

**INTEGRATION OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN
BERGEN'S LABOUR MARKET**



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MARKET



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DEDICATION

To my dad John K. Badwi and mum Rose Badwi for the immeasurable support and love. I am forever grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Migration research in Norway has primarily focused on refugees and larger immigrant groups, and their employment outcomes rather than on small culturally different immigrant groups from countries such as Ghana. Migrants' employment processes and how they overcome hindrances in the Norwegian labour market have also received less attention in the literature.

This study fills these gaps by focusing generally on Ghanaians and the factors that facilitate or hinder their labour market integration in Bergen, Norway. Based on the research objectives, I used labour market theories to explain why some Ghanaians get integrated successfully while others do not. The concept of gender was used to discuss socio-cultural ideologies among Ghanaians and how it influences the type of jobs they engage themselves in in Bergen. The concept of intersectionality unraveled various hindrances as well as opportunities that come with informants' personal identities. The social network theory helped to explore the nature of relationships between the immigrants and their contacts, and how this facilitates employment opportunities. This theory also highlighted informal employment dynamics among the informants.

In Bergen, a sample of 40 informants comprising of 22 men and 18 women were interviewed. Majority of the informants are educated migrants who initially moved to Bergen for career advancement/educational opportunities. Their educational level was also generally high with 25 informants having tertiary education.

The research findings indicate that most of the highly educated informants worked in menial jobs due to limited Norwegian language proficiency. These jobs were secured mainly through the assistance of Ghanaian contacts. Norwegian contacts and Norwegian language proficiency were significant factors for facilitating employment in professional and semi-professional jobs. Other facilitating strategies identified were 'apprenticeship', 'cover-up' and voluntary services. Additionally, the immigrants' ability to remit and take care of relatives in Ghana did not depend on the type of job they engage themselves but rather on their employment status.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	The Norwegian Anti-discrimination and Accessibility Acts
ADA	The Norwegian Anti-Discriminating Acts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIKS	Bergen International Kultural Senter
ECOWAS	The Economic Community of West African States
ERP	Economic Recovery Program
GEA	The Norwegian Gender Equality Acts
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
NAV	The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration
OECD	The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SSB	The Norwegian Statistics Bureau
WEA	The Norwegian Working Environment Acts

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 Background

Labour market integration is one key migration issue that has received much emphasis in recent times. This owes to the reason that the last decade has witnessed increasing migration of non-Western immigrants to many OECD countries (Pedersen et al, 2008). Media reports and coverage documents periodically show how billions of migrants are determined to enter Europe in response to mostly economic and political upheavals (e.g. BBC, 2015). Ghanaians are among the people on the move.

Historical data indicates that, Ghana was a destination for labour migrants from the West African region until the 1960s when most Ghanaians left the country because of economic decline (Anarfi et al., 2003; Aseidu, 2005, p. 2). The economic crisis further led to the emigration of professionals such as teachers, lecturers, lawyers and administrators to other African countries where their services were in high demand (Aseidu, 2005). It was during this time that about 56% of Ghanaian trained doctors and 24% of Ghanaian trained nurses left the country for work overseas (Clemens and Pettersson, 2006 in Asare, 2012).

Unfortunately, the Ghanaian economy continued to deteriorate, and the exodus of different categories of Ghanaians – skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled - increased in the mid-1970s (Anarfi et al., 2003; Aseidu, 2005; Mensah, 2010). This was also triggered by the policy of free movement within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sub-regions and other political upheavals. Additionally, the repercussion of Economic Recovery (ERP) and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) during the 1980s further deepened economic crisis and intensified Ghanaian emigration. During this period, Anarfi et al (2003) identifies two distinct migration patterns: emigration within ECOWAS countries and inter-continental migration to Europe and North America towards the mid-1980s.

However, the migration of Ghanaians to Europe has increased and continues until date (Schoumaker et al, 2013; GSS, 2013). The most obvious destination is said to be the United

Kingdom (UK), United States (US), Canada and other English-speaking countries where there seem to exist relative ease of integration socio-economically (Quartey, 2009; Mensah, 2010). This is because English is a national language in Ghana; therefore, migrants from Ghana are more likely to find jobs and integrate faster in the said regions where English is a primary means of communication than in non-English speaking countries. As the numbers of immigrants increase, interest in integration measures for immigrants captured the attention of migration researchers and policy makers in destination regions, recently including Norway where the Norwegian language, and not English, is the main means of communication (Eriksen, 2013; Østby, 2013; Brekke & Mastekaasa 2008; Stören, 2004; etc.).

Migration from Ghana to Norway also commenced from the 1970s, a time when Ghana was politically unstable (Statistics Norway, 2015). And so, the Ghanaian immigrants who moved to Norway during this period mainly came to seek political refuge. However, from the late 70s and 1980s onwards, many Ghanaians primarily moved to Norway to seek the Norwegian government-sponsored education (e.g. quota scholarship) which was instituted in the mid-1960s for developing countries. Presently, the number of Ghanaians residing in Norway has increased from 8 in 1970 to 1,928 in 2016, largely comprising students, family and labour migrants (Statistics Norway, 2016). Majority of Ghanaians in Norway reside in Oslo, Norway's capital city.

Bergen, Norway's second largest city, hosts about 272 Ghanaians out of the total number of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway (ibid.). Ghanaians may choose Bergen as a destination because the city hosts some of Norway's most international universities as well as an attractive scholarship package that these universities offer. Additionally, Bergen has also assumed greater labour market importance as the city has become a center for the offshore oil and gas industries. This, coupled with the relatively stable nature of the welfare and labour market policies makes it a pulling destination for many international students and labour migrants including Ghanaians (Eriksen, 2013). One of such policies is the amendment of the Quarantine Provision in 2001¹. This is said to have made it relatively easy for international students to remain and work in

¹ The Quarantine Provision previously prevented immigrants with study permit in Norway from applying for a work permit before the student moves out of Norway (Tran, 2014, p. 10).

Norway for a period of six months after ended studies (Department of Finance, 2000-2001 in Tran, 2014, p. 1).

However, after deciding to remain and work in the Bergen Municipality, the immigrants are often confronted with place-specific labour market requirements (such as language) which is usually a challenge because of a complex interaction of factors that serve as hindrances to entry into appropriate segments of the labour market (Stier and Levanon, 2003). This usually affects their level of integration in the region. Anderson (2003) recognizes such integration challenges in Norway among immigrants and document how immigrants and their children face problems with housing and employment. It is in line with this recognition that some migration research in Norway have focused on employment status, performance and earnings of immigrants as measures of labour market integration (Liebig, 2009, Brekke & Mastekaasa 2008; Stören, 2004; Galloway, 2006; Longva & Raaum, 2003)

The majority of these researchers document lower employment and earning rates among immigrants as compared to native Norwegian citizens. Liebig (2009), for example, identifies a correlation between employment status and immigrants' levels of qualifications. He shows that highly qualified immigrants are more likely to obtain stable and adequate employment than low-qualified immigrants with little or no education. Others have also identified a correlation between employment status and duration of residence in the host country (Brekke & Mastekaasa 2008; Galloway, 2006; Longva & Raaum, 2003). For instance, Galloway (2006) indicates that the probability of employment increases the longer the period of residency in the host country (p. 77). She explains that, immigrants would have then acquired the basic relevant labour market requirements such as language, skills and knowledge of the workings of the labour market.

Ironically, immigrants with longer periods of stay in the host region, including highly qualified labour migrants, still face certain problems in gaining access to jobs that match their qualifications and as a result, they are forced to take jobs that they are over-qualified for. In Norway, Stören (2004) found that non-Western immigrant graduates experience higher rates of unemployment than native graduates do in general, regardless their duration of stay. However, an emphasis on employment outcomes between western and non-western immigrants would have been more educational, given mainstream conceptions that natives are at a more advantageous position for better job opportunities than immigrants are. Nevertheless, she attributes the

difference in labour market experiences to discrimination effects. Conversely, Galloway (2006) and Stier & Levanon (2003) attribute the negative experiences to the effect of unobservable mechanisms such as language barriers and non-transferability of migrants' knowledge/ skills acquired in their home countries to the new labour market. Consequently, this has caused many skilled and highly educated immigrants, including Ghanaians, to turn to low-status, insecure jobs or experience prolonged periods of unemployment. In this study, we will look deeper into the case of Ghanaians in Bergen. The causes of unemployment for them might also be language hindrances, limited Norwegian network or factors relating to their identity as Ghanaians/Africans.

Furthermore, although the outlined studies in Norway are relevant sources of knowledge about the workings of the Norwegian labour market, they mostly focus on the outcomes of migrants' participation in the labour market (e.g. Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008; Borjas, 2006; Liebig, 2009; Hayfron, 1998). They have paid less attention on factors that affect access and participation in the labour market despite policies set in place to ensure successful integration for immigrants in Norway. They tend to have much more to say about migrants from Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Somalia, Turkey or Vietnam rather than about immigrants from countries such as Ghana (Eriksen, 2013; Østby, 2013; Liebig, 2009; Hayfron, 1998). Issues concerning Ghanaians and their integration in Norway and not the least in Bergen thus appear to be relatively neglected niche, apart from one study that focused on dual citizenship of Ghanaians in Oslo (Kassah, 2014). This is partly because the number of Ghanaians in most Scandinavian cities such as Bergen is quite small compared to migrants from the above-mentioned countries (Statistics Norway, 2015). Secondly, most Ghanaians move to Bergen as students with temporal stays and work permits, which probably make them hard to conduct research on. Moreover, studies on labour market integration of immigrants in Norway (e.g. Galloway, 2006; Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008; Liebig, 2009) also often neglect the migrant's agency to overcome hindrances in the Norwegian labour market.

The present study not only provides insight into the factors necessary for labour market integration but also provides an analysis of informal employment dynamics among employees and jobseekers. I discuss the role of migrants' social contacts (both transnational and local) in choosing Bergen as a place of destination, employment processes and outcomes, and how social network utilization influences the kind of jobs they acquire. I also explore the challenges that Ghanaian immigrants face in their attempt to become economically integrated in Bergen and how

the employment challenges affect their ability to contribute their quota to the well-being of relatives back home in Ghana.

Some empirical studies indicate that labour market integration of immigrants across and within national boundaries generate significant implications for improving peoples' well-being in developing countries (DeHass, 2010; Manuh, 2005, Dustmann, 2003). Thus, once migrants find jobs abroad and begin to remit sizeable portions of their earnings to families back home, there is a tendency the families' lives improve by reducing their depth and severity of poverty (Adams et al, 2008; Asiedu, 2005; Ellis, 2003). Others have found remittances as a potential for livelihood enhancement among the poor and the poorest regions of developing countries (Carling, 2014, p. 219, Mazzucato, 2011). In the case of Ghana, remittances have been described as poverty relief with implications that have been identified to be essential as both a livelihood-enhancement strategy and a means of mitigating vulnerabilities (Quartey, 2006; Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008).

However, a number of these studies on the impact of migrants' remittances on Ghana (e.g. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Quartey, 2006; Asiedu, 2005) based their findings on the perspective of either the sender or the recipient. Very few, compare responses from the senders and the recipients. Motives for sending money and use of remittances are subjective. They may become realistic when receivers conform to the purpose for sending remittances and unrealistic when receivers deviate from them (Carling, 2014). By comparing the responses of both senders and recipients of remittances on the purpose/use of the monies sent home, an improved understanding of the impact of migrants' remittances may be derived.

This thesis can therefore contribute to migration studies in general. The thesis also creates awareness of Ghanaians' level of integration in Bergen and shows how underlying factors, such as language proficiency, individual identities and Norwegian contacts, play significant roles in the labour market integration of non-western immigrants.

1.1 Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The general aim of this study is to examine factors that facilitate or hinder successful labour market integration of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen.

The specific research questions are:

- i. What was the initial purpose of coming to Bergen?
- ii. Which aspects of the Ghanaian immigrants' identity (gender, nationality, education and skills) facilitate or hinder labour market integration?
- iii. Which aspects of the labour market act as hindrance against employment and which strategies are used to overcome these hindrances?
- iv. How does the immigrants' employment status influence the possibility for an improved well-being of their families in Ghana?

I used three main theories to answer research question two and question three. Labour market theories tries to provide answers based on human capital differences among the immigrants. The concept of gender highlights factors that affect the men and women's choice of job. While social network theory show how job seeking channels serve to prohibit or facilitate integration of immigrants into appropriate segments of the labour market. These theories are explain in details in chapter three.

1.2 The Study Area

The study was mainly carried out among Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen and was followed up with interviews with their families in Ghana (Greater Accra Region, Brong-Ahafo Region and Central Region). The regions in Ghana were purposively chosen for the study because the informants interviewed in Bergen prior to the fieldwork in Ghana had the recipients of their remittances coming from these areas.

Bergen is a municipality within Hordaland County on the west coast of Norway. It is the second largest city after Oslo, the capital city of Norway, with a population of about 250 420 (Statistics Norway, 2016). The city centre is situated among a group of mountains known as the seven mountains and the landscape is generally hilly with little continuous lowland (Schmidt-Thomé and Klein, 2013).

Bergen has a temperate Oceanic climate of relatively mild winters and cool summers. The annual mean temperature is 7.7°C and the temperature changes relatively little throughout the year. This makes Bergen one of the warmest cities in Norway (Schmidt-Thomé and Klein, 2013). The effect

of the Gulf Stream used to be the usual explanation for this, but recent research indicates that warm winds from the west may be more important than warm waters from the Gulf Stream (Seager, 2006; Kirkboen, 2012; all as cited in Schmidt-Thomé and Klein, 2013).

