference between these two roustabouts was as high as US\$600. The difference is because they were employed by different recruitment companies. Some of the rig workers thus try to switch companies whenever possible in order to get a better salary.

For example, James (56), an assistant derrickman, was previously working as a derrickman. He stopped his work as a derrickman to work as an assistant derrickman, a demotion in ranks because of poor salaries and conditions of service. According to James, apart from the lower salary he received previously, even two weeks after they returned onshore, their salaries were not paid. But currently, James is paid immediately upon returning onshore and he also receives a higher salary despite working in a lower rank. Additionally, the companies try to lure the most experienced rig workers; as the more experienced workers, they have their chances of getting contract increases. In the case of James, they managed to convince him with a better salary in a lower rank (assistant derrickman) and by this; it implies that when opportunity comes for a derrickman, he would be filled, with a corresponding increase in salary.

Currently, there is no employment policy and salary structure for the offshore sector in Ghana. Companies therefore determine what they pay their rig workers without reference to any legally stipulated benchmark. According to the Western Regional Chief Labour Officer, *“what the companies pay the rig workers are offers on the table. You either take it or leave it”*. She further noted that, until government comes out with legislations regulating employment offshore; the differences in salaries will persist. The director of human resources at the Ministry of Energy does not know when they will come out with any policy to regulate employment in the offshore sector but hopes it would be soon. Labour rights are not well protected despite rig workers unionisation.

The majority of the rig workers in my sample live outside Takoradi. They travel from their homes in Accra, Tema and other places to Takoradi before they are flown to the rigs. Two of the companies provide transportation for the rig workers to and from Takoradi. However, the remaining three companies do not provide any transport services or transport allowance for the rig workers from their homes to Takoradi. Two of these three companies only transport their workers from the company premises to and from the airport. In one case, I witnessed a rig worker took a loan from his colleague before he could make his journey back to Aflao in the Volta Region after they returned onshore. He noted they were yet to be paid and he had no money and the company had no travel arrangement for them. Informants from Accra, Tema and the Volta region spend on average between GHC10 and GHC20 ([US\$5.9 and US\$11.7] at an exchange rate of US\$1: GHC1.7) on transport to Takoradi.

Departures to the rigs are between 6 am and 10 am. As a result, the rig workers living outside Takoradi are supposed to come at least one night before their departure. They lodge in hotels and guest houses until the next morning when they leave for the rigs. Out of the five recruitment companies, three provide accommodation for their rig workers when they stay overnight in Takoradi prior to their offshore departure. Workers from the other two companies pay for their own accommodation or stay with friends in order to make it to the airport on time. None of the companies cater for the feeding of their staff when they sleep over for their departure the following morning. In the next section, I will describe the jobs for which Ghanaians are recruited.

5.2 Offshore Employment opportunities for Ghanaians.

One of my research objectives was to find out the employment opportunities available for Ghanaians on the rigs. Responses from interviews with key informants; the POB list of some rigs and survey responses were analysed to answer the above objective. The offshore jobs can be categorized into two main types depending on the educational, skills and experience requirements; high and low echelon jobs. While the high echelon jobs require higher education, highly skilled and extensive offshore experience (see table 1), the low echelon jobs do not. Clearly, the employment opportunities available for Ghanaians can be categorized as low echelon jobs. At the current stage of development of Ghana's oil industry, Ghanaians are employed by the entrant level jobs offshore. This observation was echoed by an expatriate official who stated that, "*Most Ghanaians who would work on a rig would start as*

roustabouts, roughnecks, utility, etc". There seems to be an inverse relationship between the skill requirements of jobs and the number of Ghanaians who are employed. From the survey results and POB list, the higher the skill, experience and educational requirement of jobs, the lower the number of Ghanaians who are employed in those jobs.

At the time of the field work, about 400 Ghanaians are employed on the rigs⁶. From a total of 165 persons on board one rig, 62 (37.6) were Ghanaians. Table 4 is a presentation of survey responses and an extract from a POB list showing the jobs in which Ghanaians are mostly found. In table 4, apart from the Geologist, the rest of the jobs in which most Ghanaians are employed, do not require higher educational qualifications or skills. The main requirements for most of the jobs are previous offshore experience. The trainee safety officer however holds a bachelors degree in computer science. But clearly, his educational qualification however has no bearing on his current job. A recruitment company official stated that, "*we recruit people for the low echelon jobs.*" According to him, any determined, hardworking and medically fit person can work in these beginner positions. Some positions such as offshore installation manager, tool pusher, driller, assistant driller, badge master, safety officer, medics, and subsea engineers, are manned by expatriates he noted. These are high echelon jobs which require high education and extensive offshore experience, which prospective Ghanaian rig workers lack.

Informants in these high echelon positions for instance, have an average offshore experience of over 20 years, which most of the Ghanaian informants don not have. According to an offshore installation manager, it will take over 10 years of petroleum production in Ghana before Ghanaians can get employment in some of these high echelon positions. An oil field glossary by Schlumberger⁷, described a roustabout for instance as "any unskilled manual laborer on the rig site". The roustabouts in the survey described their responsibilities as including cleaning, scraping, packing equipments and painting rig components, the latter also referred to as maintenance roustabouts.

⁶ The figure is estimation— arrived at by taking into consideration, the number of Ghanaians on a POB list (as an average) in relation to the number of rigs operating in the country at the period of the field work. This figure is variable and changes constantly based on the number of rigs operating.

⁷ Schlumberger Limited is a world leading oilfield Services Company supplying technology, information solution and integrated project management that optimize reservoir performance for the oil and gas industry.
<http://www.slb.com>

Table 4: The most common occupation of Ghanaians.

Type of Work	Gender	POB	Own survey
		No.	No.
Geologist	Male	1	-
Assistant Derrickman	Male	2	1
Roughneck	Male	12	5
Radio Operator	Male	1	1
Safety Officer Trainee	Male	1	1
Roustabout	Male	12	13
Painter	Male	4	2
Electrician	Male	3	1
Motorman	Male	4	2
Welder	Male	1	4
Storekeeper	Male	1	-
Casing Hand	Male	1	-
Cement Hand	Male	1	-
Scaffolder	Male	2	-
Utility personnel (housekeeping)	Male	6	1
	Female	4	4
Chef	Male	2	1
	Female	2	1
Baker	Male	1	1
Steward	Male	1	-
Floorman	Male	-	2
Trainee Pump man	Male	-	1
Sample Catcher	Male	-	1
Total		62 (100%)	42 (100%)

Source: Fieldwork data 2011 and POB list 2011.

The basic requirement of a roustabout is simply to be an able bodied person medically fit to work offshore. Apart from prospective rig workers with technical skills like painting, fabrication and welding, most people who get employed (especially men) would start as roustabouts.

A roughneck on the other hand, is a floor hand, or member of the drilling crew who works under the direction of the driller to make or break connections as the drill pipe is tripped in or out of the hole. Roughnecks are also responsible for maintaining and repairing much of the equipment found on the drill floor and derrick (used to lift and position pipes above an oil

well, and also contains the machinery for turning the drilling bit in the hole). Working as a roughneck unlike roustabout requires experience, so people with previous offshore experience are those directly recruited as roughnecks. However, others also get promoted to this status after some time on the rig mostly as roustabouts.

Kofi (35), works as a housekeeper on a rig but had no special training prior to his employment. He had a degree in financial management from the Institute of Commercial Management in the UK. There is no linkage between Kofi's educational background and the work he does on the rig. He applied to work as an account officer with the recruitment company but there was no vacancy. Since he became acquainted with the chief executive of the recruitment company, Kofi was offered an offshore employment opportunity which he accepted. Kofi argued that, anybody can do cleaning on a rig.

Sandra (25) is another housekeeper who also had no specific technical/vocational training to qualify for her work. She is a junior secondary school graduate and was an embroiderer prior to her employment on the rig. According to Sandra, she had doubts about her ability to work on a rig when she decided to seek rig employment. But as she noted, "*when I started, I realized that this work is not different from what I do at home*". In the above statement, Sandra compares her work on the rig to her daily house duties such as sweeping, cleaning and dressing her room. Even though the working environment on the rig is different from home, the work detail is not different. Which people get recruited to the rigs? The next section is a presentation of my findings regarding this question.

5.3 The Ghanaian rig workers

One of my major research objectives was to identify the categories of Ghanaians who succeed in taking advantage of the new offshore employment opportunities. To explore the profile of Ghanaian rig workers, information such as age, gender, marital status, number of children, educational background, previous employment and the region/ethnicity of the rig workers are analyzed which enabled me do a status inventory on rig workers. I also present employers' reasons for recruiting these categories of workers.

Both employers and offshore workers find working on an oil rig very difficult. Recruitment companies prefer to recruit young people who can manage the demanding nature of the work. According to an official of a recruitment company, they recruit people who have finished giving birth and/or have independent children. Rig workers spend 28 days offshore and have to leave their family behind. Both rig workers and officials of recruitment companies alluded to the fact that, people (especially women) who have young children could have divided attention while working on the rig. Societal norms place the greater part of child care and home keeping responsibilities on women. Ghanaian women therefore, seek employment in jobs that suits these roles. This makes it difficult for Ghanaian women to take up employment in jobs that requires long absence from home such as offshore work and is reflected by few women working on the rigs.

Both rig workers and officials acknowledged the fact that, due to the high risk associated with the offshore work, it is inappropriate to have people with divided attention working on the rig. The work requires hundred percent concentrations to avoid mistakes that could lead to accidents. Employers therefore prefer to employ people without childcare responsibilities. When employers are making decision on who they recruit, they are concerned with safety, efficiency and profit. Prospective employees on the other hand, take into consideration their reproductive life when they decide to seek employment in a particular job due to the high Ghanaian cultural value on children.

According to an expatriate manager, it could be challenging for a young unmarried woman especially, to make a career of rig work while thinking of having children. When a woman gets pregnant, she cannot continue with the rig work. Cecelia (35) was a dishwasher who got pregnant while working on the rig and had to stop the work until after she delivered. According to her employer, Cecelia is one of his most hardworking staff and it was difficult for him when he had to manage without her for over a year. According to Cecelia herself, because she had a surgery during delivery she is not able to work as much as she could prior to her pregnancy. Recruitment companies therefore avoid recruiting these categories of women. The table 5 below is a summary of basic information on the rig workers surveyed.

An important category of people that the companies prefer, are those with previous offshore experience (see table 5 below). The reason is because of the high operational cost of the rigs,

there is little room for errors. According to an official of a rig company, it costs about half a million dollars or more to operate a rig a day. Rig workers with previous offshore experience are more efficient and minimize the occurrence of errors that could impede operations. Officials of rig companies and local recruitment companies indicated that, sending inexperienced workers to the rig could affect their out-put. They prefer to blend the inexperienced workers with the experienced ones by including some few inexperienced workers in every crew sent offshore. The experienced workers train the inexperienced workers.

Apart from the need to ensure efficient and optimum out-put by the rig workers, the local recruitment companies also need to ensure their credibility. Excellent performance from the rig workers is crucial in ensuring their chances of getting more contracts from the international companies and also sustaining existing contracts. The director of operations of a recruitment company narrated a case where they sent some inexperienced workers they had recently trained to the rig which he described as a “*disaster*”. Because the inexperienced rig workers were in majority in that particular crew, several errors occurred which affected operations on the rig and almost caused the company to lose the contract. They immediately withdrew most of the inexperienced workers and replaced them with the experienced workers.

Table 5: Background of Ghanaian rig workers surveyed.

		Male	Female (%)
Age	Youngest	30	25
	Oldest	62	39
Marital status	Married	35	3
	Single	2	2
Education	No Education	4	-
	Junior secondary school	1	2
	Senior secondary school	3	-
	Technical/Vocational training.	13	2
	Middle school certificate	11	1
	Tertiary	7	-
Ethnicity	Ewe	11	-
	Fante	11	5
	Ga-Adangbe	14	-
	Other	1	-
Previous offshore experience	Yes	24	-
	No	13	5
Total survey	42 (100)	37(88.1%)	5 (11.9%)

Source: Fieldwork data 2011.

An offshore installation manager noted that, though they provide training opportunities for Ghanaian rig workers, they [rig companies] still prefer people with previous offshore experience. He indicated that the “*rookie mistakes*” of the new rig workers (the mistakes they make as a result of their inexperience) can cost them time and money. They try as much as possible to integrate new rig workers with the experienced ones.

Since employers prefer people with previous offshore experience, Ghanaians with many years of offshore experience have higher chances of getting recruited. From the survey, 57.1% of informants all of whom are men have previous offshore experience. Men therefore have greater opportunity of getting rig work than women. Apart from these qualities that employers look for, the people who get the offshore jobs are also those who are well connected. The next section shall delve in details, the role of social networks in the employment process.

5.4 Social networks used in getting offshore jobs

An important factor in employment is access to information about opportunities. Social networks are crucial in getting offshore jobs. There is a network of previous offshore workers; a very effective network used to get information about work opportunities and subsequently getting rig work. Ghanaians who have worked in the oil industry in other countries returned for several reasons. Some returned because their contracts expired and were not renewed. Others returned because the jobs they did (usually low echelon jobs) were taken over by nationals of those countries. A large number of them especially those from Cote D’Ivoire also returned because of the conflict there. These people are in touch with each other and circulate information about job opportunities amongst themselves.

Men and women had and used different social networks (see table 6 below). The types and extent of social networks used influenced the type of jobs informants got. The returnee rig workers made it an effort to help each other in getting jobs. These returnees formed the rig workers association, whose primary focus is to push for Ghanaian domination in offshore employment. They have each other’s phone numbers and communicate job opportunities to each other. This is a highly effective means of getting jobs. After the rig workers had gained the trust of their employers, they are able to convince them about the qualifications and

qualities of their friends and so their recommendation plays an important role in the recruitment process.

Table 6: Social contacts used in getting access to rig employment.

Social contacts used to get jobs		Men	Women
		No.	No.
Family/Kin	Uncle	1	-
	Husband	-	1
	Niece	-	1
Friends	Colleagues from previous offshore employment	24	-
	Friends working on a rig	10	-
	Employer acquaintance	1	2
Nobody		1	1
Total		42 (100%)	

Source: Fieldwork data 2011.

Employers therefore depend heavily on this social network of previous offshore workers in recruiting new workers. An inherent pattern in the network is that, it is formed based on the country in which they worked and their ethnicity.

The rig workers without any previous offshore experience also connect their friends to get jobs offshore. According to Simon (35), a roustabout, until his employment on a rig, he was unemployed and lived in Kumasi. He had a friend in Takoradi who got employed on a rig. Three months later, Simon’s friend informed him about opportunities offshore. He moved from Kumasi to Takoradi and enrolled in the safety training and subsequently got employed offshore. Simon alluded to the fact that, he could not have gotten the job except for the friend’s help. He would not have even heard about the job opportunity. In the offshore sector, information about employment is as important as the employment itself. Social networks thus play an important role in access to information about jobs and getting the jobs. Simon noted, ultimately, he also planned to help another friend to get employment offshore.

One employer also made friends with potential employees before employing them. The friendship period was used to access the qualification of candidates. The employer through informal conversation gets information on the qualification of his friends (candidates for rig work) and their attitude towards work. The decision to recruit them or not is taken based on assessment made during their informal conversations. This was used largely to recruit people who were working in pubs and restaurants. The employer was a customer at the restaurant

where these informants worked before making their acquaintance. The interesting feature about this network is that, all the people recruited using it now work as housekeepers.

Family/kin is another social network used in securing jobs offshore. Even though not used by a large number of people, a few informants relied on family networks in getting jobs offshore. A husband for instance after three months offshore negotiated with his employer and got his wife recruited. Another informant whose niece worked with a helicopter company facilitated her employment offshore. This informant did not attend any interview before getting recruited to the rig. She said: *“He [employer] only asked for my passport and he sent me for the BOSIET training.”* Recommendation from family and friends was useful in getting employed on an oil rig. Only 2 informants got offshore employment without drawing on any social contact. Social networks not only influence people’s employment offshore but also the type of jobs they get. This will be examined in more detail later in chapter 6.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the employment opportunities available for Ghanaians are mostly low echelon jobs with more men working on the rigs than women due to their previous offshore and other maritime experiences and gender ideologies and women’s reproductive functions and duties. The decision by some employers to recruit a particular ethnic/regional groups has resulted in some sort of regionalization of recruitment. Social network influences access to information and jobs. The next chapter will describe the jobs Ghanaians do on the rigs and how their employment impacts their lives.

CHAPTER SIX

RIG WORK AND EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES

The first part of this chapter is a description of the offshore work; the different types of jobs men and women do on the rigs. Offshore work is considered the reserve for men. The major challenge that Ghanaian rig workers face is the limited opportunity for career advancement. However the jobs in which men dominate have higher prospects of advancement than those in which the women are mostly employed. The chapter will explore some outcomes and consequences of offshore employment. Offshore employment has had both positive and negative impacts on the rig workers. It has also opened economic opportunities for rig workers' spouses. Labour conflicts and corruption allegations have also characterized offshore work in Ghana's emerging oil industry.

6.1 Women's work and men's work

Men and women do different types of jobs on the rigs. Women get employed in work that does not require so much physical strength; housekeepers, dishwashers, laundry and chefs. Informants were asked to list the jobs they considered appropriate for men and women. 35 (83.3%) out of 42 informants listed jobs ranging from highly skilled jobs (engineers, managers), to not highly skilled jobs like storekeeping, cooking, cleaning and clerical work as work that women can do.



Plate 9: A dishwasher getting the mess ready for breakfast on a rig.



Plate 10: A chef serving supper on a rig.

They noted that, women cannot do jobs like roustabouts, roughnecks and derrickman. These jobs require much physical strength and involved working at height and lifting and moving heavy objects. These jobs are therefore usually done by men. This is a perception shared by rig workers, employers and expatriate officials. According to a drill superintendent, throughout his 42 years of working offshore, he is yet to meet a woman roustabout, roughneck or derrickman.

Salaries of rig workers vary according to type of jobs. The higher the skill requirement or risk levels of jobs, the higher the salary. The jobs that men do require higher skills and experience with higher risk level than those women do. A consequence of this is that, men dominated jobs are better paid than those of women.



Plate 11: Ghanaian roughnecks connecting pipes on a rig.



Plate 12: Ghanaian roustabouts cleaning a drill floor.

In the plates above, we see the variations in the working environment of men and women.

6.2. In a Man's World: differences in access to jobs

Men and women face different types and varying degrees of obstacles in their quest for jobs offshore. The obstacles people have to circumvent in their access to rig work vary across gender, age, marital status and age of children. Generally, it is easier for men to get recruited to the rigs than women. Women's chances of getting job and maintaining it are affected by their age, fertility and age of children. According to a rig manager, "*until recently, the rigs were not women-friendly*". The rigs by their design were a difficult working environment for women. In rough weather conditions, it is uncomfortable staying on semi submersibles and

drill ships. Until recent designs, the rigs had a common bath room that all the crew use. It would be inconvenient for men and women to work on such rigs.

According to a human resource manager, some of the rigs request specifically for men only. A catering service company has about 250 rig workers, all of whom are men. The company noted that, it is a response to demand. In Ghana, cooking is considered a female job but from the research, there were more men doing cooking on the rigs than women. Another human resource manager claimed, “*Men are better cooks than women. That does not mean I don’t know how to cook* [laughs].” The employment opportunities for women are therefore limited even in domains that were considered women domains.

Some companies conduct “*risk assessment*” for women before they are sent to the rigs. The risk assessment entails taking into consideration factors such as age, marital status, and age of children of potential female rig workers. A woman who has independent children does not have the burden of child care compared to a woman with young children. Women who have finished giving birth and without the burden of child upbringing, were presumed to be more focused on their work. It could be difficult for a mother with children requiring care to get employed since employers think she might not be able to focus on work. Rig workers stay offshore for 28 days and so when there was any problem at home (health problems) she had to go and attend to it. The woman with child upbringing burdens, then, is considered to have a higher risk level than the woman without the burden of child upbringing. However, three of the women rig workers with children leave their children in the care of family members. Below is a case of the different challenges women face in their search for jobs.

Case 1: The different challenges women face in search for offshore work.

Esi (25) single, works as a housekeeper and according to her, she was employed because of her hard work and also she was not married and does not have a child. She has a friend who is married with three children. Both Esi and her friend had the opportunity to work on the rig. Her friend however, has no family member in Takoradi with whom she could leave her children while she is gone to work offshore. In addition, her husband also objected to her employment on an oil rig and so Esi’s friend could not utilize the opportunity.

Mawuse (27) is a chef and holds advance certificate in catering. She was working as a cook at Bogoso mines and later enrolled at Takoradi polytechnic. However, she could not finish the

school because she got pregnant. She stayed home until she delivered. Her daughter is now two years and stays with her grandmother. When she first informed her husband that she got a job on an oil rig, he was not pleased with the idea of her going offshore. According to Mawuse, it took her a lot of effort to convince her husband to come to terms with her working offshore. She noted that if her husband had not accepted her request, she would have had no option than to forfeit the job opportunity.

Sampson (37) is a baker on the rig. He is married and has a four month old daughter. His wife is currently unemployed although she is a caterer. According to Sampson, his wife shows interest in offshore work. He said that when their daughter grows older, she would want to seek employment on the rig. But as Sampson noted, "I cannot allow her to work on a rig". His reasons are that, offshore work is not an ideal working environment for a woman. He could not explain what he meant by "ideal" but he thinks it is wrong for a woman to leave her family home to come and stay on the rig with a lot of men. Another reason he gave was that, the work was too difficult for a woman despite acknowledging he works with women on the rig. Sampson is in a position to help his wife get offshore work but he will not do it. He added that even if she manages to secure the job herself, he will not agree for her to work on the rig. Sampson said he will support her in getting any type of job but not rig work.

From the cases above, we have seen that women face many obstacles in their search for jobs offshore.

Another factor which employers consider and which affects women's chances of getting job on the rigs are that, some could get pregnant in the course of duty. This would also affect their output since it would be difficult for a pregnant woman to work continuously for twelve hours for 28 days. In one case, a woman got pregnant, concealed it and continued working on the rig. She worked for several months before the medical doctor onboard noticed her pregnancy. She was sent home the following morning. Her employer and the medical officer on the rig indicated that it was a serious security risk because it is not safe to do stressful work with pregnancy. This could have led to a miscarriage or complex medical situations. Apart from posing a risk to everybody that depended on her service on the rig, she was risking her own life as well as that of the unborn child. The medical officer noted that, they could only fly her

to the hospital in clear and favorable weather. Therefore, should there be the need to rush her to the hospital, and the weather was bad, there was nothing anyone could do.

Gender ideologies about appropriate work, affects men's and women's employment on the rigs. Below is a case of how gender ideologies influence not only the employment opportunities available for people but those that people are willing to apply for.



Plate 13: Appropriate women's work: a housekeeper dressing bed on a rig



Plate 14: Appropriate men's work: a pumpman doing repair work in the pump room on a rig

Case 2: Gender ideologies

Enyo (39) is a dishwasher on a rig. She works twelve hours every day for twenty eight days. Her duties included cleaning the kitchen, washing dishes and cleaning the dining hall. According to Enyo, her work as a dishwasher is not different from her home keeping responsibilities. At home, she does all these similar 'chores' without pay and in addition to her employment. The only difference in the work according to her, is the location (on the rig), and the number of hours she has to do the work. Enyo believes her work is appropriate for women since it fits into their home keeping roles.