Bergen Municipality is a relatively heterogeneous society comprising not only ethnic Norwegians, but also people from different racial, religious and ethnic backgrounds. The major western immigrant groups in Bergen mostly come from neighbouring countries such as Poland, Sweden, and Denmark while immigrants from non-western countries come from Syria, Pakistan, Iraq, Somalia and Iran as mainly asylum seekers (Galloway, 2006; Statistics Norway, 2016). A number of the non-western immigrants also come from countries such as Sri-Lanka, Vietnam, Ethiopia and Eritrea. However, until the 1970s, there were hardly any non-western immigrants in Bergen and in Norway generally (Galloway, 2006, p. 2). But by the year 2000, part of the top ten immigrant groups in the region were from non-western countries, mainly refugees from Syria, Iraq and Somalia (Statistics Norway, 2016). As we shall see, Ghanaian immigrants have moved to Bergen for quite different reasons other than asylum seeking.

Bergen's labour market is also very differentiated. The largest sector is oil and gas manufacturing; followed by the maritime industrial sector, then other related sectors like construction and processing industries (Schmidt-Thomé and Klein, 2013). This coupled with low unemployment rates, high salaries and a well-developed welfare state makes Bergen an attractive pulling destination for different categories of migrants including Ghanaians. It is partly in line with this that I chose to conduct the study in Bergen. The choice of the study area is also because I am undertaking my postgraduate studies in Bergen and have observed over time some challenges that Ghanaians face in their attempts to find jobs that match their qualification.

Ghana, on the other hand, is a multi-ethnic society comprising of five ethnic groups. The Akans are the predominant ethnic group in Ghana (47.5%), followed by the Mole Dagbani (16.6%), the Ewe (13.9%) and Ga-Dangme (7.4%) (GSS, 2010). Ghana has ten administrative regions with Accra as its capital and a total population size of about 24 million (GSS, 2010).

Among other West African countries, Ghana is noted for its thriving democracies, hospitality and religiosity. The economy is largely agrarian and dependent on a number of key exports, principally, cocoa, timber and gold. After independence from British rule in 1957 to the 1960's, the country managed to develop in such an extent that Ghana became a country of net

immigration and often referred to as a role model for Sub-Sahara Africa (Aumbila et al., 2008; Gyimah-Boadi and Brobbey, 2012 p. 6.). Following such development, the country also witnessed a series of economic and political upheavals that led a number of Ghanaians to emigrate to other countries from the 1970s and 1980s onwards. In 2010, Ghana began oil production and it is anticipated to boost the country's economy in the future.

In spite of this, Ghana's economy is currently considered relatively less developed with majority of the working population employed in the private informal sector (GSS, 2010). Recent findings from the Ghana Living Standards Survey 6 (GLSS) indicate that about 5.2 percent of Ghanaians are unemployed while more than one-third of the working population are underemployed (GLSS, 2013). The Ghanaian labour market is also overcrowded with unemployed tertiary-school graduates (Aryetey, 2011) and informal sector jobs dominate (Overå, 2007). These and many other reasons may have accounted for the increasing rates of emigration that has expanded to include Scandinavian countries such as Norway where language should be considered a key barrier to integration, livelihoods and career advancement.

1.3 Organisation of the study

The thesis is structured into six chapters. Chapter one consists of the introduction, problem statement, objectives and propositions, and the study area. Chapter two puts forward a theoretical framework while chapter three presents the research methodology. Chapter four presents the research findings based on emerging themes related to the research objectives. Chapter five provides discussions of findings while chapter six concludes the study by summarizing the findings of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

There are several theories for explaining issues relating to immigrants' employment in the labour market of host countries. This chapter presents labour market theories, social network theories, gender and intersectionality theories. These theories address the research objectives which seek to examine factors that facilitate or hinder integration of Ghanaians in Bergen's labour market. The feminist concept of intersectionality, for instance, is useful for discussing the multiple challenges informants faced in their quest to find appropriate jobs.

2.1 Labour Market Theories

Labor market theories comprises of numerous interrelated theoretical contributions that attempt to explain why some people are hired and others are unemployed, and why people find appropriate jobs and others do not.

Hayter and Patchell (2011, p. 111-112) defined the labour market as a place where labour is bought and sold as well as the institutions through which the purchase and sale of labour power are regulated. In this definition, the labour market is not only a spatially bounded unit within which labour-power is exchanged (Harvey, 1985). It is also considered as a place where the transactions between employers and employees are shape and regulated by social structures (both formal and informal rules) and practices within an administratively defined boundary (Kerr, 1954). However, it differs from other markets in that its functioning is based on the interaction of several factors (e.g. education, experience, skills, living environment, gender, etc.), to determine integration levels (Martinkus and Berzinskiene, 2005 in Jakstiene, 2010b; Mc Dowell, 2003; Browne, 2006).

In the subsequent sections, the theoretical contributions are analysed within the scope of neoclassical labour market theories and segmentation labour market theories.

2.1.2 Neoclassical labor market theories

The neoclassical labour market theories share two main assumptions about how the labour market operates. First, these theories assume that the labour market exists as a close approximation to the 'perfect' market model where labour demand and supply is regulated by price mechanisms (Kreckel, 1980; Jakstiene, 2010b). In this way, it is assumed that employers act to minimise cost by paying as low a wage as they can for the worker skills that they need while workers similarly act to maximize their reward (wage) by accepting high-paying jobs for which they have the requisite skills (Kreckel, 1980). Thus, both workers and employers are considered as rational 'economic men' who are constantly striving to maximise their well-being. The invisible hand of demand and supply is the only regulating mechanism through which market transactions are controlled (ibid).

Secondly, the labour market is characterised by open competition between buyers and sellers of labour (Jakstiene, 2010b). At this 'place', labour is assumed a homogenous commodity, information and mobility are costless, and the competition prevails between several employers and workers (Kreckel, 1980). It is expected that this competition (employers trying to keep wages low and workers trying to bid them up) will lead to a wage scale such that the number of jobs available at each skill level just equals the number of persons able and willing to take those jobs. A simple excess in supply of labour over the demand would then explain unemployment in the labour market (Kreckel, 1980). This suggest that employment will to some degree depend on individual job seekers' efforts and abilities (Hust, 2007; in Jakstiene, 2010a). Thus, since labour is assume homogenous, highly qualified individuals may become unemployed because they are not fortunate or there exist excess supply over demand in the labour market.

Despite the usefulness of neoclassical labour market theories for understanding employment processes, some scholars have rejected their idea of labour as a homogenous commodity and the assumption that competition in the labour market is perfect (Jakstiene, 2010a; Cain, 1976; Kerr, 1954). Rather, they emphasis labour differences under the influence of a combination of factors which are either external or internal of the individual. Martinaitis et al (2004 in Jakstiene, 2010a, p. 58), emphasised a person's relationship with the environment as another measure for determining successful labour market integration. Similarly, employers will be motivated to engage workers whom they think possess the needed human capital for the job (Becker, 2009).

Others have emphasized institutions as playing an additional influential role in shaping transactions in the labour market; and argued further that human capital as typically measured in terms of level of education, skills and experience is in most cases not sufficient to explain differences in employment outcomes (Dunlop, 1966; Jakstiene, 2010a; Hayter and Patchell, 2011). Neoclassicists, they request, should focus on the role that the state and non-market institutions (e.g. cultural ideologies) play to condition internal labour market transactions while at the same time maintaining a focus on the influence of employee's qualification or professional skills in explaining difference among employees (Leontaridi, 1998; Laumenskaite, 2001 in Jakstiene, 2010a).

In addition, empirical studies by Wolber (2007) on labour market entry of school-leavers have also revealed the role that institutions and educational structure play in shaping different patterns of entry into the labour market. Wolber found that countries with strict employment regulations have a relative slow speed of entry into the labour market by school-leavers (ibid.). Based on such arguments and many others, Labour Market Segmentation (SLM) theorist have challenged neoclassicists and called for more efforts in studying the labour markets as segments that are formed under the influence of economic, political and social forces (Jakstiene, 2010a, p. 54).

2.1.3 Segmented labour market theories

The theory of Segmented Labour Markets (SLM) is based on the hypothesis that 'the labour market is not a single competitive market, but is composed of a variety of non-competing segments between which rewards to human capital differ' (Leontaridi, 1998, p.64). The segments are simply 'good' and 'bad' jobs (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Other SLM theories refer to labour market segments as 'formal' and 'informal' jobs or 'primary' and 'secondary' segments, 'static' and 'progressive' (Anker, 1972; Standing, 1989; Kerr, 1954). Those in the 'good job' division have relatively high wages, good working conditions and greater opportunity for career advancement. In contrast, those in the 'bad job' division have low wages, bad working conditions, unstable employment, and limited career opportunities (Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

The differences in the type of job an individual gets in either segment is ascribe to institutional, occupational and geographical factors as well as employers' attitude to gender, race, age and

other categories. These factors are expected to prohibit all parts of the population from benefiting equally from education and training (Leontaridi, 1998).

SLM theories are relevant for explaining why some of the informants in this study of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen found 'good' jobs and others found 'bad' jobs in spite of their qualification, previous work experience and their knowledge of Norwegian. In this study, I compare research participants' characteristics such as education and the current kinds of employment they have obtained. I identified a number of job mismatches in relation to employees' education and knowledge of Norwegian language. According to SLM theorist such pervasive problems in the labour market could be understood in terms of a dual labour market – that minorities in society are confined to the 'secondary segment' whilst the majorities are within the primary segment.

Advocates of this view claim that the 'good' jobs are rationed. That is, not all job seekers/employees who are qualified and desire good jobs can obtain one. Secondly, with recent influx of labour migrants in contemporary western societies, the labour market is increasingly stratified. This, according to Jakstiene (2010b), has contributed to new forms of inequalities based on national citizenship. The consequence is that, in particular, women, blacks and other minorities would find it difficult to obtain employment in the 'good' job segment (Bluestone, 1968; Harrison, 1972). The market then becomes '.....intrinsicly a structure of power, in which the possession of certain attributes advantages some groupings of individuals relative to others' (Giddens 1980, p.101). Hence, eliminating unemployment in the labour market and subsequent confinement in the secondary segment requires that minority groups have easy access to primary employment (Piore, 1970, p. 55).

Another insight from SLM approach is its emphasis on discrimination. Doering and Piore (1971) among others (Cain, 1975) point out that workers tend to be allocated to either segment initially through the process of employer's discrimination or systemic factors which pushes certain categories of employees in one particular segment. For that reason, certain groups of workers are segregated from primary jobs not because they lack the appropriate human capital but rather because they do not fit within the society that they find themselves. For example, it is possible that systemic factors will allocate someone who is a university graduate to a secondary segment

job while others with lesser education may obtain jobs in the primary segment. In the job competition theory (Thurow and Lucas 1972) for instance, employers' interest is seen as a key factor in determining unemployment duration and queues for primary jobs.

The job competition theory, from the works of the economists Thurow and Lucas (Thurow and Lucas 1972; Thurow 1972), focus on the initial entry position into the labour market and on-the-job training as an important means for accessing primary jobs. The theory argues that jobseekers are in a queue and the type and number of jobs available to them in the labour market is dependent on the individual's human capital and cost of training after employment (Thurow and Lucas 1972). In other words, individuals' positioning within the queue depends on the characteristics of the individual, which is used by the employer to estimate the cost that will be incurred in training if the person is hired for the job (Mayhew and Rosewell, 1979, p.81). Hence, in a 'job-competition world', Thurow posit that 'it is economically rational for an unprejudiced employer to practice human capital discrimination' (1975, p. 175).

However, unlike the neoclassical perspective that workers are 'economic men' who constantly strive to maximise their economic well-being by looking for jobs, in the job competition model "...there are jobs looking for people – for suitable and yet trainable people" (Thurow 1972, p. 68). This is because education/skills (human capital) received outside the job is seen as important only as a screening device for employers. Rather, on-the-job acquired skills create the supply of job skills needed. Referring to the importance of on-the-job training for producing job skills, many migration studies have also shown that immigrants encounter higher risk of unemployment (Brekke and Mastekaasa, 2008; Stören, 2004; Stier, H. & Levanon, 2003). According to segmentation theorists, this owes to rational consideration by employers of the cost of training people with less or no knowledge about the nature and peculiarities of the labour market in the destination region compared with experienced indigenes. This, by implication, has been found to have confer significant advantages to native citizens – the 'insiders' – compared to immigrants – the 'outsiders'.

2.1.4 Criticisms of segmented labour market theories

Although the SLM theorists have analyzed the empirical importance of discrimination, Watcher and his colleagues (1974) have outlined a number of gaps that the SLM theories failed to fill.

First, they were of the view that the theories have failed to investigate the extent to which ongoing discrimination exerts its force in the labor market. For instance, employees' firing, promotion, remuneration size may be discriminated in the labour market because of differences in personal characteristics/ identities.

Secondly, they argue that empirical data do not suggest a strict division of the labour market but rather that data suggest the existence of segmented markets with imperfect mobility, arising from human capital constraints (ibid., p. 679). In this way, they claim SLM theories have ignored the possibilities of labour moving either from the secondary segment to the primary segment, or vice versa (e.g. a teacher to a cleaner) or within the either secondary or the primary segment.

The theories, even though successful in providing explanations to the various uncertainties in the labour market, have once more received criticism for failing to incorporate gender into their frameworks and ignoring the differences that gender makes to what we know and how we know them (Collins, 2000). They have failed to analyse gender differences in human capital, employment choices and in labour market discriminations. It is also obvious now that the labour market theories (both the neoclassicists and SLM) have been unable to provide sufficient understanding of how the socially constructed nature of skills affects equality, access and integration in the labour market.