One major factor which influences people's access to offshore jobs is education. According to a human resource manager, the low educational qualification of potential Ghanaian rig workers is a major factor that affects their access to jobs offshore. Educational qualification also influences the type of job they get. Since most of the rig workers lack the educational qualifications for the high level jobs, they are limited to the low echelon jobs. Those who get

the jobs offshore cannot progress beyond some ranks because; they lack the theoretical underpinnings which are needed in addition to their experience. One cannot become a Tool Pusher, an Offshore Installation Manager, Subsea engineer or a Geologist just by virtue of the number of years they worked in the oil industry. Educational qualification is essential in attaining these positions. Additionally, there are “care cards” on which rig workers write complains, observations and commendations of activities and operations on the rig. When people cannot read and write, their ability to fill the care cards is limited. The care cards are however important in improving efficiency and ensuring safety. The next section shall also explore the above in detail (see table 4 in chapter 5).

6.3 Do men and women have equal opportunities for career advancement on the rig?

The type of work people do on the rigs plays an important role in their ability to move up ranks. Even though there are limited opportunities for Ghanaian rig workers to progress on the job, the men dominated work categories have better opportunities for career advancement than those of women. A painter for instance, could progress to be roustabouts, get on the job training and become a roughneck and progress to become assistant derrickman and above. A housekeeper on the other hand, has no clear cut path for advancement. I visited Vivian (27) who was working in the laundry on a rig, and asked her the rank she wants to attain before retiring from rig work, she said: *“I spend 12 hours in this [laundry] room. How can I learn anything new and upgrade myself?”* She indicated that, all she hoped for is to save enough money to start a business, and then she will stop rig work. Clearly, this informant does not see any opportunity to improve herself as a rig worker.

Below is a case of differences in opportunities for men and women to advance on the job as well as how social contacts influence it.

Case 3: Contacts and career advancement

Lyn (39) got rig work through the help of his friend who also worked on a rig. Lyn was first employed as a laundry person and he earned US\$350 while his friend earned US\$1,540 as roustabouts. Lyn soon found out that, there are limited opportunities for him to advance as a laundry person. His friend on the other hand, is undergoing training to become a roughneck, a higher and better paid job. Lyn therefore decided to change his job to get better salary and to advance on the rig. He stopped working in the laundry and three weeks later, he was

recruited as a maintenance roustabout; one of the beginner positions with prospects of advancement and better pay (US\$870). Lyn aimed at taking up training and progressing as high as a tool pusher before retiring.

Akosua (25) on the other hand, is a housekeeper. She said housekeeping is poorly paid (US\$350) and has no prospects for career advancement. She is looking forward to the opportunity to change her job. But while discussing her plans to change her job with me, she was quick to add “don’t tell my boss [employer]”. She was recruited to the rig by her acquaintance (now her employer) who was a customer at the restaurant where Akosua worked. Akosua’s employment is seen as a form of help and requires reciprocity from Akosua by pledging her commitment to her employer (loyalty). In an attempt to reciprocate the help offered her, Akosua is unable to advance.

Akosua is in a dilemma of maintaining loyalty and friendship and advancing on the job. Lyn on the other hand, has none of these challenges and so he changed his job easily. All the women rig workers in my sample are employed by Akosua’s employer, four of whom were recruited through similar strategy. The women in my sample are therefore in role dilemma which could hinder their progress in their jobs. Offshore employment has made an impact in the lives of rig workers irrespective of the type of job they do and their income and that is the focus of the next section.

6.4 Economic impact of offshore employment in the household

One outcome of people’s employment on the rig is the change in economic situation in their household. To ascertain the economic impact of offshore employment, the incomes of rig workers prior to and after their offshore employment were compared. The major challenge was that, some informants were not willing to disclose their income to me. From the data collected, the average monthly income of the rig workers prior to their employment on the rigs was US\$658.8 (GHC1,170 at an exchange rate of US\$1: GHC1.7). The lowest monthly income was US\$55 (GHC97) (for an embroiderer) and the highest monthly income was US\$2,630 (GHC4,600) (for a derrickman). However, the average monthly income of informants as rig workers was US\$1,653 (GHC2,900) and the lowest monthly income was US\$306 (GHC540) and the highest was US\$2,880 (GHC5100). There is more than 150% increase in the average income of the rig workers compared with what they earned in previous

jobs. There were however some anomalies with the change in income. An informant earned US\$2,630 as a derrickman while in Gabon but now only earns US\$1,960 as a roughneck in Ghana. This informant has about 25% decreases in his monthly income. But in his words: “*There is no place like home.*” Despite earning less working in Ghana, than in Gabon, he was not treated well in Gabon and he is more comfortable working in Ghana.

Informants have noted improved economic situations at the household level since their employment offshore. People are now able to afford some basic things they could hitherto not afford. They are now better positioned financially to take care of their children, pay their rent and can afford services they could not afford prior to their employment offshore. 35 (83.3%) of the married men in my sample have also claimed that, they are now able to support their wives’ business. Below is case of how economic situations of Afua and her husband improved just a month after the man started rig work.

Prior to Afua’s husband’s work on the rig, she said “*things were really tough for us*”. The man inherited an electrical shop as a gift from his sister. They bought goods on credit to fill the electrical shop and so they were always in debt. The goods, were not selling fast enough, and they accrued more debt. They even had problems paying their rent.

According to Afua, her husband went for a bank loan and also loan from his friends to support the business. He could not pay back the loan in time. They defaulted in paying and the bank threatened law suit. Afua said “*this was one of the toughest periods for us*”. The alternative was that, the bank would seize their electrical shop to service the debt. She noted it was a scary period for them because, when their shop is seized; things will get worse for them. Afua’s husband was informed by his friend about offshore employment and so he enrolled in the safety training. Two months later, he was employed as a roustabout on the rig and he now earns US\$1,300 (GHC2,300).

A month after Afua’s husband’s employment offshore, they paid most of their debts. According to Afua “*now I can sleep without any worries*”. Also, they no longer buy goods on credit. As she puts it, “*things have really improved for us [she smiles].*”

Lily (39) is a mother of two who works as a dishwasher on the rig. Prior to her employment offshore, Lily was a single mother who worked as a cleaner at a local hospital. She baked pastries which she sold at the hospital. She made a meager salary from her cleaning job at the hospital. She gets US\$55 at the end of each month from the savings she made with a Susu collector⁸. Because she could not afford a place of her own, Lily stayed with her friend.

When Ghana discovered oil, Lily's niece was employed by a helicopter company as a receptionist. The niece later linked her to one of the recruitment companies where she was employed as a housekeeper on the rig. Lily's starting salary was US\$215 (GHC380) in 2009. But currently, she earns US\$398 (GHC706) per shift. Her economic situation has improved tremendously since her employment offshore.



Lily also moved out from her friend's place and rented her own apartment. A year later, she built a three bedroom apartment. She planned of building a bigger place in the nearest future which she will rent out and also plans to start baking again when she is off duty.

Plate 15: Lily's three bedroom house.

6.5 Business opportunities for rig workers wives

Offshore employment has also opened business opportunities for the wives of some rig workers. 35(83.3%) of the informants who are married as noted earlier, acknowledged offering financial supports to their wives' businesses. Some wives have started new business while those with existing businesses are now expanding it as a result of financial support from their husbands. Two of such cases are presented below.

Afua (28) a mother of two, holds a higher national diploma (HND) certificate in Secretariatship and worked with a marketing firm in Accra. She stopped the work and moved

⁸ Susu collection is an informal way of saving money in Ghana usually adopted in the informal economic sectors.

to Takoradi to take care of her sick mother where she also met her husband. At the time of their marriage Afua and her husband were both unemployed. The husband helps his sister in an electrical shop while Afua does nothing.

In 2007, Afua's husband inherited the electrical shop from his sister. The only problem was to buy the electrical goods to stock the shop, but they had no money to furnish the shop. Income generated from the shop was insufficient especially when they had their first child. In 2009, Afua bought a kiosk made of wood where she sold cosmetics. She planned to combine selling in her shop and working at a public sector. But according to her: *"after having my second child, I realised I could not combine selling in my shop, taking care of the kids and working in the public sector."*

In 2010, the husband was employed as a roustabout on an oil rig. His new job is well paid (US\$1,300 [GH¢2,300]). He has given Afua money to buy more goods into her shop. She has expanded her business and now oversees her husband's electrical shop when he is away offshore. Afua is happy with their current economic situation.



Plate 16: Afua selling in her cosmetics shop (left). On the right is her husband's electrical shop, which she now manages on his behalf.

In a similar case Abena (34) a vegetable trader, buys from Takoradi Market Circle and sells at Anaji a suburb of Takoradi. She sells tomatoes, pepper, onions and other foodstuff. A year and half ago after her husband's offshore employment, she has diversified the type of foodstuff she sells. Initially, Abena bought the vegetables on credit and paid her suppliers after selling. But now with support from her husband, Abena does not buy her goods on credit

anymore. Her profit margin has also increased thanks to financial support from her husband. When she bought the goods on credit, it was much more expensive than when she pays for it in cash.

Abena's greatest joy came when her husband purchased a container for her to use as a shop. She planned to stop selling the foodstuff as soon as the shop is fully furnished. She would start selling cosmetic products. According to her, she has always been looking for the opportunity to change her business especially as her current business was too risky. There were times when the perishable foodstuffs and vegetables went bad and she made losses because she had no storage facility.

In expressing her joy Abena said: "*I pray that God helps my husband and grant him progress in his work. I hope his contract does not expire soon*". Apart from the benefits that Ghanaians derive from employment on the rig, they also face several challenges. In the next section, I shall look at some challenges that Ghanaians face on the rigs.

6.6 Challenges in offshore employment

One major challenge that Ghanaian rig workers face on the rig is the limited opportunity for career development. Despite rig companies providing on the job training for the Ghanaian rig workers, corresponding career advancement is not guaranteed. This is because some of the positions need only one or two people at a time. In effect, there could be several qualified people for such positions but no vacancies for them. According to a trainee pump man, even after his training, there are no guarantee that he will get the job as a pump man. Mostly, only two pump men are required on a rig per shift. Therefore, he could only become a pump man as and when there is vacancy and not after his training. Ghanaian rig workers are able to advance easily to positions like roustabouts and roughnecks because a large number of workers employed in these categories (12[19.3%] for both positions in the POB list—see table 4). There are however limited opportunities beyond these ranks due to fewer number of workers required.

Another impediment in the way of Ghanaians to advance in their career is the short operational periods of the rigs. The rigs operate between a year and two and leave. At the time of my fieldwork, only one rig has operated in Ghana for three years. Since workers constantly

move to new rigs, they mostly start at lower levels than on the previous rigs. Eight (8) roustabouts in my sample for instance, were roughnecks, derrickman, pump man on a previous rig. But when the rig(s) left Ghana they moved to the current rig on which they work, as roustabouts.

Communication problems are also a major challenge that Ghanaian rig workers face. Workers from more than nine different nationalities were identified on the rig with English as the medium of communication. However, not all the Ghanaians and foreign nationals understood or speak fluent English. They rely on visual signals to do their jobs. Seven (18.9%) of the 37 Ghanaian men in my sample of rig workers cannot speak English at all, but since they work in teams, their colleague Ghanaians who speak English interpreted instructions to them in a local Ghanaian language. This causes miscommunication or misinterpretations of instructions especially when not all the offshore related terms or jargons can be represented in a local language. Even for those who understood English, they still have communication difficulty due to difference in English accent. Some expatriates speak quite fast so that Ghanaians sometimes do not understand what is said. According to an expatriate safety officer, they make the conscious effort to speak as slowly and as clear as possible so that they are understood. Misunderstandings could put the crew and the rig in danger.

Another major challenge in rig work is the risk level. During my fieldwork, there was an accident on one of the rigs and they had to do an emergency evacuation of the crew. Even though there was no casualty or reported injury, one thing that is clear is that rig work is a high risk job. The accident occurred when they were preparing to move the rig to a new location after it had finished drilling at its current location. According to informants, one of the moorings,—(used to anchor the rig in position) hit and punctured the base of the pontoon,—(which enables the rig to float) while they were removing it. This caused the rig to take in water and tilt. They had to evacuate the crew to nearby rigs, and others on life boats before they were later airlifted onshore.