In the following section, I shall focus on aspects of the concept of gender and intersectionality that relate to the labour market, because these concepts are particularly relevant for answering the research question on the aspects of the immigrants' identities that facilitate or hinder successful labour market integration. These concepts will throw light on why Ghanaian men and women face different multiple challenges which cause them to have different jobs.

2.2 The concept of gender

Gender is a cultural or social elaboration of differences between women and men (McDowell, 2003, p.607). As a verb, gender is used to represent social classification of differences, roles and expectations of what it means to be a woman or a man. Other forms of characteristics such as sex, race, class and ethnicity are also used for classifying people into groups. Sex, in particular, is a different concept from gender; and this often creates confusion. Sex is based on ‘socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as males or females’ (West and Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127). Biological sex then forms the foundation on which societies construct gender (Padavic and Reskin, 2002).

Unlike sex, gender is mutable and subject to changes over time and space. This is because cultural/social beliefs and structures that spell out views of femininity and masculinity are not static (ibid.). For instance, research indicates that one of the consequences of the implementation of structural adjustment programs in Ghana is men taking up trading activities and jobs that were largely considered feminine (Overå, 2007). Such studies confirm that the construction of gendered activities is a process that is dynamic and changes when society undergoes changes, being it economic, social or political. McDowell (2013) also emphasized this when she linked gender to geography, and examined how men and women’s lives differ across space and time.

As a social construct, gender is a form of identity that is created through ‘an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women’ (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004, p.510). For example, in most African societies, regardless of one’s place of residence and location, boys are socialized to become breadwinners while girls are brought up to respect men’s authority in a household, care for their children and carry out domestic duties as a primary responsibility (Ampofo, 2001; Boohene et al. 2008). By so doing, gender roles and ideologies are imparted to both sexes right from childhood and this continues to adulthood, creating and maintaining differences between African males and females. These attitudes and ideologies that people acquire towards gender-appropriate behaviour becomes part of the individual’s lifestyle and eventually affect life choices among which includes occupation (West and Zimmerman, 1985).

However, these roles and ideologies are not fixed; they often undergo changes over time because of factors such as education, urbanization, media, migration, exposure to other cultures and technology (Khalid, 2011). A study conducted among Tanzanian male and female secondary and university students reveals that men, rather than women, have expectations that are more traditional about gender roles (Feinster, 2010). For migration researches, this view varies. Studies have found that traditional gender role attitudes decrease among migrants due to acculturation processes (Khalid, 2011). In such instances, migrant women have been found to be more transformed than men because of their exposure to egalitarian cultural environments, and this implies more sharing of domestic roles (Berkel, 2004; Xu & Lai, 2004). In this study, I examine the extent to which the informants' ideologies of gender-appropriate behaviours have changed with an exposition to the Norwegian culture. This I did by focusing on the kinds of jobs men and women engage themselves in that otherwise they would not have engaged in in Ghana.

Although gender ideologies are constantly undergoing changes and a higher proportion of women are now entering the labour market, the changes have not eliminated gender segregation in different occupations in many societies (Estevez-Abe, 2006). Labour market segregation continues to persist with many jobs identified as men or women's work (ibid.). For instance, in this study of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen, we shall see that a number of women are engaged in nursing-care assistant jobs and men in cleaning jobs. Explanations of why women find certain kinds of jobs and why employers generally offer certain jobs to a particular gender are viewed from the feminist perspective presented below.

2.2.1 A feminist perspective on the persistence of labour market segregation

Feminist scholars have attributed the persistence of labour market segregation by sex to patriarchy and women's subordinate position in society, stereotyping, and systemic discrimination (Anker, 2001, p. 138 and Bergmann, 1974). They posit that women are disadvantaged in society and in the labour market because of oppressive patriarchal structures (social, cultural, political and economic institutions) that create and reproduce inequalities by defining expectations about who should perform certain types of work (Dixon and Jones, 2006, p.8).

Women are therefore responsible for caring for the household and the family as well as reproduction and child raising roles while men are responsible for production work (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). Such unequal division of responsibilities influences men and women to make choices that lead them to jobs with substantially different working conditions. As an example, women in general would more likely than men work in jobs that offer flexible working conditions so they can combine production work with household and reproductive work. However, these jobs are often informal, low-status and ‘bad’ jobs (ibid.). This, feminists argue, has caused a number of women to be trapped in such occupations and further influencing the creation of ‘feminised’ occupational domains (also called female occupations) (Lutz, 2010).

Feminists also hold that patriarchal system of ordering in society has affected how much human capital (measured in terms of education and training) and labour market experiences both genders accumulate (Padavic and Reskin, 2002). Since women play double roles in the division of responsibilities than men, women will have less time to invest in lengthy period of education and training, which eventually cause them to prefer jobs that do not require much education and training. Contrary to this viewpoint, both men and women in this study have relatively high education. However, we shall see in the subsequent chapters how the informants’ gender as well as socio-cultural ideologies (rather than education) influenced their occupational choices.

Another explanation for occupational segregation is that ‘non-rational factors such as employers’ tastes and cultural norms about appropriate gender roles’ determine one’s choice of occupation (Estevez-Abe, 2006, p. 145). Feminist scholarship explain that, occupational gender segregation occurs when employers associate high-status jobs that demand ‘authority’ and physical strength as masculine while non-manual and low-status jobs are ascribed as feminine, or when they believe women to show more absenteeism due to their reproductive and caring nature (ibid.). This then motivates employers to allocate more women to non-manual low-paying job segments and more men to manual high-paying jobs segments. Therefore, where there are barriers to certain occupations (such as medical doctoring, engineering and construction jobs), the supply of women in occupations without barriers (such as cleaning and caring jobs) increases, creating a pool of men and women’s jobs. Anker (2001), in an overview of occupational segregation by sex, also provides much detailed explanation of how stereotypes (positives, negative and others) of women and their supposed abilities contribute to gender-based discrimination by employers.

Additionally, feminists argue that gender norms restrict which jobs are appropriate for women of particular race, class, ethnicity, or religion exist and promote ideologies that make labour market segregation appear natural (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001 in Browne & Misra, 2003, p. 491). An example of gender norms noted to limit women's occupational participation is the practice of purdah in Muslim countries (Anker, 1998). Purdah is a practice that confines Muslim women to the household by forbidding them to accept jobs that demand constant interaction with men in public. This practice of restricting women in turn discourages some sects of Muslim women from seeking jobs that demand communication with men (ibid.). But in developed countries that are not Muslim such as Norway and Sweden, Padavic and Resekin (2002, p. 32) recount a smaller gender gap in labour force participation due to public policies that encourages women to combine paid and family work by providing paid parental leaves and prorated benefits for part-time jobs. The argument presented here by feminist scholars is that, segregation in the labour market will persist when embodied social structures (social, political, economic and cultural ideologies) reinforce and sustain social practices that discourages women's participation in the labour market (McDowell, 1997; Connell, 2002). By examining the gender differentiation of jobs among Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen's labour market, this study explores the extent to which institutions in Bergen's society and the Ghanaian ideologies about gender-appropriate jobs reinforce occupational segregation.

Another factor that affects the demand for women workers are institutions such as labour laws and regulations (Anker, 2001, p. 134). Labour laws may protect women from being dismissed from work for frequent absenteeism relating to pregnancy and after-birth complications. Others provide protection for women and vulnerable groups based on working conditions. An example of such labour laws in Norway is the Norwegian Anti-Discrimination Acts (ADA), the Gender Equality Acts (GEA), the Working Environment Acts (WEA) and the Anti-discrimination and Accessibility Acts (AAA). Section 4 of the GEA and section 15 of the WEA spells that; a female employee may not be dismissed on grounds of pregnancy but must be treated equally with male workers in employment. Partly for this reason, profit-seeking employers would not be willing to employ women since they have to pay them and treat them equally as other male workers during maternity leave. This, Anker (2001, p. 134) states, increases the comparative cost of employing female workers and hence promotes occupational segregation.

Without any doubt, a gender perspective of labour market segregation is a useful framework for understanding why men or women dominate in certain types of jobs. The perspectives further provides a lens through which difference between men and women could be understood and why labour market segregation by gender persists despite recent major increases in education and labour force participation of women. In spite of this, the perspectives have mainly focused on aggregate occupational segregation by gender, while employment differences mediated by other socially constructed categories such as race, ethnicity and class have received less attention (Shield, 2008). Theories on labour market segregation have also failed to explain how gender and other socially constructed identities fuse to create unique experiences and opportunities for different groups such as migrants (Browne & Misra, 2003).

In the following section, I shall draw on the feminist theories of intersectionality to understand how differences in labour market experiences as well as outcomes are shaped by the individuals' multiple social identities.

2.3 Intersectionality perspective

Within the field of geography, the concept intersectionality depicts a major paradigmatic shift from the discursive construction of gender as a central theme to a focus on ways that socially constructed categories (race, class, ethnicity etc.) of difference 'interlocks' and interact to reproduce unique experiences' (Anderson and Hill Collins, 1992, in Valentine 2007, p. 12). In other words, researchers should study socially constructed categories in relation to each other for a better understanding of how people's multiple identities shape privileges and opportunities in society (Falcon, 2009, p.467; Shield, 2008, p. 307; McCall, 2005). At the macro-level, this approach emphasizes the interrelatedness of power relations between individual identities on one hand and social structures such as racism on the other hand (Winker and Degele, 2011).

Although feminist work in geography initially focused on gender, so-called postfeminist theorists have increasingly raised concerns that it is impossible to understand gender inequalities while bracketing other dimensions of social identity and other within gender differences (Crenshaw, 2005; Cope, 2002; Parlee, 1995 cited from Shield, 2008, p. 305). Therefore, an intersectional lens was needed to facilitate a better understanding of how different lines of identities produce multiple forms of discrimination and experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). This challenged research

about the use of women and gender ‘as unitary and homogenous categories reflecting the common essence of all women’ (Valentine, 2007, p. 12).

Feminists maintain that, the nature of experience associated with intersecting identities such race, ethnicity, gender, among others, are not static. Rather they are dynamic across space and in changing configurations with mutually constituted relationships in order to produce and maintain social inequalities (Walby, 2007; Browne & Misra, 2003 p.489). Collins conceptualise these various intersections of social inequalities as the ‘matrix of domination’ (Collins, 1996 in Browne & Misra, 2003 p.489). It is widely agreed that within this matrix, an individual or group can simultaneously experience disadvantages and privileges through the combined status of gender, race, class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, among others (Shield, 2008; Browne & Misra, 2003).

Intersectionality as an analytical tool has also been conceptualised as ‘axes of inequalities’ (Knapp, 2005, p. 262). Intersectional theorists hereby assume that dominant groups control productive resources and major social institutions which gives them power to, for instance, ascribe certain kinds of jobs to other social groups (Browne & Misra, 2003). In this case, employers are said to more likely employ individuals who occupy the ‘highest’ intersectional identities for professional jobs than those with ‘lowest’ intersectional identities, especially in the case of immigrants or ethnic minority groups whose skills and language abilities are limited in the host country (Ransford, 1980 in Browne & Misra, 2003 p. 493). Thus, one may occupy the highest position on what I call the ‘intersectional ladder’ when greater combination of the individual’s multiple social categories – e.g. white Norwegian male graduate - amass great advantages and privileges for labour market integration. Similarly, an individual occupies a low intersectional position when greater aspects of the individual’s multiple social categories – e.g. Black African uneducated migrant woman – pose difficulties for integration (ibid).

Although, employers are motivated to engage workers whom they think to possess the most needed human capital for the job, these perceptions, biases and interest based on gender, race, class, age, ethnicity, among other variables, have been found crucial by feminist theorists to translate into hierarchies of inequalities (Browne & Misra, 2003, p. 492). In relation to this perspective, I look out for, in this study, the factors that cause certain categories of Ghanaians to occupy high positions on the ‘intersectional ladder’ and the privileges that come with such

‘intersectional positionalities’. By so doing, I examine how informants’ multiple identities translate into inequalities among them.

The intersectionality approaches further assume that employers are making decisions about hiring, among others, based on the combination of a worker’s social identities (Weber, 2001). Individuals who have low intersectional identities on two or more social categories (e.g. black female middle class) will experience the most disadvantage position while individuals who have the high intersectional identities (e.g. white male upper class) will accrue the greatest privilege, power, and prestige (Browne & Misra, 2003, p.493). This, to some extent, helps me to identify other factors that hinder or facilitate the concentration of my informants in a particular occupational domain such as cleaning and nursing-care jobs.

Despite the fact that this perspective put much emphasis on the effect of many personal variables in determining successful integration into the labour market, however, several problems may arise if this framework is adopted without considering the methods associated with it. Leslie McCall (2005) differentiates between three methodological approaches to the study of intersectionality namely: anticategorical, intracategorical and intercategorical approaches. The methodology of anticategorical approach requires researchers to ‘deconstruct the simple categorization of men and women and other analytical categories’ to unravel a wider range of different experiences within identities’ (ibid. p. 1773). The intracategorical approach takes the form of ‘in-depth qualitative studies of a single social group and analyses the complexity of lived experiences in these groups at the intersection of multiple categories’ (p. 1774 & p.1782). The intercategorical approach, on the other hand, analyzes relationships of inequality between groups (p. 1773). These methodologies outlined by McCall offers the potential to understand and discuss the differences in labour market outcomes within and between genders. It also helps to understand how the intersection of multiple aspects of people’s identities creates both barriers and opportunities for participation in the labour market. In this thesis, we shall see how I adopt the method of the anticategorical approach to unravel the way gender intersects with informants’ citizenship and educational class to produce differences in employment processes and outcomes within the Ghanaian group of immigrants in Bergen. This is therefore an appropriate method for this study because of its ability to tell who gets which kind of job in the labour market.