6.6.1 Labour conflicts

According to the local content policy of Ghana, companies are supposed to provide training and skill development for Ghanaians. All the rigs provide on the job training for the rig workers onboard. An offshore installation manager noted that, they brought some expatriates,

mostly from the North Sea, to train the Ghanaian workers. It is expected that over time, Ghanaians would take over some of the positions from the expatriates. However on one rig, 20 Ghanaian workers were sacked. According to expatriate officials and officials of recruitment companies, the Ghanaians were sacked because of poor performance. The rig workers on the other hand, claimed they were sacked because they are now qualified to take over those positions that the expatriates occupy and because the expatriates did not want to leave, they sacked the Ghanaians over minor errors. The trade union reported the case to the labour office and after deliberations, 12 of the affected workers were called back to the rig. The Ghanaian rig workers were employed by the local recruitment companies and not the operators of the rigs. It was therefore illegal for officials of the rig companies to sack the Ghanaians rather it is the recruitment companies that can sack workers.

Another conflict issue that arose is that of “end of contract benefits”. The contract of one of the rigs operating in Ghana was ending in October 2011. This was the longest operating rig in Ghana and had operated for three years. The rig workers claimed entitlement to an end of contract benefit. However, there was a disagreement on the amount that the rig workers were to receive. The workers union in conjunction with the rig workers association was pursuing the issue with recruitment companies. They wrote letters to the companies to ensure fairness in dealing with the rig workers. However, some affected rig workers also wrote letters to both the recruitment and rig companies with an ultimatum and a threat to lock up the company premises.

6.7 Offshore employment gender roles and marriage

6.7.1 Increase responsibilities and change in child care roles

Offshore employment involves absence from home for 28 days. For rig workers with previous offshore experience, this is not a new situation to their spouse and children. Some rig workers have worked over 5 years outside Ghana and throughout this period, they only come home occasionally. For these men, working in Ghana actually gives them the opportunity to be closer to their families.

However, for all households the absence one spouse has resulted in a change in the division of household responsibilities. Even though wives of rig workers now have increased capital and expanded business as a result of offshore employment of their husbands, their home keeping

role has increased. There is an increased demand of their time for their business as well as taking care of the children while the men are gone offshore.

In Afua's case, before the husband started work, she woke up at 5:30 am and does her house chores. She gets the children ready and sends them to school. The husband on the other hand, goes to open both shops. She later joined him at the shop after she had sent the children to school. But since the man started offshore work, Afua has to do her house chores, prepare the children for school, before she goes to open the shops. Afua now wakes up at 4:00 am, and also has the responsibility of taking care of both her cosmetics shop and her husband's electrical shop. There were times when there were customers in both shops at the same time and it could get stressful for her. She planned to employ the service of a house help.

Lily on the other hand, got pregnant while working on the rig. Her husband was a chef on the same rig. Three months after delivery, she started working. Lily leaves her baby in care of a relative and after 28 days when she returned, the baby did not recognize her. The baby also refused her breast feed, and according to Lily, "*I felt so bad that I lost touch with my son. He cried so much the first day I went for him*". At the critical formative stage of this child neither the mother nor the father is available. They are both engaged offshore.

Case 4: Combining rig work and home management.

Lily (39) and her husband are rig workers. They have two children who stay in care of their aunt while they are on the rig. When Lily is onshore, the children come home but when her husband is onshore the children stay with their aunt. The childcare responsibility is left entirely for Lily though she is also working on the rig, and contributes to the household economy. In addition to the childcare responsibility, she also planned to start her baking business which she used to do prior to her employment offshore.

Some informants also claimed that, since they started rig work, some of their children have become disobedient. According to the men in my sample, their wives are 'soft' and so are not able to control the children. Some have reported situations where some children refused to go to school when their fathers are offshore. Some men said the women are unable to exercise control over their children. It was the men they claimed who were able to do that and once they started working on the rigs, there is a power vacuum that women have to fill.

6.7.2 Offshore work and marriage

The decision to work offshore presents a challenge for couples trying to have children. Rig workers (couples) with previous offshore experience or have worked in sectors that required their long absence and separation from each other do not face this problem unlike the new rig workers.

In cases where both the man and the woman are working offshore, there were periods when husband and wife hardly meet at home. While the man is offshore, the woman is onshore and vice versa. In the words of Lily for instance: *“There were times when my husband and I only meet at the helideck [helicopter landing site] on the rig or at the air port.”* They only communicate on phone. Informants note it would take them some time to adjust to the new situation. Another couple negotiated with their employer who placed them on a shift such that, they had two weeks together onshore. This schedule according to the couple could not be sustained when the man was moved to a different rig to work. It becomes impossible for them to be placed on the schedule which allowed them two weeks together onshore.

On an occasion, I met Lily and her husband at the air port’s departure hall when they were about to go offshore (they were going on different rigs); I asked how they were both coping with their jobs. They looked at each other and laughed. The man said: *“It’s not easy ooo. I don’t know how long we will continue this hide and seek type of life”*. Because the working schedules are not static, couples could either be on or offshore together, or separated such that, when one is offshore, the other is home.

6.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, offshore employment has resulted in an improved economic situation in the household of rig workers. It has opened economic opportunities for the wives of rig workers but lead to a change in child care responsibilities. While there are limited opportunities for Ghanaian rig workers to advance in career, the male dominated jobs presents better opportunities for advancement than female dominated jobs. Employment on the rig has gendered consequences and this varied depending on whether it is the man, woman or both who are working on the rig. In the next chapter I will discuss the findings of the study in light of my research questions and the various theoretical approaches.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the empirical findings on offshore employment opportunities, process and outcomes in Ghana's emerging oil industry in light of the theories used. The aim here is to explain, using the various theories the employment process, and outcomes. I will draw on the labour market, social network, and gender theories to explain the types of jobs that Ghanaians get on the rigs, how they get these jobs and how their employment on the rigs had made impact in the household economy and gender roles.

7.1 Getting a rig job

Employment is an outcome of interaction between several actors in the oil industry. One key actor is the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation, who awards blocks and license international oil companies to carry out exploration and production. These international oil companies also contract other international rig companies to drill the wells for them. The rig companies then contract local recruitment companies to recruit rig workers.

The study identified two major types of offshore work; high echelon and low echelon jobs. The former require highly skilled personnel with extensive offshore experience while the latter requires much lower education, experience and skills. It has been found that, demand for Ghanaian rig workers at the current stage of the oil industry, is largely limited to the low echelon jobs. Rig workers maritime skills and previous experience is the major factor that influences their employment and not necessarily their educational qualification. 30 out of the 42 rig workers in my study for instance, are middle level graduates 24 of who have previous offshore experience (see table 5). This however does not imply that, there are no qualified or highly skilled Ghanaians for the higher echelon jobs; but rather due to the large number of low echelon employment opportunities. High echelon positions such as offshore installation manager, toolpusher, driller, among others, require only one person at a time and these are mostly permanent positions. These categories of workers therefore move with the rig where ever it goes to operate in the world.

It has been found that, when rig companies require the services of Ghanaians, the local recruitment companies were informed. They bid and the company with the most competitive

advantage (price, quality of workers, good network) gets the contract to provide the rig workers. Employment in this context is considered as a relationship between the employer and employee. In Ghana's oil industry, the local recruitment companies finance training and medical certification of potential rig workers. And when they get contracts, they recruit the workers from those they had trained. By providing training and certification of workers, recruitment companies establish a relationship with the rig workers in which trust and loyalty becomes important. As we shall see later, trust and loyalty play an important role in both the employment process and outcome in the oil industry in Ghana.

7.1.1 *Offshore employment and labour market perspectives*

Labour market theories provide explanatory frames of structure and operations of the labour market. The neoclassical labour market theory based on the marginal productivity of demand and supply, argued that, employers pay the lowest wages for the workers they need while workers also accept the highest paying job for their skills. In the theory, skills or human capital of job seekers influences both the demand for and supply of their labour. Offshore employment in Ghana also operates on this basic principle of demand and supply. However, the intermediary roles played by the local recruitment companies make the employment process more complex than the simple concept of demand and supply that the neoclassical theories propose.

The local recruitment companies select or influences the selection of rig workers and this has resulted in *regionalisation* of employment. Regionalisation describes the situation where employers recruit people from their ethnic group or regions. Workers in the various companies are mostly of the same ethnic group or come from the same regions as their employers. Consequently, the most qualified persons are not necessarily those who get the jobs. There might be several qualified Ghanaians who could work on the oil rigs but because they are not Ewe, Ga-Adangbe or Fante, which are the dominant ethnic groups getting the offshore jobs; they have little chances of getting rig work. These findings have added to the growing critique of a perfect competitive market proposed by neoclassical labour market theories (Hayter and Patchell, 2011; Fields, 2011; Satz, 2002; Gomme, 1998).

My study set out to identify the categories of Ghanaians getting recruited to the rigs. The prevalence of Ghanaians' employment in low echelon jobs on the oil rigs is a result of the

educational/skill requirement of the high echelon jobs which Ghanaians currently lack. Most of the rig workers in the high echelon jobs in my sample have over 10 years offshore experience in a similar job and are highly educated. The Ghanaian rig workers on the other hand, do not have the same level of educational qualification and experience. This resulted in their low contract negotiation power and skills. It is noteworthy that lack of confidence in the competence of Ghanaians by managers of the international oil companies is another factor which limits Ghanaians' employment to the lower level jobs.

Within the low echelon jobs, employers prefer people with previous offshore experience and they constituted 57% of informants in my sample all of whom are men. Since women lack previous offshore experience, they constituted only 11.9% of rig workers in my sample. Previous offshore experience, skills and educational qualification of rig workers is their human capital. In a neoclassical perspective, employers recruit workers based on their human capital (Anker, 1997; Glen 1976). The difference between men and women's employment on the rigs in a neoclassical point of view is due to their human capital difference. However, the underlying question of why men have previous offshore experience and women do not, remained unanswered by human capital (will be discussed in the gender theory section).

Rig work offers better pay for the first time rig workers than their previous jobs did. They have noted an improved economic situation in their households since their employment. However, despite of all the economic improvements, rig workers are dissatisfied with their conditions of service, including their salaries. When people start working on the rigs, they are better positioned to compare their job requirement and their income. Additionally, the Ghanaians work with foreign nationals, most of who have worked on oil rigs in other countries. They discuss with the Ghanaian rig workers how much they are paid compared to rig workers from other countries. In most cases, the pay rates and other conditions of service are said to be better for foreigners than for Ghanaians. This finding questions the labour market theory of demand and supply in which there is perfect knowledge about the market and people offer their labour for the maximum pay. A consequence of this is labour unrests and confrontations both on and off the rigs during which rig workers agitate for a better salary.

According to labour market theories, the human capital of potential employees is the basis on which employers decide to offer jobs and determine salaries. From my study however, employees are not paid completely based on their qualification or experience. Mostly, employers arbitrarily decide how much rig workers are paid. As a result, people with the same qualification/or experience receive different salaries for the same job. Their human capital is only used as a tool for recruitment. Thus their characteristics such as previous experience, education level and skills are only used by employers to select them. Fevre (1992) critiqued the human capital model in the neoclassical theory as providing a poor basis for determining prospective employees' ability to perform on the job. A recruitment company for instance, trained some workers and sent them offshore. Their performance however, fell short of the standard and had to replace them with a different group of more experienced workers. In effect, qualification/human capital does not provide a concrete basis for accessing performance. It is clear that, the labour market is not uniform and the best people are not those necessarily selected for jobs as claimed by the neoclassical theory (Hayter and Patchell, 2011).

7.1.2 Segmented labour market perspective

Segmented labour market theorists argued the labour market is divided into separate submarkets. An important type of segmentation theory is the dual labour market theory which divides the labour market into primary and secondary or formal and informal. The primary sector involves jobs in large firms or those that are unionized and are highly paid while the secondary sector are low paid jobs and are taken by workers discriminated against and are susceptible to job instability.

Ghanaian rig workers formed an association and are members of general transport petroleum and chemical workers union of Ghana. The core mandate of the association and the union is to promote the interest of workers; negotiate salaries, good working environment, and the overall welfare of workers. However, findings from the study showed a salary difference as high as US\$600 for instance exists between two roustabouts working on the same rig because they were employed by different companies. In Ghana's offshore sector, discrimination occur based on gender and ethnicity; some workers are well paid while others are poorly paid. Most of the rig workers are members of the workers union but still their jobs are not secured. The simple categorization of the labour market into segments becomes inadequate in explaining a

more complex reality as the case in offshore employment. The segmentation of a labour market therefore, might not be clear within some contexts. As evident from the study, if a sector categorized as formal or primary is located in an unregulated labour market like Ghana's, it becomes blurred to see the duality of a labour market.

Additionally, apart from the difficulty in categorizing a labour market into segments, even when we succeed in categorizing offshore employment into primary and secondary segments, findings from the study showed that, rig workers are actively involved in both segments. All informants in my survey are either engaged in farming or small businesses when they are onshore. Those without any businesses helped their spouses in their businesses when they are onshore. Accordingly, when we crudely classify offshore work as belonging to the primary or secondary segment, we realized that, people are not restricted to only one sector of economic activity. This is a general phenomenon in Ghana for people to engage in both formal and informal economic activity simultaneously. Rig workers participation in both segments of a market and different sectors of the economy, affects their attitude and outputs which blurs any classification, and analysis should be made with this in mind. In the case of the rig workers for instance, some will decide not to attend union meetings or participate in demonstrations as they might see it as a waste of time; which they could spend working on their cocoa farms.

7.2 Contacts, information and offshore employment

Information about job opportunities is crucial in any employment process and offshore employment is no exception. Employers use mediums such as radio and newspaper advertisement to inform the public about job opportunities. However, the most influential information source used to get rig work is derived from social contacts. 40 out of the 42 rig workers interviewed heard about their job opportunities through social contacts and got the job through these contacts. Additionally, the social contacts that rig workers used influenced the type of jobs they get, their income, and prospects of career advancement.

7.2.1 The role of social network in offshore employment

The concept social network is an analytical frame for the study of social relations. It draws on the interpersonal relations between people and cuts across class, gender, and kin among others (Prell, 2012). Social networks played a crucial role in the offshore employment process and outcomes.

Firstly, social networks are crucial for employers' trust in workers and reduce employers' uncertainty about worker productivity. As noted earlier, recruitment companies prefer to recruit people with previous offshore experience. We have also seen that, prospective employees' qualification is not a good basis to judge their performance. Recruitment companies rely on recommendations made by their employees to recruit new rig workers. Rig workers recommend people within their social networks. Employers draw on the trust of their employees to recommend people who can perform well on the job. Social networks also enhance rig workers loyalty to recruitment companies. This is important for the recruitment companies because, even when workers are not satisfied with their conditions of service, they still want to remain loyal to the company.

As noted earlier, employment by various local companies tend to be based on ethnicity and region. This is because of employers' and rig workers' trust of people with whom they share an ethnic identity. The various forms of social networks used in the employment process, are organized along ethnic identities. Social networks have also been useful in linking local recruitment companies with international rig operators. Trust is also important in this regard and as found in the study, one of the reasons why rig operators do not recruit Ghanaians directly is a lack of confidence and difficulty in identifying qualified and competent rig workers. Rig operators therefore depend on their trust in recruitment companies who are better positioned in the Ghanaian labour market, to identify and recruit the most qualified people for the jobs.

57.1% of the rig workers used social contacts made from previous offshore experience and these contacts are organized according to the country from which they had returned from and ethnicity. Consequently, information about opportunity tends to be *contained* within the network of former rig workers. Thus even though other people hear about offshore opportunities, prospective employees within the social network of former rig workers, have access to job information with higher probability of getting the jobs. People who are not members within social networks have limited access to information about job opportunities as can be seen in only few rig workers who are employed without any prior social contact (see table 6). Granovetter (1995) referred to a similar situation as social networks owning sets of clusters of employment vacancies. That is information about job opportunities circulates better within social networks.

Consequently, apart from social relations connecting people to offshore jobs, the nature of these networks limits the opportunities of others from taking advantage of the employment opportunities on the rigs. Since information about jobs circulates better within social networks, those who are not members of these networks lack or have limited access to these information and jobs. Women for instance have no previous offshore experience; they are excluded from a very important social network used in securing offshore work in Ghana. Recommendation from friends increases employers' certainty about people's ability and output. As observed, the social networks are organized based on ethnicity; mostly Ewe-Volta, Ga-Adangbe-Greater Accra and Fante-Central and Western regions of Ghana. A consequence is that, prospective rig workers who are not from these ethnic groups therefore have much lower chances of getting rig work.

7.2.2 Forms and consequences of social networks used in offshore employment

Social networks have been categorized into strong and weak ties based on the strength of the social network. 3 rig workers used strong ties while 39(92.86%) used weak ties in getting offshore jobs. There is however a gender disparity in the networks used in getting offshore jobs (see table 6). Out of the 39 informants who used weak ties, only 3 are women. Since employers prefer to employ more men, even if women have social networks (for instance friends working on a rig), that they can utilize to get employed, they might not be able to use them. In this case, it is not the lack of a social network or the failure of women to use their social networks but as we shall see later it is rather, social structures and employer preferences which are responsible for few women rig workers or their use of a particular social network (example strong ties) to get jobs.

Additionally, the type of networks used influences the type of jobs people get vis-à-vis their income and prospects of career advancement. Informants, who were recruited to the rig via kinship ties, which are categorized as strong ties, got low paid jobs on the rigs (housekeeping and dishwashing). These jobs have limited opportunities for career advancement and are dominated by women. Those who got their jobs through weak ties (friends working on the rigs and colleagues from previous offshore employment) are paid much higher and their jobs have better prospects for career advancement.

As can be recalled from case 3 (chapter 6), Lyn and Akosua used different social networks to get employment offshore. While Lyn was helped by his friend who is a rig worker, Akosua was helped by an acquaintance who is her current employer. Lyn changed his job as a laundry person which was poorly paid, to roustabouts with a much higher salary. Akosua on the other hand, is unable to change her job which is a result of the social contact she used to get the job. There is an asymmetric social relation between Akosua and her employer. This created power relation between Akosua and her employer; a reflection of an aspect of Ghanaian culture which requires subordinates (employees) to *respect* those in authority (employers) or those of lower economic status, to *respect* those of higher economic status; to the extent that, they are not able to take decisions which would improve their lives. In the case of Akosua, she is unable to change her job due to this power relation between her and her social contact (employer). In addition, because women have limited opportunities on the rigs, unlike Lyn, even when Akosua quits her job; there are limited options for her to choose from. Akosua's situation is also a reflection of how social networks influences rig workers loyalty to companies. However, we have seen the influence of social network used on types of job and salary people get.

The weak ties used by women turn to restrict them to jobs with limited opportunities for career advancement and are poorly paid. According Granovetter (1983), weak ties have positive effects if only used by people in higher statuses. But as can be recalled, even the women who used strong ties still ended up in the low echelon jobs. Additionally, my study found that, women's employment in the low status jobs is not necessarily a result of the social networks they used. But rather, a reflection of current trend of labour demand on the rigs (people with previous offshore experience) as well as social structures and gender ideologies about women's ability to do rig work.

Finally, it has been observed that, the rig workers are organized into clusters of close networks. The social groups are formed based on how they got recruited to the rigs. Those with previous offshore experience are grouped based on the country(s) in which they worked. It is common to hear the rig workers during social interactions talk about *the Gabon group*, *Cote d'Ivoire group* and so on. This group names refer to networks of friends with experience from various countries. The impact of these grouping from a social network theory perspective is difficulty in organizing themselves into a unified association and union. The rig

workers association for instance, was borne from the dissatisfaction with treatment handed to some Ghanaians who worked on the first oil rigs during the exploratory stage of the oil industry. The core of the association is rig workers who returned from Cote d'Ivoire. As a result, some rig workers felt the association is "owned" by a particular group and therefore would not join. As Granovetter (1995) noted, it would take the weak ties between different clusters of social organization to "bridge" them. Indeed, some of the rig workers initially joined the Maritime and Dock Workers Union (MDWU) while others joined the General Transport Petroleum and Chemical Workers Union of Ghana (GTPCWU). This affected the ability of the rig workers to do collective bargaining. It was also difficult for them to resolve work related conflicts. It took some friends from the GTPCWU to convince those members from MDWU to come join the GTPCWU. The weak ties between the strong ties of rig workers, have served as what Granovetter (1995) called *bridge* in organizing the rig workers.

7.3 Men and women on the rigs

One of my research goals was to identify the categories of people who get the offshore jobs. As noted earlier, even though men and women take up employment offshore, there are only few women working on the rigs. The study further explored why men dominate the offshore jobs in Ghana. From a labour market perspective, women do not have the relevant experience to get the jobs offshore. However, ideologies about gender appropriate jobs, plays a greater role in influencing women's employment. Rig work is considered difficult and requires physical strength to do.

7.3.1 Gender ideologies

There is a general perception that rig work is the reserve for men; captured in the expression that offshore work is *a man's world* by employers and rig workers. Women suffer discrimination based on cultural ideologies which categorise women as not fit for rig work. According to feminist studies, socialisation processes influence our ideologies about what work is appropriate for men and women (Risman 2004; Estevez-Abe 2006). Rig work is assumed to be very physical and too strenuous that women cannot do. Mean while, all heavy lifting and carrying on the rigs is done by cranes. The roustabouts for instance, only guide the loads with ropes to ensure that they are safely placed. The *ideal* rig worker is considered a heavy *muscled man* but on the rigs, it is the person with the skills to operate the machines who is the ideal rig worker. In effect, the idea that rig work is not appropriate for women is both a

result of historical development of rig work and socialisation processes. During the early years of the oil industry when technology used was not very advanced, heavy lifting was done manually, and so they recruited men who are muscular and strong. However, operations on the rigs have become mechanised.

Additionally, in Ghana, women do lots of strenuous and physical jobs. It is common to see women with babies at their back carrying heavy loads like fire wood, charcoal, water for long distances or with babies at their back and working on their farms. A typical woman in my village in the Volta Region is the first to wake up in the household and the last to go to bed. They work hard and for very long hours. This questions the assumption that, rig work is too difficult for women to do. It is rather the outcome of socialisation processes and cultural ideas which shape what society consider as a gender appropriate job. This is also a reflection of how paid labour is masculinised and unpaid labour feminized in Ghana.

7.3.2 Gender division of jobs

The few Ghanaian women in my sample working on the rigs are segregated to jobs that are similar to what they do at home. When informants were asked to list the jobs they considered appropriate for men and women, some listed the jobs but the majority generally said that, *men can do all the jobs but women can only work as...* and then they list the jobs that they think women can do, which are mostly chefs, laundry personnel, dish washers, housekeepers, store keepers and highly skilled jobs like engineers, geologist among others. The explanations both employers and rig workers gave for their listing of gender appropriate jobs are based on their ideologies of what is gender appropriate work in Ghana which influences employers' decision to employ a particular gender for a particular job offshore. This throws more light on the observation by Padavic and Reskin (2002) that, gender ideologies consider men and women as innately different and are therefore naturally suited for different roles.

As we saw in case 2 (chapter 6), stereotypes about gender appropriate jobs influence women's decision to seek employment offshore and choice of job. Studies done by McDowell (1999); Padavic and Reskin (2002); Overå (2007); Risman (2004) among others also showed that, gender ideologies not only influence the type of jobs available for women but also the jobs women are willing to go for and their income. As can recalled, labour market theories tend to argue that, human capital difference between men and women are responsible for their labour

market participation and occupational segregation. But as we can see, women's decision to do a particular job is not entirely a lack of skills for an alternative job; but rather the embedded nature of ideologies about job and the socialisation process which orients people's career choices. Thus even though Enyo could be qualified to take up a different job position, she has been socialised into believing that, her job is an appropriate job for a woman.

7.4 Intersectionality and offshore work

Findings from the study showed that, men and women face multiple challenges in their search for rig work and on the rigs. It has been found that some employers carry out *risk assessment* for potential women rig workers. The *risk* level of an individual is a key determinant of whether or not they would be hired and not only their skills.