So far, the attention has been on internal factors (the individual characteristics and employment motivations) that influence integration into the labour market. Consequently, the influence of other external factors (e.g. social/interpersonal relations) on employment has received less focus in the above outlined perspectives. As Martinaitis et al (2004, in Jakstiene, 2010a, p. 58) notes, ‘successful integration into the labour market not only depends a person’s characteristics (human capital), but also on his accumulated social relations’. Thus, a wide range of relatives, friends, neighbors and acquaintances may play crucial roles in determining successful labour market integration.

In the next session, I shall look at the literature on social networks and later use it as an analytical framework to understand how Ghanaians in Bergen locate and secure certain types of jobs through the information and other forms of assistance provided by their personal contacts.

2.4 Social network theory

A social network is a social structure made up of a set of actors (also referred to as ‘nodes’) and the relations (‘ties’) between these actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). In this definition, the nodes or actors are generally rational individuals, groups and organisations within the network who take into consideration the cost and benefit of using social networks as a means of searching for job information (ibid.). The ties, on the other hand, are forged through social relationships (e.g. kinship, friendship, beliefs, ethnicity, religion etc.) and economic activities (e.g. work contacts) that ‘act as conduits for the flow of information, influence and resources’ (Gross and Lindquist, 1995, p. 329). Hence, the actors with which an individual has a relationship are the social contacts in the individual’s network and this may include ones’ friends, neighbors, kinship relations, schoolmates, work associates, members from the same ethnic/country/organization/religious group and employers/supervisors.

However, these networks are not static (Wilson, 1998). They are dynamic and multi-local because they expand over time to include various forms of people (outside one’s ethnic enclave), resources and people from different geographic locations; so that labour market conditions and opportunities are passed on to the social contacts (ibid.). In other words, an individual may be part of an international network of nodes (i.e. transnational communities) or locally situated

networks within the nation-state and cities. This is well documented in theories of migration and transnationalism. A number of studies have also shown how social networks provide migrants with a wide range of assistance that turns to influence mobility, direction of migration flows as well as job patterns (Hagan, 1998, p. 55; Wilson, 1998; Massey et al, 1987).

Granovetter (1973, 1995) was the first to have found a link between the flows of information within social networks and employment. He found that professional, technical and managerial workers in Newton, Massachusetts locate and secure jobs through their personal contacts rather than through formal methods of job application. Similarly, a more recent study from Ghana have also illustrated with case studies how kinship, conjugal and collegial-based networks are important for women's creation of businesses (Overå, 2007). My study examined the role of social networks as a medium of obtaining information about labour market conditions and opportunities in Bergen. As a result, I asked the informants how they got information about their current job. The social network theory is therefore an appropriate framework for this study because of its ability to provide an understanding of how people become aware of opportunities in society as well as the circumstances that motivates the use of networks in particular social locations (Granovetter, 1995).

Embedded within social networks are benefits and different forms of assistance (also referred to as resources). For instance, in her study of women's 'career networks' in the fishery industry in Ghana, Overå (1998, p. 129) found that a young trader may draw on training from their mother, obtain financial support from kinsmen, and be introduced to a trustworthy middleman by a colleague of the same ethnic group in order to establish herself in the Ghanaian market system. In this case, each person in the young trader's social network (relatives and colleague) presents different form of assistance necessary for the young trader to find a place in the Ghanaian labour market.

Inasmuch as people draw upon their social network to access the needed information and assistances, social relations of kinship, work, organisations, etc. also operate in different ways (e.g. by gender, racial, ethnic, class) to produce systemic differences in labour market outcomes. Consequently, some individuals (or groups) within the network may be prone to have more strategic advantage or disadvantage over others because of their positioning within the social network (Harvey, 2008). Those advantaged are people whose network connections are larger and

open with lots of connections outside their close relations. While the disadvantaged groups of individuals are people with smaller and closed network connections (Granovetter, 1995).

Again, the advantages or disadvantages over others in forming wider social relationships is shaped by characteristics of the people and other structural factors (Granovetter, 1995). More likely, structural factors such as age, gender, education, ethnicity, culture, etc. would largely determine the shape of one's social network and that would motivate the use of particular job search method (ibid., p. 18). For example, people may want to use formal means of finding out about new jobs because they are young with probably less contacts or because they are new immigrants with smaller networks at the destination region. On the contrary, older people with longer periods of work and immigrants with longer period of residency are more likely to use personal means because they have created over time a larger pool of contacts (Granovetter, 1995; Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008).

Additionally, Granovetter (1995) argued that non-western immigrants are often at a disadvantage in the use of network channels for job information because black people (in Massachusetts) were not established in the structure of employment. They were under-represented, so that, the number of blacks in the labour market yields lesser multiplier-effect (p. 133). In order for me to apply this concept to the present study, I explored the extent to which informants' utilize their social network upon arrival in Bergen and how membership in either Ghanaian or Norwegian networks improves one's chances of getting employment in the labour market.

Belonging to a social network is also not only important for securing job information and employment in the labour market. Rather, it is also vital for exerting influence on employers who play a key role in decisions of hiring people (Lin, 2001). Such influence may come in the form of recommendation to employers by intermediaries who are often friends, kin, neighbors, schoolmates, work associates and members from the same ethnic group. The intermediaries then recommend job seekers in the network who are likely to be successful in their companies.

However, the number of intermediaries necessary for the information to reach the destination is determined by either the method of job search or the strength of one's ties to personal contacts (Granovetter, 1995, p. 55). Granovetter hypothesized that those who have appropriate (or good) jobs in the labour market are people 'who use personal contacts that are occupational rather than

close friends and relatives, whose networks are large rather than small, and who are in information chains that are short' (ibid., p. 93). My study draws on this idea to show how the use of particular networks (e.g. Norwegian networks, Ghanaian-Norwegian networks) yielded appropriate jobs for the informants and how the use of other close networks yielded inappropriate jobs for some informants. Thus, I examine the level of labour market integration of informants in relation to the kind of ties used.

In the succeeding section, I examine the concepts of strong and weak ties to elaborate on the nature of relationships between job seekers and their contacts as well as the nature of benefits entrenched in each of these ties.

2.4.1 Networks of Strong ties and weak ties

Granovetter (1973) makes an important distinction of the nature of social network job seekers employ; namely strong tied networks and weak tied networks. His distinction is based on a combination of indicators as 'time spent in the relationship', 'the frequency of contact', 'intimacy' and 'reciprocal services' (ibid., p.1361). Accordingly, strong ties are relations to close friends, relatives and people similar to the individual along some social dimensions, e.g. ethnicity, nationality, race etc. Weak ties are relations to people made up of any individual and his or her acquaintances or people who are less well known to the individual (Granovetter, 1983, 202). These kinds of networks form one of the important theoretical foundations for this study because they provide similar but different forms of assistance.

Granovetter (1983, p. 202) explain the concept of strong and weak ties with the analogy of a selected individual whom he called Ego. Ego has a number of close friends to whom he is strongly tied and together they form a dense network in which members are in touch with one another. Ego also has a number of acquaintances, few of whom know one another (weak ties/low-dense network). Each of these acquaintances is likely to have close friends who are often unknown to each other or to members of ego's dense network (ibid.). Granovetter (1973) assert that, the weak tie between Ego and his acquaintance is not merely trivial, but then, a crucial bridge between two dense clusters of close friends, kin and relatives. The closer individuals are to a bridge in a network, the greater benefit they will access for instrumental action (Lin, 2001). In

my study of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen, I explored the nature of relationships between the immigrants and their contacts and how they facilitate or hinder access to appropriate jobs.

Granovetter (1995) asserts that individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of job information and opportunities from distant parts of the social structure than individuals with weaker ties. This is because weak ties (e.g. acquaintances, work mates etc.), rather than strong ties (e.g. relatives, close friends etc.) are structurally positioned (within the social network system) in such a way as to be more likely to pass on useful information (ibid.). Such deprivation will not only insulate them from job information and opportunities, but may position them at a disadvantage location within the network (ibid.).

Although our strong tied close friends, colleagues and relatives are more often motivated to help with job information, Granovetter (1985) argues that our weak ties of acquaintances unlike close friends provides better access to job information and resources that one does not already have. The reason being that, acquaintances are less likely to know one another, and more likely to move in different circles than oneself (p.148). Weak ties then connect people with diverse information beyond what they typically had access to through their strong ties (ibid.). Hence, ‘the strength of weak ties’ is their ability to connect others outside the strong tie network with information relevant for securing appropriate jobs in the labour market (Granovetter, 1973). Weak ties are therefore less relevant when they do not bridge (or connect or help) people from different social locations (Ryan, 2011, p. 71; Granovetter, 1973).

Granovetter (1983, p. 208) further holds that the strength of weak ties is, however, more important among people in higher socio-economic groups, because people in lower socio-economic groups have less access to high status individuals who can offer them jobs or facilitate their entry into the labour market. Consequently, lower socio-economic groups finding jobs through their personal contacts (both weak and strong ties) may find ‘bad’ jobs. This is because the information provided by their weak ties of friends’ relatives’ and acquaintances may not serve as bridges to widen the possibilities for finding and securing high status jobs (ibid.).

In sum, Granovetter argues that weak ties become particularly useful among higher socio-economic status groups and job seekers who already have contacts to high-status individuals in the labour market. While strong ties are most useful to lower socio-economic groups and

unemployed job seekers or people in great need of a new job because they lack contacts to authorities who can offer them jobs (ibid.). As we shall see in this study, strong ties may confine job seekers in low-status job segments of the labour market.

Weak ties might not also always be the only beneficial means of accessing better job information (Ooka and Wellman, 2003; Bian and Ang, 1997; Massey et al., 1994 in Harvey, 2008; Ericksen and Yancey, 1977 in Granovetter, 1983). Strong ties rather than weak ties or a combination of both strong and weak ties may instead play an essential role to facilitate successful labour market integration for some categories of immigrants (e.g. immigrants without citizenship). Massey et al. (1994 in Harvey, 2008, p. 459) for instance argues that strong ties, rather than weak ties, are more important for helping migrants integrate into a new society, find jobs and secure higher wages. Ooka and Wellman (2003, p. 12) emphasise that less educated migrants are more likely to depend on strong tie networks whereas well educated migrants would prefer to rely on their weak ties for job search assistance. Others have raised questions regarding how weak ties and strong ties are measured.

Ryan (2011) for instances highlights the different ways in which migrants access, maintain and construct strong and weak ties in varied social locations with diverse people. In his study of Polish immigrants in London, Ryan found that Polish immigrants establish weak ties with other Polish migrants with whom they are similar in terms of social position (e.g. educational backgrounds, similar careers, interest and ambitions) while establishing strong ties relations with people from different national or ethnic backgrounds (ibid., p. 721). Of particular interest is his emphasis on the importance of migrants' social location in shaping their opportunities to establish ties with particular kinds of people (ibid., p. 716). For instance, he found that Polish immigrants who lacked English-language skills preferred forging close friendships with London nationals who are fluent in English in order to access language resources and advance in their career.

In this study, I use the social network theory to specifically answer the research question about the aspects of the labour market that hinder/facilitate successful labour market integration. I discuss the different resources embedded in strong and weak tie networks and how they shape integration and the kinds of jobs Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen secure.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has examined broader theoretical frameworks of labour market, gender and social network theories into details. The labour market theories argue that human capital, institutional, occupational and geographical factors are the possible sources of factors that facilitate or hinder people from integrating into the labour market. In particular, the neoclassical theory of a ‘perfect competition’ unraveled the extent to which human capital differences influenced employment processes and outcomes.

Feminist and intersectionality theorists identify the combined effect of gender and other socially constructed identities as factors that work together to determine labour market integration for groups such as immigrants. While the social network theories of strong and weak ties, on the other hand, emphasize how the nature of peoples’ social relationships facilitates or hinders access to information that leads to the procurement of appropriate jobs in the labour market.

However, whether these factors outlined above are internalised (e.g. human capital) or external of the individual (e.g. social network, institutions etc.) or both (e.g. internalised gender norms and societal gender ideologies); all the theories recognize that employers make the final decision of hiring a person.

In the next chapter, I present the methods that went into producing and analyzing the data.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures and methods used in this study, the statuses I was ascribed and the roles I played during my fieldwork, with emphasis on the outsider and insider perspective of a researcher.

3.1 Research Method

Given the objective of this study, the mixed method approach to data production was used. While the decision to use this research approach has come out of my constructivist epistemological orientation, the use of this approach helped me to ‘collect, analyse, and integrate both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study’ (Johnson et al., 2007, p.119).

According to Creswell (2004), qualitative method is good for exploring how individuals or groups ascribe meanings to social phenomenon. In this study, qualitative methods used for generating the data included interviews in informants’ homes, informal conversations and participant observation during social gatherings. The interviews were done using semi-structured questionnaires, making it possible to collect both quantitative and qualitative data concurrently. The structured questions were asked first, followed by open-ended questions, which gave the informants the comfortability to share their stories and experiences. Each interview session was audio recorded to allow probing into people’s perceptions on the topic under study. Individual semi-structured questionnaire interviews therefore served as the main data-collecting tool. By using qualitative methods, I understood better informants’ lived experiences. For instance, the interviews enabled me to understand the complexities associated with self-employment and finding appropriate jobs in Bergen’s labour market.

Quantitative methods on the other hand allowed me to present descriptive statistics to summarise a profile of the informants I interviewed. This empirical approach has the ability to develop a matrix of the relationship between variables such as length of stay and job type, fluency of

Norwegian language and job type, among others, which I have presented in tables in the next chapter (Chapter 4, p. 58 & 61).

Although each method helps to answer different research questions, there are arguments in the social sciences about the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative methods/approach is criticised on the basis that it provides limited understanding of the context of informants' responses, which makes it difficult for researchers to recognise new phenomena for further inquiry (Creswell et al., 2003, Campbell, 2005). The qualitative method, which is sensitive to the different ways social reality is constructed, has also been criticised for being subjective (Creswell et al., 2003). Therefore, a blend of the two seems appropriate for this study since the biases inherent in any single method could cancel the biases of the other method. However, in such a mixed method study an issue that needed to be considered was priority (ibid.). 'Priority refers to which, either quantitative or qualitative, is given more emphasis in a study' (ibid. p.173). In this study, priority was given to the qualitative method because the major component of the data was generated using qualitative methods such as interviews, informal conversations and participant observation.

Following this methodological approach, the study has gone through five phases. The first phase started before the actual fieldwork period from June-August 2015 with participant observation and informal conversations. In fact, it was during my first participation in one of the major activities among Ghanaians in Bergen that the interest in such a study was born. At this stage, I was curious to know why Ghanaians chose Norway over English-speaking countries and how they find jobs in such an environment where language poses a major barrier. Based on the responses and reading of previous research, the problem of the study was conceptualised and a questionnaire designed to solicit detailed opinions of factors that hinder or facilitate labour market integration, which is the main objective of this research. The questionnaire was then piloted on two informants from the target population, in order to adjust and improve the questions. Participant observation, on the other hand, helped me to become familiar with the Ghanaian community in Bergen while informal conversation helped to establish rapport that enabled me to book appointments for interviews.

The second phase comprised of sampling and short interviews with 10 Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen. The interviews were in either English or Twi (a dominant Ghanaian language) depending

on which one the informant could best express him/herself and also because I was very conversant in the two languages. The purpose of the short fieldwork in Bergen was to enable me interview, get to know some immigrants and gain permission to interview their relatives in Ghana. Gifts in the form of money and items were given to me to be passed on to relations at home, which made it easier for me to get in touch with the informants and gain access to information. By this way, I built trust for the follow-up interviews in Ghana.

My fieldwork in Ghana formed the third phase. This phase was very necessary for me to know the backgrounds of the informants as well as who is receiving their remittances and for what purpose. According to Mazzucato (2008), speaking to informants' relatives allows for a better understanding of reason for sending and use of remittances. Hence, I interviewed one relative of each of the 10 informants in Bergen, forming 10 participants in Ghana. Almost all interviews in Ghana were conducted in Twi using a semi-structured questionnaire designed mainly to ask questions on remittances.

The fourth phase of fieldwork commenced upon my return from Ghana and I interviewed 30 additional immigrants making a total of 40 informants for this research in Bergen. After the period of fieldwork came a time of reflection on fieldwork experiences, data management, analysis and thesis writing, which made up the last phase. Details of the fieldwork procedures have been outline below in themes. I also discuss the challenges, the procedure for data analysis, ethical issues and validity of the data produced.

3.2 Sampling Method

Sampling is often carried out based on the research theme. It involves choosing people who are willing to communicate aspects of their experiences and ideas relevant to the topic under study (Bradshaw and Stratford in Hay, 2010, p72). In this project, the snowball sampling method was generally used to reach informants as well as participants recommended by other Ghanaians and friends of Ghanaians. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling techniques which involves the researcher accessing informants through contact information that is provided by other informants (Noy, 2008 p. 330). It is based on the assumption that a 'bond' or 'link' exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing a series of referrals

to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Berg, 1988 in Atkinson and Flint, 2001, p.2). While developing and gaining informant's trust through chains of referrals, the researcher is likely to be associated with being an insider (Atkinson and Flint, 2001, p. 3; Mullings, 1999) and this can aid entry to the back scene to study 'processes that are hidden to the casual observer' (Aase, 1997, p. 1). This method was appropriate for this research because the population under study were scattered across Bergen and I had little knowledge of the Bergen terrain. It also proved useful as informants voluntarily referred me to their relatives in Ghana by providing me with their contact information. Informants in Ghana, on the other hand, also called to confirm from their migrant relatives whether they should participate in the research before allowing me to interview them.

In addition, purposive sampling was used to identify various relevant categories of the Ghanaian labour migrants, in order to select illustrative cases for in-depth studies. Purposive sampling requires the researcher to decide what needs to be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Lewis & Sheppard 2006, p. 298). In this study, purposive method of sampling was used concurrently with the snowball method to select Ghanaians who were either employed full time, part-time or unemployed; male and female workers who had either Norwegian or Ghanaian life partners or who were not married; Ghanaians with Norwegian citizenship and those without Norwegian citizenship and those who had professional and those with menial jobs. Such purposive sampling enabled me to discuss how informants' human capital (in terms of education and knowledge of Norwegian), social relationships and identities affected their levels of integration in the labour market.

3.2.1 Sampled Population

As previously stated, the study sampled a total of 50 informants; 40 informants in Bergen and 10 informants in Ghana. For informants in Bergen, males formed the majority (22) while the remaining 18 were females. Table 1 indicates that the majority of the informants were between ages 18-34 and 45-54 years.

Table 1: Informants' age range

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-34	13	32.5
35-44	12	30.0
45-54	13	32.5
55-64	2	5.0
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

The informants also migrated from a broad range of Ghanaian ethnic backgrounds. The majority were Ashanti (11), followed by Ewe (10), Fante (9) and then Bono (5); whereas an informant each was recorded for the rest of the ethnic groups namely; Ga, Krobo, Gonja, Brusa and Dagati.

The educational levels of the informants were also generally high with 27 of the 40 informants having tertiary education. Eight informants had completed senior high school while the rest have either vocational or technical education. (Table 2 therefore indicates that the informants had the ability to analyse issues on the topic under study). It was observed that many of the informants (26) had their last education in Norway; 13 had their education in Ghana, while only one had her education from the UK.

Table 2: Informants' level of education

Education	Frequency	Percentage
PhD	3	7.5
Masters	19	47.5
Bachelor	3	7.5
Diploma	2	5.0
Senior high	8	20.0
Vocational /Technical	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Despite the high level of their educational background, 10 of the 40 informants in Bergen were unemployed and 12 work in menial jobs. The remaining 18 informants work in professional and semi-professional jobs. Five of the 10 informants who work in menial jobs are permanent

employees while the remaining seven work as temporal employees. Details of this analysis are presented and discussed in the chapters that follow.

Based on nationality status, the study sampled 24 informants with Norwegian citizenship and 16 ordinary Ghanaian immigrants without Norwegian citizenship. Out of the total number of 40 informants, five had history of previous migration to other European countries other than Norway. 15 informants had spent 4 years or less in Bergen; two had stayed for 5-10 years while the majority had spent eleven years or more in Bergen.

Prior to the main fieldwork in Bergen, the study sampled seven non-professional workers, two professional workers and one unemployed immigrant whose relatives were traced and interviewed in Ghana. Two of the informants were women and the remaining were men. The senders were also household heads (2), children (5), sibling (1) and one relative of the recipients' interviewed in Ghana. Thus, the largest numbers of senders in this study were the children of recipients.

Of the ten informants in Ghana, three were men and seven were women. The three men comprised of two traders and a pensioner while the seven women comprised of three pensioners with one operating a kindergarten, two grocery shop operators and a yam trader. The recipients' occupations to some degree indicate their socio-economic status and thus their dependency levels on the migrants.

3.3 Methods of Data collection

As stated above, the study employed the mixed method approach and made use of data collection techniques such as participant observation, informal conversations and in-depth interviews.

3.3.1 Participant Observation and Informal Conversations

Laurier (2010) defines participant observation as spending time, being, living or working with people in order to understand them (in Clifford et al., 2010, p. 116). As a Ghanaian, it was quite normal for me to attend various Ghanaian social gatherings and participate in their activities which are annually organised by the Association of Ghanaians in Hordaland at the Fantoft student hostel (venue for student welcoming and 'grill' party), Kirkeveien (venue for Christmas

party) and the Bergen International Cultural Centre (BIKS, venue for Independence party). These were arenas where important observations were made.

At BIKS, where Ghanaians celebrated the 58th independence anniversary of Ghana (in 2015), I observed that the Ghanaian community not only had leaders who manage the affairs of Ghanaians living in Bergen, but also a formalized institution which comprises of a chief, queen mother, chief of staff and a linguist (see plate1, p.38). Their main duties on special occasions like this were to introduce the Ghanaian culture and fashion, and offer traditional customary prayers for their homeland Ghana. This indicated the extent to which Ghanaians had taken along cultural ideologies and institutions with them to Bergen. During the occasion, I participated in a traditional cultural dance. While I participated in these events, I made efforts to interact with some of the people and asked questions about their experience living and working in Bergen. Through such informal conversations, I gained understanding of popular terminologies used among them. One such term was ‘recycling’ and a person involved in ‘recycling’ is called a ‘recycler’. From the informant’s perspective, recycling referred to the idea of re-doing courses by immigrants for the sake of other intended reasons. This and many more opinions shaped my research interest and focus.



Plate 1: Ghana Independence day celebration at BIKS and the display of culture/traditional institutions.

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Another arena where I mostly interacted with Ghanaians was in churches. In one of the churches, I participated regularly in their Sunday church services and took up the position of a Sunday school teacher. Usually, such positions are given to people that the church ‘trusts’ to be able to

impart biblical knowledge and care for children. This position improved my social relationship with parents of the kids and eventually helped to gain access and win the trust of church members who agreed to be part of my study.

Based on the participant observations and informal conversations, I then put Ghanaians in Bergen into three main categories. The first category was those who have acquired the Norwegian citizenship, culture and language. Majority of the people in this category have permanent employment contracts in high status jobs and own their homes. The second category of Ghanaians I observed were students and former students without Norwegian citizenship who had completed their postgraduate studies and are awaiting admission into PhD programmes or are 'recyclers'. Majority of such immigrants had temporal employment contracts because their permit allowed them to work for a certain number of hours in a week, some worked menial jobs while others were unemployed. Such observation did not only come from my participation in Ghanaian activities and events but also from Fantoft (student hostel) where I lived as a fellow Ghanaian colleague with most people in this category. Most often immigrants in this category could not speak nor write Norwegian. The third category of Ghanaians was spouses, notably spouses of the ordinary Ghanaian immigrants. Like those in the second category, some of the recent arrivals were also unemployed. As such, I was curious to know how Ghanaians could survive without employment in such an environment like Bergen, where living costs are comparatively higher than that of Ghana. (Which strategy or alternative source of livelihood do they lean on when unemployed?) Hence, from such categorisation, efforts were made as the fieldwork progressed to purposively sample immigrants from each group.

3.3.2 Semi-structured questionnaire interview

Semi-structured questionnaires were used to conduct the interviews, and this allowed me to incorporate some closed-ended questions with many open questions. Before commencing each interview session, I made telephone calls or sent text messages (when the informant did not answer the phone call) in advance to introduce myself and the objective of the study. During such phone interaction, I explained where and why I got their contact information and if he/she grants permission, and I booked an appointment. Even though I explained the project to them on the phone, I always repeated fully the purpose of the study and how information would be protected

before interviews commenced. Guided by semi-structured questions and permission from participants, all interview sessions were audio recorded and this helped me to save time while noticing every detail of informants' information. The interviews were conducted face to face to allow both me and the participants to seek any clarification necessary, as well as observe any non-verbal communications.

In Bergen, majority of the informants rather preferred to speak English since most of them were highly educated. However, the conversations occasioned frequent use of either Twi or Norwegian. Instances where Norwegian terminologies were used in the course of interviewing, informants made efforts to translate the words to either English or Twi, which I understood. Many of the informants also had busy schedule so meeting them at their residence seemed the most time-efficient and convenient setting for interview. Others were conducted at offices and outdoors based on the choice of the participant. In instances where I observed that participants were busy with household chores or felt uncomfortable with the discussion because of the presence of friends or relations, the interview was rescheduled to increase the chances for the informant to give authentic answers. The time duration for the early interviews was about one and a half hour but as I increasingly gained an understanding of the issues under study, the latter interviews lasted only 45-50mins.



Plate 2: Interview with an informant (right) in Bergen at her residence
Source: Fieldwork, 2015

In one case, I interviewed a married couple simultaneously during this last phase of fieldwork, and witnessed disagreements in factors that constitute hindrance to the Norwegian labour market.

This was an interview with a 45-year-old woman, who had moved to Bergen in 1989 and her husband who joined her later in 2005.

Me: Daddy [because I was seen as a daughter], how did you get the job you are currently engaged in?

Husband: 'Hmmm, I had my job through a Ghanaian lady who was taking the language [Norwegian] course the same time I was studying mine. One day we had closed from the course work and she seemed to be in a hurry so I asked why and she responded she was going to work. At that moment, I asked quite a number of questions about her work and later I decided to follow up at her workplace and seek a job. I went to the workplace twice, always meeting the same person who consistently told me that there was no job'.

Wife: 'The problem is that if you don't understand the language and when you are speaking with them and they realise you don't flow well in your speech, they seem not to have any interest in you. That is who they are. At that time, he was not fluent in the language so even to ask to speak with the boss was a problem because he could not speak it as fluently as they expect. So he went there three times'.