Before rig workers are employed, their age, education (class) and experience are taken into consideration to determine their suitability for the jobs. However, for women, additional factors such as marital status, stage in the reproductive cycle, and age of children are considered to determine their risk levels. Offshore work is risky and requires maximum attention on the work. At one end of the spectrum, employers prefer women who have finished giving birth and their children are independent and at the other end, women who are not married and have no child care or marital responsibilities. This is because of the Ghanaian culture which places much of child care responsibility on the woman. According to one employer, those women without dependent children are more likely to have maximum concentration on the rig than those with dependent children. The reason they gave was that, the women with dependent children might be concerned with events going on at home while on the rigs which could affect their output.

Using the concept of intersectionality, I was able to do multiple level analyses of the constraints that men and women face in their search for offshore work and on the rigs. As we saw in the story of Esi, Mawuse, and Sampson's wife's in case 1 (chapter 6), gender intersects with cultural axioms, child care, marital status and educational class. Importantly, for each of these women, the type and level of obstacles they face is varied in terms of limiting their opportunity of getting employment offshore. Apart from employer biases towards women especially those married, the few married women who get the offshore opportunities face another hurdle of obtaining their husbands' approval. In the case of Sampson's wife, even if

she gets the opportunity to work on a rig, her husband's ideology about appropriate working environment for men and women will inhibit her employment on the rig. Sampson's wife's education, gender, marriage, her role as a mother and her husbands' gender ideology intersect to impede her desire to work on the rig. Mawuse is also faced with similar dilemma as Sampson's wife though she managed to circumvent it. In the case of Esi however, because she is not married she does not face same challenge as do the other women. A simple look at difference between men and women would obscure these multiple challenges women face (McCall, 2001 in Choo and Ferree 2010; Valentine, 2007; Fernandes, 2003; Cope, 2002).

Intersectional analysis however, should not be limited to the study of women alone. Men also faced multiple obstacles in their search for offshore jobs. Just like the women in case 1, men's ethnicity, education, and whether or not they have previous offshore experience does affects their chances of getting rig work. If we take into consideration the current catchment area of the offshore labour market (see map 2 in chapters 5), we realise that, it is limited to coastal communities. This in addition to employers preference for people of their ethnicity, and educational class, different men searching offshore jobs also faced varied and multiple forms of obstacles like the women.

7.5 Gendered consequences of offshore employment

The employment of men and women on the oil rigs has different outcomes and consequences in the household of rig workers; whether it is a husband, a wife or both, who are working on the rig, this results in changes in gender roles at home. The women working on the rigs combine both their work and home keeping responsibilities especially child care. As Overå's (2007) noted, Ghanaian women not only participate in majority of home management responsibilities but also participate actively in the economy.

7.5.1 Child care responsibilities in the household of rig workers

Findings from the study showed that, rig workers leave their children with a relative when they are gone offshore, except if the children are grown-up. If it is the man who is working offshore, the children stay with the woman at home. But if it is the woman who is working offshore, the children live with relatives though the man is home. In cases where both spouses are working offshore, they leave the children in care of relatives. When the women rig

workers are onshore, they go for the children during the period of their stay onshore. However, if the men are onshore, they do not go for the children.

From case 4 (chapter 6), it is clear how the women combine both their participation in economic activity with home care responsibilities. Within the Ghanaian society, child care and home management is seen entirely as women's. This explains why Lily's children stay with their aunt when her husband is onshore but come home when Lily is onshore.

7.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, drawing on three theoretical frameworks, the chapter has discussed the offshore employment process, and outcomes. Using gender theories, we realised how social structures and cultural norms influence ideologies about gender-appropriate jobs and how this impacts men and women's employment opportunities. Also we have seen how social networks influence not only the employment process but also its outcomes. While social networks are relevant for securing jobs, some social networks turn to restrict people's opportunities. It also works to restrict others without these networks from getting access to jobs. Finally it is clear the role of human capital in the employment process. Employers' preference for people with previous experience is among the factors that led to men dominating the offshore employment.

It can be concluded that, the various processes by which people get employed on the rig, has implication for the jobs they get their income and career advancement. It is crucial at this early stage of the oil industry; structures are put in place to ensure transparency and equity in the oil industry.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes findings from the study, based on which a conclusion is made with some policy recommendations. The study had the objectives of exploring the processes, and outcomes of offshore employment. Drawing on the labour market, gender and social network theories, I explored the employment process, the jobs available for Ghanaians, and the category of people taking these jobs. The feminist epistemology of intersectionality was used to explore the multiple challenges/discriminations that people face in their quest to get jobs and on the job. The social network theory was also used to explore how people hear about jobs and the impact of these information sources on the types of jobs people get and career advancement. Below is a summary of key findings of the study.

8.1 Summary of findings

8.1.1 The Recruitment Process

To address the research questions of the study, I draw on the labour market, gender and social network theories. The current demand for Ghanaian labour on the rigs is largely for low echelon jobs. Findings from the study showed that, labour demand is mostly for men who have experiences working on oil rigs. Local recruitment companies, play an intermediary role by recruiting workers for the rigs. This influences how people are recruited and which people get recruited. As a result of employer preference, few women get employment offshore while most of the rig workers are recruited from southern Ghana.

8.1.2 Gender-intersectionality and work

My research also entails an exploration of how gendered the offshore work is. It has been found that, there are few opportunities for women on the rigs and they are the least paid rig workers. Gender perspectives have shown that, human capital as asserted by the labour market theory is limited in its explanation of men and women's employment. The *risk* assessment some employers perform for women before employing them is also captured by the concept of intersectionality. Gender, age, education, marital status, ethnicity among others, acts individually as well as intersects each other to reinforce discrimination against people in their search for rig work and on the rigs. At the household level, offshore work has led to increase responsibilities for women who combine their businesses with childcare roles.

8.1.3 Social networks

The study also sought to find the role of social network in employment. Findings from the study showed that, social networks play crucial role in access to information about employment opportunities and the recruitment process. Men and women use different social networks both in access to information and getting jobs offshore. The networks that women use tend to limit them to the low paid jobs on the rigs while men's network connects them to better paid jobs. Also the networks used by women link them to jobs with limited opportunities for career advancement.

A consequence of social network in the employment process is that, it limits and denies some people the access to offshore jobs. Men and women especially those from ethnic groups other than Ewe, Fante and Ga-Adangbe, those without any social contact on the rigs have limited access to information about employment opportunities vis-à-vis getting recruited to the rigs.

8.2 Conclusion

The study has highlighted the role social networks, human capital, gender and ethnicity played in employment process, outcome and consequences. Through the snow ball sampling technique, purposive sampling method was used to select informants to solicit views and experiences of the various actors: government, international oil companies, local recruitment companies and rig workers in Ghana's offshore industry.

The study explored the role of social networks in the employment process and it has been found that, men and women used different social networks in accessing offshore jobs. The social contacts used influenced the type of jobs people get, their income and prospects for career advancement. In answering the research question on the category of people getting employed on the rigs, the study found that men dominate offshore jobs which are a result of their previous experience and employer preference. Drawing from labour market theorists' perspective, the human capital difference between men and women is a crucial factor determining their employment. In answering the research question on how the employment opportunities are gendered, the study used gender theories of role expectations and relations. It found that while women are employed in less paid jobs, men are employed in the better paid. Also, cultural ideologies about gender appropriate jobs influence the type of jobs that

men and women get. Ethnicity also plays a crucial role in people's ability to get jobs offshore. Recruitment companies tend to recruit people from ethnicity of their interest an attempt to promote a regional interest. The impact of this and social network is that, it works to exclude some people from getting employment on the rigs.

Finally, the study also explored the impact of offshore employment in the lives of rig workers. Findings from the study showed that, offshore employment has resulted in economic improvement; it has lead to a change in gender roles and relations. Wives of rig workers noted improved economic situations through financial support from their husbands to promote their businesses. However, home keeping roles and responsibilities majority of which women do has doubled. Some shared responsibilities like childcare, have become women's sole responsibilities. This they do in addition to their economic activities.

Findings from the study showed that, direct employment in Ghana's offshore sector is small. The study explored the offshore employment opportunities available for Ghanaians which is currently restricted mostly to low echelon jobs. The local content policy currently has little direct influence on offshore employment. As can be recalled, the policy requires 50% Ghanaian management, 30% Ghanaian core technical staff, and 100% Ghanaians as other staff at the start of operation of oil companies. But as shown in Table 4, there is only one Ghanaian Geologist on a rig. There are no Ghanaians in the management staff of the rig (see table 1). The challenge is for Ghana to be able to transform these policy requirements into practice. This can be done by ensuring that, firms' commitment to and strategies for technology and skill transfer are part of the licensing process. By doing this, companies would have realistic approaches to ensuring local participation before they even start operation.

Despite the fact that, Ghana's offshore sector offers little employment opportunities, it has a symbolic significance for the local content policy. Associated infrastructural and onshore activities expected to employ a large number of Ghanaians are yet to be operational 5 years since the commercial discovery was made. The offshore sector therefore has a symbolic significance as an indicator of local participation in the oil industry. It also offers Ghanaians exposure to the oil industry. The indirect impact of the offshore sector on employment is however significant. There are several local oil and gas service businesses engaged in training

and recruitment, catering and supply of equipment to the offshore industry all of which offer significant employment opportunities.

In addition to the local content policy, there is the need for Ghana to have an employment policy for the offshore industry. The policy should contain among other things, a salary structure to regulate employment especially on the oil rigs. The current regulatory frameworks, structure and operation of local recruitment companies make it easy for labour exploitation. However, since the local companies are building up in a sector that is new in Ghana, highly globalised and capital intensive, it presents a much more complex situation. Regulatory institutions like the labour office must be positioned and equipped to carry out its duties of monitoring and evaluation.

More research needs to be done on Ghana's oil discovery especially the adequacy of various policies to regulate the industry, how Ghanaians can be positioned to take part in the developing oil industry as well as socio-economic impact of the oil industry on coastal communities, and communities in which oil and gas related projects are cited. This will enable stake holders put in place appropriate measures to mitigate the adverse impacts of these projects and increase its benefits.

Though not part of my research objective, I observed during my fieldwork that, there are several training institutions offering oil and gas related programs for Ghanaians. The overall idea is to equip people to get employment in the oil industry. Government needs to regulate these training institutions and programs to ensure that, they meet industry standards. There is also the need to link training institutions with oil companies to ensure that the skills that are being taught, are those required by the companies. Though the aim of these trainings is to ensure that, people get the skills required for the jobs, it could also be a conduit for conflict. Since current trainings are done without any link to the oil industry, people might not get employed after their trainings. And since they have paid huge sums of money to get trained, these people can claim they should be given jobs which could lead to agitations.

Also, corruption has been found as a major threat to Ghana's oil wealth. There is the need to put in place and empower institutions to monitor and ensure transparency in all oil and gas related transaction. Rent seeking behaviour of individuals has been identified as a major cause

of the “curse” of the oil industry. Since Ghana’s oil discovery is still in its early stage, there is the need to ensure that, corruption is curtailed before it becomes entrenched.

This study contributed to knowledge about offshore employment in the oil industry at its nascent stage. The study concludes that, though human capital, ethnicity, gender and social networks play important roles in offshore employment, they are also crucial factors that lead to the exclusion of people from getting recruited to the rigs. Offshore employment has both positive and negative outcomes and consequence for rig workers. Ghana needs to put in place necessary structures and strategies to ensure that, everybody benefits from the oil and gas resources that are being extracted from the country’s continental shelf.