Husband: 'Oh as for me I don't think it was based on the language because as for that particular person, I later found out that it was his habit to throw off any foreigner who goes there to seek a job'.

Wife [she quickly steps in to say]: 'Because of the language!'

Husband: But dear wait, it is not because of the language. Sometimes it is simply because you are a foreigner (Interview in Bergen, 2015).

Such a dialogue not only depicts contrasting explanations to factors that hinder accessibility to Bergen's labour market, but also it highlights the fact that perceptions about what constitutes hindrances often depends on the length of stay in Bergen. The wife who has stayed for a longer period points to language proficiency as a major facilitating factor while the husband put emphasis on issues of personal identity. These factors are however analysed and discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

On the other hand, almost all the interviews in Ghana were conducted in Twi. Only two informants preferred English because they were not so fluent with the Twi language. The conversations allowed me to compare informants' views regarding remittances and other expectations from their migrant relatives with the views of the immigrants I had interviewed in

Bergen. Based on that, I asked questions where I noticed any contradictions. There was an instance where relatives of a migrant refused participation because they claimed the migrant do not remit them. The migrant on the other hand had claimed otherwise. This showed how the cross comparisons of sender-recipient perspectives helped to unravel discrepancies inherent in one perspective analysis of migrant remittances. Interview sessions mainly took place in the residence of informants within a period of between 20-30minutes. In the section that follows, I present how my positionality as a young, black Ghanaian student facilitated access to information during fieldwork in Bergen and in Ghana.

3.4 Positionality during fieldwork

One of the main criticisms of qualitative methodologies in social science research has been on the potential impacts of positionality on the outcome of the research. Positionality refers to the way that a researcher's characteristics, such as race, gender, class, nationality, ethnicity etc., affects all aspects of the research process, from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received (Carling et al, 2013, p. 2). This perspective has received attention in academia and cannot be overlooked in this study. One dimension of positionality is what has been termed the insider/outsider identity of the researcher. An insider researcher is one who belongs to the researched group, whereas an outsider is a member of the majority population (ibid., p. 1). Insider researchers who are immigrants and do research on their own immigrant group have the advantage of using their linguistic or cultural skills to facilitate easy access to information and interaction with group members. Outsiders, on the other hand, are likely to be more neutral and observe behaviours that are taken for granted within the group (Mullings, 1999, p. 340, Carling et al, 2013, p. 3). Such insider-outsider divide are also statuses that researchers occupy in relation to the researched. Linton (1936, p. 113) defines status as the position an individual occupies in relation to the entire society. These statuses are obviously accompanied by rights and duties, which become roles when they are performed (ibid.).

At the initial stage of my fieldworks, my identity as a young black Ghanaian student researcher in my mid-twenties and an Akan, who speaks and understands the language of my informants gave me an insider status and that helped greatly in both Ghana and especially in Bergen. It enabled

me to win the trust of my informants to some extent and as a result, my informants in Bergen were willing to give me the phone numbers of their relatives in Ghana, while the migrants' relatives in Ghana were also willing to receive me.

Before the beginning of my fieldwork, I had lived in Bergen for barely one year reading for my master's degree. As a Ghanaian student, my personal experience of living in Bergen coupled with the above mentioned identities ultimately shaped how I presented myself at different stages of my fieldwork in relation to different categories of the Ghanaian immigrants; as a co-Ghanaian immigrant, a researcher, a student and/a daughter (in the case of some older informants). As in the dialogue above, I was seen as a daughter whose role was to listen and learn from the informants' experience. In her research, Mullings (1999) also found out that the way the researcher presents him/herself with various categories of informants can determine whether they are granted an interview or not. This is referred to as 'politics of self-representation' (ibid., p. 340). I also found it to be true when I highlighted some aspects of my identity during interviews with educated immigrants who had taken up jobs that they are overqualified for. By so doing, I created 'positional space' to minimise any threat that endangered the trust of my informants and assumed a position of an insider (Mullings, 1999, p. 340).

However, positionality is not static; it can shift depending on the situation in which the researcher finds him/herself (ibid.). In my case, despite being fluent in the migrants' native language, my position often shifted from more of an insider and co-migrant, to more of an outsider, a student and a researcher especially when it came to interviewing the 'Ghanaian-Norwegians'. In such an interview situation, the interviewee assumed a status of a 'teacher' and the interviewer as a 'student' whose role was to listen and ask questions. This might have occurred because the interviewer was younger than most of the informants and had lived in Bergen for a shorter period compared to the interviewees (Carling et al, 2013, p.8). I recall instances when interviewees laughed at me because of wrong pronunciation of Norwegian words that occasionally popped up in our discussions. In such encounters, my status as an outsider was made clear.

Another instance that pointed to my positionality as an outsider was when I asked an informant about the reason why he had worked as a cleaner for five years and has not enrolled himself in the language course. I had asked this question because I was thinking he could afford the cost of the language studies. This was his response:

'Yes I am working and I can afford but not from the beginning because there were lots of bills to be paid. You try to rent a place! If you start to pay bills, your house rent and all these things, you will understand what I am talking about. Now you cannot see it because Fantoft [student hostel] is very cheap and you can manage, and you can have a job to support yourself while enjoying your scholarship. However, when you quit from there and get your own place, then you will see that no it is not like what you think. (...) Sometimes I feel like I want to study and change my work but who is going to pay for my bills when I go to school?' (Male, 37 years, cleaner, 4 years in Bergen).

The above quotation demonstrates how my positionality as an outsider was called out into the open given the migrants' level of experience compared with that of the researcher. In this case, the informant felt that the researcher had no idea of how difficult it is to stop working to enroll in a language course, although that would help him get the job he desires which is to work in a marine industry.

In getting information from immigrants' relatives in Ghana, my status as a student from Norway and a female on a master's programme increased the response rate, particularly when not many females in Ghana have or are pursuing higher education. However, there were also instances when some of the informants were not convinced about the objective of the research and so had to call their relatives in Bergen to confirm whether they should participate or not. Informants also felt reluctant to talk about the achievements their household has made so far with the help of their migrant relative(s) in Bergen. In some of the interviews, informants constantly asked of the relevance of some of the questions. An example of this was when I asked a mother of a 45 years old male immigrant whether she receives money from other relatives in other country (ies), this was her response;

'You said you want information about 'Kwame', why are you now asking about others? Do you need that one too?' (Female, 63 years, yam trader in Ghana)

According to Humphrey (2012, p.10), insider research can be characterized by a certain duplicity by virtue of the fact that the insider researcher has to hold together the two distinct roles of being an 'insider' and being a 'researcher', and to walk the tightrope which is constituted by the insider-outsider hyphen. This study is not an exception. In my quest to build rapport and trust, I entered into several informal relationships with the immigrants in several ways. There were times when I had to befriend and keep an informant's wife company for a number of days before I had the opportunity to conduct the interview. The wife is not a Ghanaian, but had the notion that

every 'black' lady is the husband's sister. Since I am 'black' and a 'Ghanaian', she and the husband saw me as a relative and sometimes gave me information without me soliciting for it during informal visits. At a point in time, it appeared to me that the husband (whom I interviewed later on) felt that allowing me to conduct an interview with him would end the friendship of his wife with me. However, I was also time-bound as a researcher and needed to move on with my fieldwork. Striking a balance between insider relationships and research commitment therefore implied that I cut down on a lot of the 'niceties' which I had used in the beginning.

3.5 Data Coding and Analysis

Qualitative data analysis can be described as an attempt by the researcher to summarise the informants' actions and statements (Aase, 1997). I started my data analysis by first transcribing all the audio recordings and translated some from Twi to English. The translations may not have any significant impact on the meanings of responses because I am a native of the language. I began the actual process of analysis by playing and re-reading the transcribed interviews to derive themes relevant for the research objectives and theoretical framework. At this stage, I noted recurring themes in the response of participants and grouped similar responses together and non-similar but relevant responses together. Such categorisation was dependent also on the number of times the responses were given to a particular question. Dunn (2005) refers to this process as manifest content analysis. For instance, I asked my informants, 'has something ever prevented you from getting the job that you desired before?' Although people's experiences differ, the theme emerging from this confirmed the existence of hindrances to Bergen's labour market. Under this theme, nearly all participants expressed concern about language proficiency, while others cited limited network and employer's preferences as a hindrance to employment opportunities. The next stage is to interpret the findings and their significance for the study. This I did with the help of case studies.

3.6 Case Studies

There were interesting job seeking experiences my informants shared with me, which I have presented them as illustrative case studies in this thesis. A case study is an empirical investigation

into contemporary phenomenon operating in a real-life context (Yin, 2003, p.13). Grounded in the constructivist claim that truth is relative, a case study also emphasizes a deliberate attempt to investigate a particular situation from the informants' perspective (ibid.). This according to Baxter and Jack (2008) allows the researcher to answer how and why type of research questions, while taking note of how a particular phenomenon is influence by the context within which it is situated.

Stake (2006) categorises case studies into three types. The intrinsic case study; which is a case interest for the researcher, the instrumental case study; which provides insight into an issue and the collective case studies; which are similar in nature and describes multiple cases. I used the instrumental case study approach to provide illustrative insight into my research objectives and issues relating to employment processes among Ghanaian immigrants. In presenting the various case studies, I used pseudonyms (self-generated names) for all informants in order to ensure the anonymity of the informants. I have also situated illustrative cases within its context so that case description and themes are related to events and motivations (Creswell and Maitta, 2002).

3.7 Ethical Issues

Research that involves such groups as migrants often raises ethical concerns. According to Hay (in Clifford et al. 2010, p. 3), ethics in geographical research requires researchers to behave with integrity and act in ways that are just, beneficent and respectful. The researcher can partly achieve this by obtaining the informed consent of informants before carrying out research (Silverman, 2001, p. 271). For this study, the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) granted ethical approval and the process of consents started during the search for informants using the snowball technique. In Bergen, I made contact with some Ghanaians at Fantoft, Ghanaian social gatherings and church premises where I informed a number of them about my research and the need to interview them. Those who agreed to participate gave their contact details afterwards. However, majority of the participation took the form of recommended contact details by other participants. In both Bergen and Ghana, referrals gave me the permission to make recommended individuals aware I obtained their contact details from them. In Ghana, I made informants aware I had obtained consent from their migrant relatives in Bergen to interview them. There was an instance in Ghana where a relative of an immigrant opted out when he came

to understand the objective of the study because their migrant relative in Bergen does not remit them as the migrant claimed.

After receiving the contact details, I usually sent text messages to, introduce the project, telephone calls to book an appointment and finally I gave out the information letter or read it aloud to participants (in cases where they were feeling reluctant to read) before the start of the interview. This was to make sure the participants fully understood what it meant to participate in the research, what their information would be used for and that participation was voluntary. I also sought the consent of all my informants (both in Bergen and in Ghana) to record the interview sessions and where pictures were taken. In most cases, participants objected while few accepted that I could take photos. I showed the pictures to the informants after they were taken and these are the photographs presented in this study. I informed them about what the photographs would be used for and that their faces would be made invisible. For those who rejected the audio recording, I wrote down their responses.

Ethical issues were also addressed by presenting the treatment of personal details and the places where the interviews took place as confidential. In this case, I assured informants of anonymity and confidentiality by telling them that I would use pseudonyms and avoid narrating incidents that could easily be traced to them. I made them aware that any information provided would be used for academic purposes and would be kept on a password protected computer which would be deleted after the study is completed.

Furthermore, for me to make informants part of the research process and reduce the possibility of being in a position of greater power than the informants, interviews were scheduled at a time and place that was most efficient and convenient for the informant (Dowling, 2010, p.32).

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity, according to Mullings (1999) refers to the extent to which an account represents the social phenomena under study. It can be improved by the researcher ‘recognising and naming those uncertain moments when positional spaces — “areas where the situated knowledges of both parties in the interview engender a level of trust and co-operation” — may not have been shared or when dialog may not have been honest’ (p. 340, 349). Reliability on the other hand

refers to “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, in Silverman 2010, p. 275). The terms credibility, neutrality, or confirmability on one hand, consistency or dependability or applicability or transferability on the other hand, are criteria used to describe validity and reliability in qualitative research respectively (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, in Golafshan, 2003, p. 601).

At the initial phase of my research, I improve validity by purposefully sampling the participants. I made conscious effort to interview both male and female workers who are either Norwegians by citizenship/marriage or ordinary Ghanaians; unemployed Ghanaians; as well as those who work professional or unprofessional jobs. I explained clearly to them the research questions and ensured that the informants had the same understanding to the questions that I asked. In situations where certain questions became unclear, I reframed the question to confirm that both my informants and I had the same understanding to the questions. At other times, informants translated Norwegian words that emerged in their answers for me to get full understanding of their responses. In instances where I observed an unfavorable atmosphere, the interview was rescheduled to validate the responses.

As data is received and analysed, researchers may also ensure validity of data produced by ‘integrating a process of member checking, where the researcher’s interpretations of the data are shared with the participants, and the participants have the opportunity to discuss and clarify the interpretation on the issue under study’ (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 556). In this study, I validated my informants’ views by summarizing my understanding of the responses given and all clarifications made before ending interview sessions. Furthermore, the use of the snowball sampling technique in this study similarly helped to compare and crosscheck responses of my informants and seek for clarification where contradictory answers emerged. By so doing, I shared in the views of Van Meter (1990) that this kind of selection has the ability to check validity.

Again, to assure for the most important quality criteria of reliability of responses, I often created positional spaces (Mullings, 1999, p.340). When interviewing non-professional immigrant’s workers, I highlighted my identity as a fellow Ghanaian student while presenting myself as a graduate researcher when I interviewed highly educated professional Ghanaian immigrants. In this way, I built trust between my informants and myself and this influenced the degree of

reliability of data gathered. This is in consonance with the assertion of Mullings' that 'it is often necessary for researchers to represent themselves as being so located in order to gain access to information and win the confidence of the informants during interviews' (ibid., p. 340).

Besides creating positional spaces, I kept detailed records of the research process, which I have presented above. All recorded interviews were transcribed into details, but quoted passages were adjusted to proper English grammar. After each transcription, the information given were summarised based on the consistency of responses by informants and this helped to identify the initial codes.

Additional strategy that I employed in this study for improving validity and reliability is triangulation. Dezin (1978, p.291) define triangulation as 'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon'. The purpose of this is to reduce the limitation of data sources as well as a way of complementing data sources (ibid.). In this study, primary data sources were compared and complemented with literature on the subject under study.

3.9 Generalisation/ transferability of data

Gobo (2004), among others, has distinguished between two kinds of generalization; a generalisation based on findings and a generalization based on statistics or representativeness. A generalisation based on findings concerns the application or transferability of findings from qualitative research studies to populations or settings beyond the sample of the study while representational generalisation concerns how far findings can be generalized to the specific population from which the sample is drawn (Lewis et al, 2013, p. 348-351; Gobo, 2004).

In this research, the participants are generally not representative samples of the entire Ghanaian community in Bergen because the study sampled 40 immigrants out of the 272 registered Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen (Statistics Norway, 2015) and their contact details were supplied solely by the participants themselves. Hence the likelihood that participants recommended immigrants with whom they shared similarities. Again, the research had some ideographic traits, which does not allow for representational generalisation. This is because the job-seeking experience varied among participants and this to some extent led to differing views on what constitutes successful labour market integration. A clear example is the disagreement in

perceptions about labour market requirements in the couple's dialogue above (p. 38). Also concerning gender representativeness, the study sampled more men than women and this may not reflect gender proportion for Ghanaians living and working in Bergen.

Nevertheless, some findings in this thesis could be transferable to other non-participants and non-Ghanaian immigrant groups in settings where language is a major barrier to integration because it supports past migration findings. The findings, however, could be of relevance also for actors who have an interest in promoting the successful integration of immigrants into the host country's economy, since such employment challenges and hindrances highlighted in this study would be similar among other immigrants in other countries as well.

3.10 Challenges

Undertaking a study at two distant geographical locations was in itself very challenging. Initially the aim of the research was to study Ghanaians in Bergen and their labour market integration. However, due to the requirement of my scholarship and the relative difficulty of getting funds for the research, the aim was adjusted to include the aspect of remittances and implication on household welfare. This meant I travel to Ghana and return within a month to undertake the main fieldwork in Bergen. By the time I returned to continue this part of the study, most of my informants had gone for summer holidays and this extended the period of fieldwork and transcription, as well as data management, which eventually affected the period of data analysis and interpretation.

Another major challenge for this study was getting statistics on Ghanaians in Bergen. It happened that Ghana had few immigrants in Bergen and so available statistics were generally on Ghanaians in Norway. Secondary statistics on the employment status of Ghanaians in Bergen were available only on computer files and this attracted a certain fee that I was not in a position to finance. Several efforts were made to get the data without a fee but all proved futile. However, information about the number of Ghanaian citizens in Bergen was given through joint efforts of my supervisor and I. I also made efforts to interview at least a worker at the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) units and some other recruiting firms, but also failed. Other

literatures that could have been relevant sources of information were also published in Norwegian making it difficult for me to access.

Furthermore, many of my informants in Bergen had busy working schedules and this influenced the time and location for interviews. Appointments were often cancelled and rescheduled and this caused me to visit some of the informants several times before having a chance to interview them.

In Ghana, I experienced heavy traffic, frequent power-cuts and unstable communication network in some of the regions and this prolonged the time for interviews.

3. 11 Chapter summary

In summary, the mixed method approach to data production was used because of its ability to produce both qualitative and quantitative data concurrently while at the same time allowing for different ways of understanding job-seeking experiences of Ghanaian immigrants living in Bergen. Individual in-depth semi-structured interview was the main data collection tool and this enabled informants to express detail opinions of factors that facilitates and/or prevents them from getting appropriate jobs and how they circumvent those hindrances. The chapter that follows presents the findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the data obtained from the semi-structured questionnaire interviews with informants in Ghana and in Bergen. Descriptive statistics and analysis of qualitative data are presented with the purpose of answering the propositions stated in this study and addressing the research questions of the study, which intends to provide a foundation for further discussion and conclusion. The study aimed at examining factors that facilitate or hinder successful labour market integration among Ghanaians in Bergen.

4.1 Initial motive for migration

My first research question was to find out the initial motivation for moving to Bergen. As such, during the interviews, the question about reasons for choosing Bergen was asked in open-ended format – ‘what motivated you to move to Bergen, Norway?’ The informants gave various reasons. The existence of a tuition-free educational system and an attractive quota scholarship package was the most frequently cited pulling factor among the informants. Moving purposely to find a job in the Norwegian labour market appeared not to be of much significance in the initial decision to migrate partly because of Norway’s ‘strict’ immigration laws. Table 3 shows the number of immigrants who had moved to Bergen for educational reasons among other reasons.

Table 3: Initial motivation for migrating

Reasons	Men	Women	Total
Educational	14	6	20
Family Reunion	6	10	16
Economic	3	1	4
Total	23	17	40

Sources: Fieldwork, 2015

The table above shows that, the majority of my informants initially moved not as labour migrants but rather as people on the move to Bergen for an educational/career advancement with, comparatively, an attractive ‘free’ economic support under the Norwegian quota scheme. While undertaking (post) graduate studies in Bergen, they found jobs that provided them with financial means to continue their stay in Bergen. Informants, during interviews, elaborated more on the reason(s) for choosing to stay and work in Bergen’s labour market after achieving the initial purpose for migrating. A 58 years old male informant who had moved for educational purpose gave the following reason:

‘I came to Norway and you could say that when I finished the masters’ programme (...) I stayed to undertake my doctoral studies and afterwards I had a job with my qualification. This is why am still here and working’ (University employee, 33 years in Bergen).

Thus, the informant in the above extract had remained in Bergen because he found an appropriate job, which is satisfying and afford him a living. Along the same theme, another male informant who is about 34 years old explains the situation that caused him to work in Bergen in spite of his aim of undertaking postgraduate studies.

I came to Bergen as a student, but the problem I had with my course was that everything including lectures were communicated in Norwegian (...) although the course was supposed to be in English. Since I was the only non-Norwegian student for that course and nothing seemed to be done with my situation, I opted to ‘get the kroner’ [another way of saying he decided to work] (Tertiary degree, cleaner, 4 years in Bergen).

From the above extract, it seems that the informant had changed his initial educational intention because of the challenges he faced reading courses in Norwegian instead of English. This, according to him appeared to be ‘a waste of time’ since he neither speaks nor writes Norwegian. Hence, he decided to work and earn money (Norwegian kroner). However, all the responses above show that the immigrants’ initial aim of moving to Bergen was to attend school.

However, in some instance, the decision to move to Norway was more of a family strategy than an individual choice (Kabki et al, 2004). Thus, by classifying informants according to the ethnic group they belong, the qualitative data revealed the importance of network effects in facilitating a ‘chain’ migration of Ashantis to Norway. An informant who hail from Ashanti region gave the following response to questions relating to factors that motivated migration to Bergen:

'My uncle who lived in Norway once visited the foreign students' office in Bergen at the time and got information about the scholarship from them and then he sent us the address to apply. He sent it to my brother and I. Trust me, that year in 1990; we were 30 in number who came. I can tell you emphatically that 20 of them were from my hometown Domiabra or within my community. My uncle sent the information and through that the others got the links to also come' (Male, 54 years, 26 years in Bergen).

The above quotation suggests a much broader understanding of the network that led to the migration of the informant and his tribesmen from Ghana to Bergen. The desire to study abroad could not have been achieved without information about educational prospects from an uncle who lived in Bergen. With time, the same information spread outside their hometown to include other people from different parts of Ghana. As in the case of many other Ghanaians, after completing his studies he found a job, which enabled him to live and work in Bergen.

Gender differences in the initial motivations for migration were also observed from table 3. More men than women had moved for educational and economic reasons while more women migrated for family related reasons. Thus, the women might have relocated to Bergen to join their husband or relative who had earlier moved to the city for educational or economic reasons. Their marital status may show the extent to which informant used their family network in order to choose Bergen as a place of destination. Table 4 shows the informants' marital status.

Table 4: Bergen Informants' marital status

Marital status	Males	Females	Total
Married	15	10	25
Single	4	4	8
Divorced	1	1	2
Widower	1	-	1
Co-habiting	2	2	4
Total	23	17	40

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Table 4 shows that a greater number of the informants are married and two out of those married informants had their partners living in Ghana while 23 of them had partners in Bergen. Since the majority of the informants had partners' living and working in Bergen, it therefore quite laudable

that such informants move to the region as well. However, this motivation might also have consequence on occupational choices especially for particular genders. Thus, it is likely that men who had moved for family reunion may use quicker means of finding jobs with relatively less barriers in order to afford 'huge' Norwegian bills and raise enough money to cater for their families as heads or fathers. Women, on the other hand, may feel less pressurized to find a job and support household expenditure. We shall see later how an informant distinguished Ghanaian networks as a quicker means of accessing the labour market and the outcome of using such networks on job types.

Additionally, from the four informants who cited economic reasons for migrating to Bergen, three of them had migrated from other European countries because comparatively, Norway's labour market offers higher incomes and better working benefits (even for menial jobs) than the countries in which they found themselves. Below is a case of Ato who set off from Ghana with the intention of reaching Europe after having completed technical education in Ghana.

Case 1: Moving for economic reasons

Ato (35) left Ghana in the year 2000 for Conakry in Guinea by road. His intention was to reach Europe via other countries in Africa. In Guinea, he worked in big fishing vessels but according to him 'the sailors and other Sierra Leonean workers in the vessels were violent' so he left for Libya in 2002. On the way to Libya, he travelled in a vehicle with other migrants from Mali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana and other African countries who were also heading towards the same destination. Ato recalls very difficult challenges he encountered while travelling by road through the desert, especially when the vehicle was robbed:

'Sometimes armed robbers would take our money, the food and the clean water that we had. The drivers mostly pretended as if they did not know anything about the robbery but they [the drivers] had partnered with the robbers. Afterwards, these drivers would leave us in the desert and run away because they were afraid of the Libyan Police'.

Arriving in Libya, he found it very difficult to find a job because of the political unrest at that time. He then decided to return to Ghana. The difficulties he encountered in getting a job after returning to Ghana forced him to make a second attempt to reach Europe. Ato decided on a new route. He would go through Congo. The language barrier (Ato is English-speaking while the Congolese are French speaking) presented him with difficulties. But he still managed to do some

menial jobs and make some savings. Finally, he managed to reach Spain from Congo on a fishing vessel.

While in Spain, Ato worked as an attendant in a European fishing vessel and later got married to a Spanish woman. Through marriage he acquired Spanish citizenship which allowed him to move freely within the Schengen area which includes Norway. And so, when economic-crisis started around 2008-2009' and things became difficult for him and his Spanish wife, they both moved in 2011 to Norway and settled in Bergen. This also happened because he received information about the Norwegian economy from a co-worker in Spain. He said:

'In the boat [European fishing vessel] where I was working, one cook had been here [Norway] before so I used to go to him to let him brief me about Norway. So I had a lot of information from him and I decided that here would be a better place for me'.

Ato now works as a cleaner and has been in the cleaning industry for five years. He owns an apartment and drives a luxurious vehicle, which makes him feel successfully integrated.

From case 1 above, we see that the informant's perception of his situation and what he hoped to gain after migrating motivated his relocation to Bergen. His marriage to a Spanish made his dream of living and working in Europe a reality. But this aim of moving from Spain to Norway could not also have been achieved without information about the labour market condition in Bergen from his co-worker. Information received before migration partly influenced his decision to move to Bergen.

In the following section, I shall present the informants past work experiences and find out whether their previous experience had an effect on the kinds of jobs the informants acquired upon arrival in Bergen.

4.2 The effect of previous work experience on job types after migration

One aspect of job seekers' qualifications that influences hiring decisions of employers is previous work experience. As such, I found it necessary to ask informants about their current and past occupations. The informants who are employed are engaged in the following types of jobs: consultancy, lecturing and research, finance, nursing, teaching, accountancy, nursing-care assistance (hjelpetleier), catering, sales/storekeeping, cleaning, washing, and weeding jobs. Some

of these jobs require certain levels of education, skills or specific level of knowledge in Norwegian in order for one to perform them while others do not have such requirements.

Based on this, I classified consultancy, lecturing, finance, nursing, teaching and accountancy as professional jobs. Jobs such as nursing-care assistance and catering jobs required a comparatively shorter period of education and less skills or work experience than professional jobs. Therefore, I refer to them as semi-professional jobs in this study. These jobs often require a diploma, high school, vocational or technical qualifications. Professional and semi-professional jobs are referred to in this thesis as appropriate jobs because getting employment in these segments of the labour market depends on whether the person has matching qualifications. Thus, job seekers might secure these jobs based on their qualification.