References

- Adler, P. A., Kless J. S, and Adler P. (1992). Socialization to Gender Roles: Popularity among Elementary School Boys and Girls. *Sociology of Education*. 65 (3): 169–187
- African Development Bank and African Union (2009). *Oil and gas in Africa*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- African Development Fund (2008). *Ghana Country Gender Profile*.
<http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/ADF-BD-IF-2008-237-EN-GHANA-COUNTRY-GENDER-PROFILE.PDF>.
- Amoako-Tuffuor, J. and Armah, B. (Eds) (2007). *Poverty Reduction Strategies in Action: Perspectives and Lessons from Ghana*, Lexington Books.
- Anker, R. (1997). Theories of Occupational Segregation by sex: an overview. *International Labour Review* 136 (3).
- Aryeetey E. and Baah-Boateng W. (2007). *Growth, Investment and Employment in Ghana*. International Labour Office (ILO) Working Paper 80, Geneva.
- Auty, R. (1995). The resource curse thesis: Minerals in Bolivian development, 1970–90. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, (15) 95–111.
- Ayine, D. (2010). *Consolidated Report on Proposed Petroleum Bills and Local Content Policy For The Petroleum Sector*. The Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme (G-RAP), Accra. http://www.g-rap.org/docs/oil_and_gas/legislative_review_2010-09.pdf.
- Baah-Boateng, W. (2007). *Employment Generation for Poverty Alleviation in Amoako-Tuffuor, J. and Armah, B. (Eds) (2007). Poverty Reduction Strategies in Action: Perspectives and Lessons from Ghana*, Lexington Books.
- Baah-Boateng W. (2007). Measuring the Extent of Gender Segregation in the Labour Market: Evidence from Ghana. *Gimpa Journal of Leadership, Management and Administration*. 5 (1): 57-82.
- Baah-Boateng, W. and Turkson, F. E. (2004). *Employment* in Aryeetey E. (Ed) (2005). *Globalisation, Employment and Poverty Reduction: A Case Study of Ghana*. University of Ghana, Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, ISSER, Legon.
- Bacon, R. and Tordo, S. (2006). *Experience with oil funds: Institutional and financial aspects*. Energy Sector Management Assistant Program (ESMAP)-World Bank, Washington.
- Barbour, R. S. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research: A Student's Guide to the Craft of Doing Research*. Sage Publications, London.
- Blee, K. and Tickamyer, A. (1995). Racial Differences in Men's Attitudes about Women's Gender Roles. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (57):21-30.

- Bloor, M. and Wood, F. (2006). *Key Words in Qualitative Methods: A Vocabulary of Research Concepts*. Sage Publications, London.
- Burgess, N. J. (1994). American Women in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies*, 24 (4):391-401.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods* (3rd Ed). Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Campbell, L. M., Gray, N. J., Meletis, Z. A., Abbott, J. G. and Silver, J. J. (2006). Gatekeepers and Keymasters: Dynamic Relationships Of Access In Geographical Fieldwork: *Geographical Review*, 96:97–121.
- Choo, H. Y. and Ferree, M. M. (2010). Practicing Intersectionality in Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and Institutions in the Study of Inequalities. *Sociological Theory* 28:129–149.
- Clark, G. (1999). Mothering, Work, and Gender in Urban Asante Ideology and Practice. *American Anthropologist*, 101: 717–729.
- Clifford, N., French S., and Valentine G. (2010). *Getting Started in Geographical Reserch in* Clifford, N., French S., and Valentine G. (Eds) (2010). *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Clunies-Ross, A., Firsyth, D. and Huq, M. (2009). *Development economics*. McGraw-Hill education, London.
- Cope, M. (2002). *Feminist epistemology in Geography* in Moss, P. (Ed.) (2002). *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Blackwell publishers, Oxford.
- Creswell, J. W., (2009) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd Ed.) Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- Crompton, R. and Sanderson, K. (1990). *Gendered Jobs and Social Change*. Unwin Hyman Ltd, London.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as a Buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on what Makes a Feminist Theory Successful. *Feminist Theory* 9(1):67-85.
- DeCuir-Gunby T. J. (2008). *Mixed Methods Research in the Social Science* in Osborne W. Jason (Ed), (2008). *Best Practices in Quantitative Methods*. Sage Publication, London.
- Dixon, P. D. and Jones, J. P. (2006). *Feminist geographies of difference, relation and construction* in Aitken, S. and Valentine, G. (Eds) (2006). *Approaches to human geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Dyck, I. and Kearns, R. A. (2006). *Structuration Theory: Agency, Structure and Everyday Life* in Aitken S. and Valentine G. (2006). *Approaches to Human Geography*. Sage London.

- England, K. (2006). *Producing feminist geographies: Theory, methodologies and research strategies* in Aitken, S. and Valentine, G. (Eds) (2006). *Approaches to human geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Engobo, E. (2011). *The Niger Delta crisis and the question of access to justice*. In Obi, C. and Rustad, A. S. (Eds.) (2011). *Oil and insurgency in the Niger Delta: Managing the complex politics of petro-violence*. Zed Books, New York.
- Estevez-Abe, M. (2006). Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: A Study of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Advanced Industrial Societies. *World Politics*, 59 (1): 142-175.
- Fernandes, F. (2003). A response to Erica Burman. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counseling and Health* 6:309–16.
- Fevre, R. (1992). *The sociology of labour markets*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.
- Felipe, J. and McCombie, J.S.L (2009). Are estimates of labour demand functions mere statistical artifacts? *International Review of Applied Economics* 23(2):147-168.
- Fields, G. S. (2011): Labour market analysis for developing countries. *Labour Economics*, (18)1:S16-S22.
- Fischer, C. S., Jackson, R. M., Stueve, C. A., Gerson, K., Jones M. L., and Baldassare (1977). *Networks and places: Social relations in the urban setting*. The Free Press, New York.
- Frankel, J. A. (2010). *The natural resource curse: a survey*. HKS Working Paper No. RWP10-005. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1565588>
- Glen, G. C. (1976). The Challenge of Segmented Labor Market Theories to Orthodox Theory: A Survey. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 14(4): 1215-1257
- Ghana Statistical Service (2008). *Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS): Report on the 5th Round, September 2005 to September 2006*. Accra.
- Ghazvinian, J. (2007). *Untapped: The Scramble for Africa's Oil*. Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, Houghton.
- Gomme, P. (1998). What Labor Market Theory Tells Us about the New Economy. *Cleveland Economic Review* QIII, pp. 16–24.
- Gottfries, N. and McCormick, B. (1995). Discrimination and open unemployment in a segmented labour market. *European Economic Review* 39(1): 1–15
- Granovetter, M. (1995). *Getting a job: A study of contacts and careers*. Chicago University Press, Chicago.

- Granovetter, M. (1983). The strength of weak ties: A network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory* 1: 201-233
- Grieco, M. (1995). *Transported Lives: urban social Networks and labour circulation in* Vertovec, S. and Rogers, A. (Eds) (1995). *The urban context: Ethnicity, social network and situational analysis*. Berg publishers, Oxford.
- Hackman, N. A. (2009). *Creating A Framework For Ghanaians To Benefit From Oil Rich Ghana*. www.modernghana.com/newsp/220829/1/pagenum3/creating-a-framework-for-ghanaians-to-benefit-from.html#continue.
- Hall, H. R. (1994). *Sociology of work: perspectives, analysis and issues*. Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks.
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for Photo Elicitation. *Visual Studies*, 17 (1):13-26.
- Harrison, P. (2006). *Poststructuralist theories* in Aitken, S. and Valentine, G. (Eds) (2006). *Approaches to human geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Hayter, R. and Patchell, J. (2011). *Economic Geography: An institutional approach*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. and Leavy, P. (2011). *The Practice of Qualitative Research* (2nd Ed). Sage Publication, London.
- Holt-Jensen, A. (2009). *Geography, History and Concepts: A Student's Guide*. Sage London,
- Holmes-Eber, P. (2003). *Daughters of Tunis: Women, Family and Networks in a Muslim City*. West view Case Studies in Anthropology. West view Press, Washington.
- Frankel, J. (2010): *The Natural Resource Curse: A Survey*, Faculty Research Working Paper Series, Harvard Kennedy School. RWP10-005
- Jenkins, S. (2004). *Gender, place and the labour market*. Ashgate publishing company, Hants.
- Karl, T. L. (2007). Oil-Led Development: Social, Political and Economic Consequences. Working paper no. 80. *Center on Democracy Development and the Rule of Law*. Stanford University.
- Katshung, J. Y. (2007). *The curse of oil in the Great Lakes of Africa*. www.globalpolicy.org/security/natres/oil/2007/1003greatlakes.htm Retrieved 1st October 2010.
- Kathleen M. Blee and Ann R. Tickamyer (1995). Racial differences in men's attitudes about women's Gender Roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 57(1): 21-30.

- Konadu-Agyemang, K. (2000). The best of times and the worst of times: Structural Adjustment Programs and Uneven Development in Africa: the Case of Ghana. *Professional Geographer* 52 (3):469–81.
- Kornhauser, M. E. (2004). Rooms of their own: an empirical study of occupational segregation by gender among law professors. *UMKC Law Review* (73)3: 293-350.
- Kwansa, K. B. (2012). “Do men also sell garden-eggs: Paternal childcare among teachers in Accra In Wærness, K., Badasu, D. M., and Oppong, C. (Eds) (2012). *Childcare in a globalising world: perspectives from Ghana*. Bodoni, Bergen.
- Labour Act, 2003 (Act 651)* [Ghana], 8 October 2003, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/44bf88234.html>
- Lall, S. (2002). *The Employment Impact of Globalisation in Developing Countries: Working Paper Number 93*. ILO Geneva.
- Larsen, R. E. (2006). Escaping the Resource Curse and the Dutch Disease? When and Why Norway Caught Up with and Forged Ahead of Its Neighbors. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 65(3): 605-640.
- Laumann, O. E. (1973). *Bonds of pluralism: the form and substance of urban social networks*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.
- Linton Ralph (1936). *The Study of Man*. Appleton-century, New York. Appleton-Century Co.
- Longhurst R. (2010). *Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups* in Clifford N., French S., and Valentine G. (Eds.) (2010). *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage publications, London.
- Loveridge, R. and Mok, A. L. (1979). *Theories of labour market segmentation: A critique*. Martinus Nijhoff Social Science Division, The Hague.
- Macnaghten, P., and Myers, G. (2004). *Focus group* in Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium J., and Silverman, D. (Eds.) (2004). *Qualitative research practice* (66-79). Sage Publication, London.
- Manning, A. (2010). *Imperfect competition in the labour market*. CEP Discussion Paper, No. 981. Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK
- Marin, A. and Wellman, B. (2011). *Social network analysis: An introduction* in Scott, J. and Carrington, J. P. (2011). *The sage handbook of social network analysis*. Sage publication, Los Angeles.
- McCaskie, T. C. (2008). The United States, Ghana and Oil: global and local perspectives. *African Affairs* 107(428): 313-332.

- McDowell, L. (2001). Father and Ford revisited: gender, class and employment change in the new millennium. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26(4): 448-464.
- McDowell, L. (1997). *Capital culture: gender at work in the city*. Blackwell Oxford.
- McLafferty, L. S. (2010). *Conducting Questionnaire Surveys* in Clifford N., French S. and Valentine G., (Eds). *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Meagher, K. (2010). *Social capital or social exclusion? Social networks and informal manufacturing in Nigeria* in Bryceson, D. F. (Ed.) (2010). *How Africa works: occupational change, identity and morality*. Practical Action Publishing Ltd, Warwickshire.
- Mehlum, H., Moene, K. and Torvik, R. (2006). Institutions and the resource Curse. *The Economic Journal* 116(508): 1-20.
- Ministry of Energy (2011). *Local content and local participation in petroleum activities-policy framework*. Accra
- Moss, P. (2002). *Taking on, thinking about and doing feminist research in Geography* in Moss, P. (Ed.) (2002). *Feminist Geography in practice: research and methods*. Blackwell publishers, Oxford.
- Mullings, B., (1999): Insider or outsider, both or neither: Some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum* (30): 337-350.
- Neal, F. and Windisch-Cole B. (2003). Alaska's oil and gas industry is a large pillar in the economy, a small one in the workforce. *Alaska Economic Trends* 23(9): 3-12.
- Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (5th Ed.) Allyn and Bacon.
- Norma J. Burgess (1994). Gender Roles Revisited: The Development of the "Woman's Place" Among African American Women in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies* 24(4): 391-401.
- Norman, K. D. and Yvonna, S. L. (Eds.) (2002). *The Qualitative Inquiry Reader*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Odotei, I. K. (2002). *The artisanal marine fishing industry: a historical overview*. Institute of African studies university of Ghana, Legon
- OECD Staff (1998). *Human capital investment: An international comparison*. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Washington.
- Onwuegbuzie, A., and Leech, N. (2007). Validity and qualitative research: An oxymoron? *Quality and Quantity*, 41(2), 233-249.

- Oppong, C. (1994). *Some Roles of Women: What do we know?* in Ardefio-Schandorf, E. (1994). *Family and Development in Ghana*. Ghana Universities Press, Accra.
- Overå, R. (2007): When men do women's work: Structural adjustment, unemployment, and changing gender relations in the informal economy of Accra, Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 45(4): 539–563.
- Overå, R. (1998). *Partners and Competitors: Gendered Entrepreneurship in Ghanaian Canoe Fisheries*. Dissertation for the Dr. Polit. Degree, Department of Geography, University of Bergen.
- Padavic, I. and Reskin, B. (2002). *Women and men at work* (2nd Ed.). Sage publication, Thousand Oaks, California.
- Perakyla A. (2011). *Validity in Research on Naturally Occurring Social Interaction* in Silverman, D. (Ed.) (2011). *Qualitative Research* (3rd Ed.). Sage Publication, London.
- Phoenix, A. (2006) Editorial: Intersectionality. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 187–92.
- Phophalia, A.K. (2010). *Modern research methodology: New trends and techniques*. Paradise Publishers, Jaipur.
- Porta Della, Donatella and Keating, Michael (Eds.) (2008). *Approaches and Methodologies in The Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pratap, S. and Quintin, E. (2006). Are labor markets segmented in developing countries? A Semi-parametric approach. *European Economic Review*, (50)7:1817-1841.
- Prell, C. (2012). *Social network analysis: history, theory & methodology*. Sage publication, London.
- Rajan, A. and UK Offshore Operators Association Limited (1988). *Manpower requirements of North Sea operators to the year 2000: the employment implications of UKOOA's technical report potential oil and gas production from the UK offshore to the year 2000*. Institute of Manpower Studies, University of Sussex.
- Reich, M., Gordon, D. M., and Edwards R. C. (1973). Dual Labour Market: A theory of Labour Market Segmentation. *American Economic Review* 63(2): 359-365.
- Reskin, F. B. and Heidi, I. H. (1986). *Women's work, men's work: Sex Segregation on the Job*. National Academy Press Washington DC.
- Rice Stephen (2010). *Sampling in Geography* in Clifford, N., French S., and Valentine G. (Eds) (2010). *Key Methods in Geography*. Sage Publication, London.
- Ridgeway, L. C. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford University Press, New York.

- Ridgeway L. C. and Correll J. S. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender and Society* 18(4): 510-531.
- Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a social structure: Theory wrestling with activism. *Gender and Society*, 18(4): 429-450.
- Robert E. Stake (2005). *Qualitative Case Studies* in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.) (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.) Sage Publication, London.
- Ryen A. (2011). *Ethics and Qualitative Research* in Silverman D. (Ed.) (2011). *Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.) Sage Publication, London.
- Sachs J. D. and Warner A. M. (1995): *Natural resource abundance and economic growth*, Development Discussion Paper no. 517a. Harvard Institute for International Development Cambridge. 49.
- Satz, D. (2002). *Market and nonmarket allocation*. International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral science. 9197-9203 <http://www.sciencedirect.com>
- Seale, C., Giampietro, G., Jaber, F. G., and David, S., (2004). *26 Sampling, Representativeness And Generalizability: Qualitative Research Practice*. Sage Publications, London.
- Silverman, D., (2010) *Doing Qualitative Research* (3rd Ed) Sage Publications, London.
- Silverman, D. (2001). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (2nd Ed) Sage Publication, London.
- Silverman, D., (2005) *Doing Qualitative Research* (2nd Ed) Sage Publications, London.
- Skidmore, F. (Ed) (1976). The New Challenges to Orthodox Labour-Market Theory-How new? How Challenging? *Focus* 1(2): 7-17.
- Soala, A. (2009). *The political Economy of oil and gas in Africa: The case of Nigeria*. Routledge, New York.
- Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple case study analysis*. The Gilford Press, New York.
- Ulrich, K., Gonzalo, P., Segura, A., and Zarate, W. (2007). *Inter-sectoral Linkages and Local Content in Extractive Industries and Beyond—The Case of São Tomé and Príncipe*, International Monetary Fund (IMF) Working paper no. 213.
- UNCTAD (2007). *World Investment Report: Transnational Corporations, Extractive Industries and Developmen*, United Nations, Geneva.
- United Nations Environmental Program (2009). *From conflict to peacebuilding: the role of natural resources and the environment*. UNEP, Nairobi.

Valentine, G. (2007). Theorizing and researching intersectionality: A challenge for feminist Geography. *The Professional Geographer* 59(1): 10-21.

Vertovec, S. and Rogers, A.(Eds) (1995). *The urban context: ethnicity, social network and situational analysis*. Berg publishers, Oxford.

Wasserman, S. and Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: methods and application*. Cambridge University press, Cambridge.

Watts, M. (2004). Resource Curse? Governmentality, oil and power in the Niger River Delta, Nigeria. *Geopolitics* 9(1): 55-80.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society* 1(2): 125-151.

Zaami, M. (2010). *Gendered strategies among migrants from northern Ghana in Accra: A case study of Madina*. Master thesis, University of Bergen.

Web sites

BBC News. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6764549.stm>

Ghana Government Official Portal. *2010 Provisional Census Results*. www.ghana.gov.gh retrieved 12/09/2011

Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan. *Economic governance*. www.stma.ghanadistricts.gov.gh retrieved 1/09/2010

Schlumberger <http://www.glossary.oilfield.slb.com/search.cfm?Discipline=> retrieved 30/09/2011

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: Questionnaire for rig workers

MANNIG THE RIGS: A STUDY OF OFFSHORE EMPLOYEMNT IN GHANA'S OIL INDUSTRY

The interview is aimed at collecting data on the above topic in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy (Mphil) Degree in Development Geography at the University of Bergen. All information provided shall be treated confidentially.

1. Age:..... 2. Sex: Male Female Marital Status: Married Single
2. Number of children:Age of a. Youngest Child..... b. Eldest Child.....
3. Ethnicity/Place of Birth: Nationality:
4. Religious Background. a. Muslim b. Christian c. Traditional d. Others specify.....
5. Level of Education: JHS SSS Technical/Vocational Tertiary Other:.....
6. Profession.....
7. Why did you enrolled in the oil and gas training?.....
.....
8. How did you hear about the training/job opportunity?.....
9. How much did the training cost?.....
 - a. How did you finance your offshore training?.....
10. Are you a graduate from: a. Private Ghanaian training institution b. Government training institution c. International Oil Companies
11. What was your previous employment?.....
 - a. What was your monthly income?.....

12. Do you have previous offshore experience? Yes No

If yes,

i. How long have you worked offshore?.....

ii. Was your offshore work outside Ghana? Yes No

iii. If yes, name the country(s):.....

13. What work do you do on the rig?.....

a. How were you recruited?.....

b. How long have you been working?.....

i. How long is your current contract period?.....

c. How much do you earn as a rig worker?.....

d. What is your work schedule (days on/off)?.....

e. What are your working hours?.....

f. What do you do after work?.....

g. How long do you want to work on the rig before retiring?.....

h. What rank do you want to attain before retiring?.....

i. What strategies are you pursuing to attain this rank?.....

.....

j. What are the obstacles that might hinder your rise in ranks?.....

.....

14. Briefly describe your experience working on the rig.....

.....

a. Name the nationality of your co-workers.....

b. Do you eat together with people of other nationality? Yes No

c. How is the bedding arrangement onboard?.....

d. Briefly describe the relationship existing between you and

i. Your employers.....

ii. Other Ghanaian workers.....

iii. Foreign nationals.....

iv. The opposite sex.....

e. How do these various relationships affect your work?.....

15. What are the challenges you face:

a. As a Ghanaian /non Ghanaian working on the rig?

b. Working with people from different cultural backgrounds?

16. What are the dangers you face on the rig?.....

a. How do you avoid these dangers?.....

b. Have you ever been injured on the rig? Yes No

c. Have any of your colleagues been injured? Yes No

d. If yes to a/or b, briefly elaborate:.....

17. Do both sexes (men & women) work together? Yes No

18. Which jobs do you consider as appropriate for men and women in the oil industry?

.....
.....

a. Why do you think these are appropriate men and women's work?

.....

19. Have you experienced sexual harassment? Yes No

20. Have you heard of cases of sexual harassment? Yes No

a. If yes, kindly elaborate:.....

21. Are you a member of any Association/Union? Yes No

a. If yes, name the Association/Union:.....

i. Have you derived any benefit from the Association/Union?

Yes No

ii. If yes, what benefits have you derived?.....

.....

b. If no, are you aware of the existence of an Association/Union?

Yes No

i. If yes, why are you not a member?.....

22. If married, how has the work schedule affected your marriage and/or child care:

.....

23. What do you do when you are onshore?

.....

24. How has your employment in the oil industry affected the family economy?.....

.....

.....

25. What are your plans for the future?

.....

APPENDIX TWO: Interview guide for employers

1. Which category of people do you employ and why those people?
2. What are the processes involved in recruiting rig workers?
3. What are the jobs for which you recruit rig workers and why those types of jobs?
4. What guidelines do you follow in determining the salary and conditions of service of your workers?
 - a. Do you pay for their transportation from their homes to Takoradi?
 - b. Are you responsible for their accommodation and feeding prior to their departure offshore?
 - c. Are your workers aware of their contract terms and period?
 - d. Who is responsible for the termination of contracts of rig workers?
5. What are the major challenges Ghanaian rig workers faces on the rigs?
6. What procedures do you have for redressing grievances?
 - a. Is your company responsible for taking actions regarding grievances or rig companies?
7. In case of injury, who pays the compensation?
 - a. Does the employment contract captures/stipulates who pays?
8. How has the local content facilitated Ghanaian employment on the rigs?

APPENDIX THREE: Interview guide for expatriates and officials of rig companies

1. What is your job position?
2. What is your nationality?
3. How long have you been working offshore/oil industry?
4. What are the jobs for which you require the service of Ghanaians on the rig and why those jobs?
5. Which jobs do you require men to do and which do you require women to do?
6. Why don't you recruit Ghanaian rig workers directly?
7. What is your assessment of the Ghanaian labour force?
8. What are the major limitations of the Ghanaian rig workers
9. What is your view on Ghana's Local Content Policy?
10. How long do you think it would take for Ghanaians to do the jobs that expatriates currently do?

APPENDIX FOUR: Interview guide for government officials

1. What role does your institution play in employment in the oil industry?
2. What structures do you have in place to ensure that local content requirements are adhered to?
3. Is there an employment policy for offshore industry?
4. Why are the international companies not recruiting Ghanaians directly for the rigs?
5. Local content policy

APPENDIX FIVE: Guide for group interview

MANNING THE RIGS: A STUDY OF OFFSHORE EMPLOYMENT IN GHANA'S OIL INDUSTRY

The interview is aimed at collecting data on the above topic in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy (Mphil) in Development Geography at the University of Bergen. All information provided shall be treated confidentially

1. Individual will identify themselves by names, age, religion and ethnicity
2. What kind(s) of work do you do on the rigs?
3. Why did you choose the training/work?
4. Do you think women and men have equal opportunity in Ghana's emerging oil industry?
 - a. Kindly list the various works that men or women can and cannot do.
 - b. Explain the various job listings
5. A government official said women have little to contribute in Ghana's oil and gas industry. How do you evaluate this statement?
6. What do you think the government can do to ensure that Ghanaians get employment?
7. Are you members of any union?
 - a. Why did you join the union
 - b. What benefits have you derived from your membership in the union
8. Do you all receive equal salary for same job
 - a. Why do you think your salaries are different?
9. How has the employment had impacts in your lives?
10. What challenges do you face?
11. What do you think the government can do to improve your employment condition offshore