For the purpose of clarity, formal jobs that require no skills but are carried out in an office setting (e.g. Mailroom jobs at a post office) were classified under semi-professional jobs. Jobs such as sales work are higher prototypes of menial jobs. The only difference here is that, unlike cleaning jobs which can be secured without any specific requirements, such jobs also require the individual to have a certain level of knowledge in Norwegian. These jobs also require less manual efforts in performing them than jobs such as cleaning and washing. These distinctions are meant to show the nature of jobs in Bergen's labour market as well as the difficulty in reducing a range of jobs to four categories. However, the large categories of jobs that are found in the labour market are professional, semi-professional, menial jobs and self-employments. This also explains why I have put emphasis on these four categories of jobs types in subsequent sections.

Out of the 40 informants interviewed in Bergen, a number of them had previous experience in professional, semi-professional and self-employments. Only three informants worked in menial jobs while nine were unemployed in Ghana and had no previous work experience. The analysis shows that there is an improvement in the number of informants with professional jobs. Hence, to account for the impact of previous work experience on current employment types, the occupation of the informants was examined from two directions - occupation before and after migration as presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Migrants' occupation before and after migration

Occupation before migration	Frequency			Occupation after migration	Frequency		
	Male	Female	No		Male	Female	No
Professional	2	1	3	Professional	5	3	8
Semi-professional	12	8	20	Semi-professional	2	6	8
Menial work	3	0	3	Menial work	12	0	12
Self-employment	2	3	5	Self-employment	1	1	2
Jobseekers (unemployed)	4	5	9	Job seekers (unemployed)	3	7	10
Total	23	17	40	Total	23	17	40

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

As stated earlier, Table 5 shows that the number of informants who worked professional jobs before migrating to Bergen has increase after migration. Conversely, the number of informants who were engaged in semi-professional jobs has reduced significantly. Despite the fact that a greater number of the informants have 'good-work' experience, a considerable number now work menial jobs in the labour market. The cause for such reduction in number might owe to factors that have been identified in succeeding sections.

By comparing current and past work experience in self-employment, I noticed a reduction in numbers, which contradicts the labour market situation in Ghana. In Ghana, about 15.2% of the total population is engaged in trading and other self-employing activities (Osei-Boateng, 2011, p.9). Hence, it was expected that Ghanaians would migrate with such desire to own for instance shops and other trading businesses. However, this seemed difficult for the informants to achieve in Bergen. According to the informants, this is partly due to the relatively small total number of Ghanaians customers in Bergen, and partly because of lack of information as well as immigrants' inability to finance business bills. A female informant who failed an attempt to operate a grocery shop alongside her catering work in an old-peoples' home elaborated:

'I and a male [Ghanaian] friend of mine partnered to open an African shop alongside my work. I was working at the same time having the shop. I had to come there and open the shop after I had closed from work. This implied that those who want to purchase foodstuffs early in the day would often meet the shop closed. This posed a challenge for me so I employed someone to manage the shop on my behalf while I am away. But I realized that was too much stress for me because I had

to pay an auditor in addition to the employee and the exorbitant rent. Before I finish all expenditure, then I am back with nothing. You don't make any profit! I looked at it and I said it is too much for me to bear and that was why I closed down the shop' (Female, 52 years, nursing-care assistant, 20 years in Bergen).

Her aim was to utilize her Ghanaian network in Bergen to operate an African shop in addition to a catering job. Her catering job intends to raise capital to support bills and other financial obligations that comes with self-established business. However, this aim of operating a grocery shop and a catering job concurrently was not possible because of the financial stress involved.

Another case of failed self-employment was about a 50 years old man who was ignorant of where and how to get information about the process of becoming a sole proprietor in Bergen. In his own words, he states:

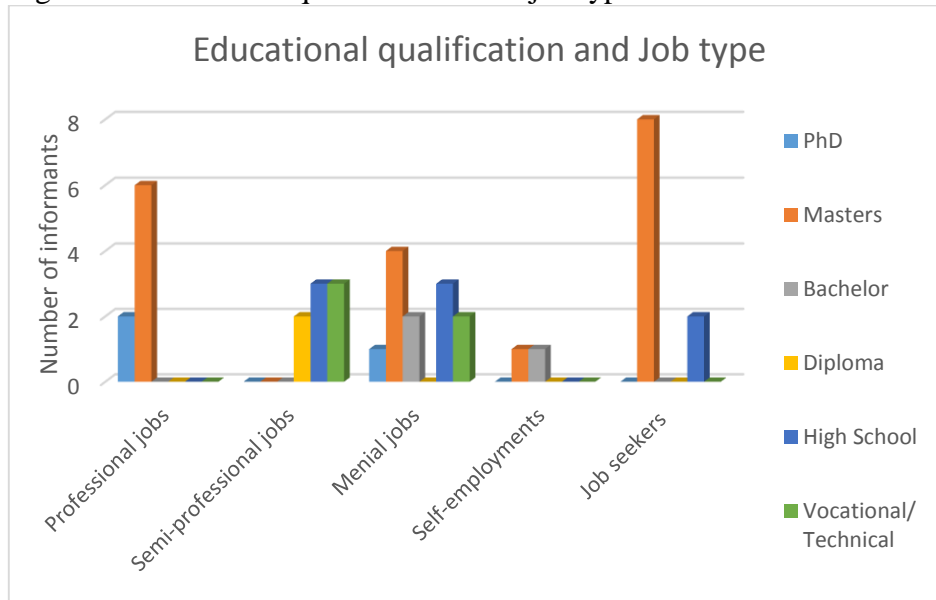
'I planned opening a shop but the fact is I have no idea and I have not gone further to ask how to go about this idea' (Male, Cleaner, 15 years in Bergen).

The various outline reasons, among others, together hindered some informants with sole proprietorship aspirations from establishing their own businesses in Bergen. As a result, the informants relied on their qualifications to seek for either private or public sector jobs. In the next section, I shall focus on the impact of job seekers' qualifications for the type of jobs they get.

4.3 The effect of educational qualification on job types

Another aspect of the job seekers' characteristics that influence employment decisions is educational qualification. However, the findings from the figure below reveal that the immigrants' educational qualifications were less instrumental in their employment process. 12 out of the 40 informants, given their educational backgrounds, have settled for jobs that they are overqualified for while 10 informants were unemployed (we shall see later how other factors plays a role in employment processes and outcomes). Figure 3 below shows such inconsistencies in job types and informants' educational qualifications.

Figure 1: Educational qualifications and job type



Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Figure 1 clearly shows that job types largely did not match the informants' educational qualifications. A number of the informants in other categories of job types also have same educational qualifications as those in the professional group but have rather accepted less-qualified jobs or are currently facing difficulties getting employment. As can be observed from the figure above, semi-professional work category recorded migrants' with either diploma, high school, vocational or technical certificate qualification. However, seven informants with tertiary education worked in menial jobs while eight informants with tertiary education were job seeker. Unlike Ghanaians with high school qualifications who are mostly employed in semi-professional jobs, two informants with the same qualification are seen unemployed. We shall later see how theories of social network and intersectionality helps us to understand such inconsistencies. The assumption was that higher education would yield an appropriate job for the informants. However, during interview sessions, migrants discussed a range of reasons why this was not the case. This is what a master's degree holder who work as a cleaner said:

'As both of us know, Norwegian is the main language. In almost all the institutions, the first language is Norwegian so I did not consider those options. Another thing is that I didn't want a job that demands communication [in Norwegian] with people but rather something that is a little bit flexible in order to have time for other activities' (Male, 28 years old, 3 years in Bergen).

The informant's words above show that, language formed the main reason for not searching for an appropriate job. He finds menial jobs relatively flexible which gives room for other activities (such as education), while at the same time escaping from the use of the Norwegian language. However, in Norway, a cleaning job may offer higher income and better working benefits than some 'good' or professional jobs in Ghana. A 40-year-old man who held this view cited income rates in Norway as the main motivation for accepting his current job although it is far below his qualifications. This is what he said:

'... sometimes it's sad but I have to bury my pride because in Norway if even I work for 2 hours per week, I'll get 2000 NOK and 2000 NOK is about \$230. How many people in Ghana work to get \$230 per week? Though it is cleaning, the money that I get sometimes when I evaluate it, it is better than when I was working in an insurance company in Ghana because I spent a lot of hours but received less pay' (Masters qualifications, cleaner, 4 years in Bergen).

His remarks shows how a man getting employed in the cleaning segment of the labour market is awkward in the Ghanaian context and very unacceptable when it involves an educated person. However, the informant in this regard seemed very much motivated financially. He compares present income (after expenditure) in Bergen with past income in Ghana and by so doing; he is to able work in a menial job despite his gender as a man and his status as a university graduate.

Another most cited reason why some informants found overqualified jobs relates to immigrants' length of stay in Bergen. On the other hand, the data show that the immigrants' length of residency in Bergen affected the kinds of job they get on the labour market. In the subsequent section, I shall look at the immigrants' duration of residency in Bergen and how it influenced the type of occupation people secured.

4.4 The effect of length of stay on job types

As stated by Galloway (2006, p. 77), the probability of employment increases the longer an immigrant has been in the host country because it is acknowledged that a longer length of stay in the host country would allow immigrants to acquire 'place-specific' labour market requirements. Therefore, to observe the relationship between the number of years informants have been residing in Bergen and the type of job they do; a cross-tabulation is used. This is shown in table 6 below.

Table 6: Migrants' length of stay and job type

Length of stay	Types of Jobs					No. of Persons (%)
	Professional	Semi-Professional	Menial	Self-employments	Job seekers	
1-4 years	-	-	6	-	9	15 (37.5)
5-10 years	1	-	-	-	1	2 (5.0)
11-15 years	1	2	3	-	-	6 (15.0)
16-20 years	1	3	3	1	-	8 (20.0)
21-25 years	-	1	-	1	-	2 (5.0)
26-30 years	3	1	-	-	-	4 (10.0)
31-35 years	2	1	-	-	-	3 (7.5)
Total	8	8	12	2	10	40 (100)

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

As the table shows, most of those who work in professional or semi-professional jobs have been residing in Bergen for a period of five or more years while majority of those employed in menial jobs or are unemployed have lived in Bergen for less than five years. For that reason, it was expected that immigrants' who have lived in Bergen for more than five years would gradually find job in 'good' segments of the labour market. However, table 6 reveals that about six informants who had lived in Bergen for more than five years still work in menial jobs. What factors might have accounted for such discrepancies? The factors might relate to Norwegian language skills, the nature of job seeking networks used or, of course, their length of stay and educational qualifications might have intersected with other aspects of their identities (such age, gender, citizenship etc.) that are unfavorable. In the subsequent sections, I will investigate how these factors influence job seeking process and channels of getting job.

4.5 Factors that facilitates/hinder labour market integration among Ghanaians

Of the 40 informants in Bergen, 30 were employed. When they were asked about the factors that had played decisive role in their employment processes, many of the them cited knowledge of Norwegian language and social networks as the important facilitating factors that helped them to get employed in Bergen. Table 7 is a detailed presentation of the responses.

Table 7: Responses on factors that facilitate employment²

Responses	Frequency
Language	22
Social networks	22
Previous work experience	13
Educational qualifications	10

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Before fieldwork, the study assumed that Ghanaians have limited access to Bergen's labour market because of lower formal education or work experience. However, from the interviews, informants rated these factors as least influential. Such responses are due to the fact that all the informants had formal education of a higher level (see table 2 and figure 2) and therefore they did not see these factors to have played very important role in job seeking processes. In all, language and social network emerged as the most important influential factors needed to facilitate successful labour market integration. Social networks were identified as an important means to reduce employers' mistrust in immigrant's capabilities. In the section that follows, I examine each of these factors in order to unravel the extent of their effects on job seeking processes and employment outcomes.

4.5.1 Language proficiency and job types

The effect of Norwegian language in labour market integration of immigrants was measured in this study by asking the immigrants to first of all rate their knowledge of the Norwegian language

² The table shows the number of times the factors were mentioned and so the number of responses is more than the number of informants.

from fluent to none. Table 8 shows generally that, majority of the informants had a certain level of knowledge in Norwegian. About 17 out of the 40 respondents were fluent in the Norwegian language. It was assumed that immigrants' level of fluency in the Norwegian language would more likely influence access to qualifying jobs while migrants who are not fluent in the Norwegian language would be more likely to experience difficulties finding (appropriate) jobs. Table 8 shows the impact of language proficiency on job types.

Table 8: Fluency of Norwegian and job type

Knowledge of Norwegian language	Type of job					Total
	Professional	Semi-Professional	Menial	Self-employment	Job seekers	
Fluent	8	4	1	2	2	17
Good Knowledge	-	2	4	-	-	6
Fairly good	-	2	3	-	-	5
None	-	-	4	-	8	12
Total	8	8	12	2	10	40

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Table 8 confirms that fluency in the Norwegian language is a prerequisite for informants seeking integration in professional and semi-professional segments of the labour market. Informants with a good knowledge worked menial jobs such as sales work or storekeeping. The reason is that these types of jobs require more communication with Norwegian employers and customers. It can also be recalled from the dialogue between the couple (Chapter 3, p. 38), how the woman placed much emphasis on the importance of Norwegian language proficiency on the hiring of her husband. She therefore believed that her partner suffered a prolonged period of unemployment because he could not express himself proficiently anytime he gets an opportunity to 'market' himself. His inability to express himself proficiently, despite his enrollment in a language school, shows that becoming proficient in Norwegian also depend on the kind of persons in the jobs seeker's network (whether native speakers, non-native speakers, or non-speakers). In this research, one way that informants became proficient in the Norwegian language was through

Norwegian relationships. A female informant who is married to a Norwegian shares how her Norwegian father-in-law motivated her to speak Norwegian. She admits:

'The only person I could say motivated me to learn the language and really go further with my career was my father-in-law. He would come every day and say; "Oh speak Norwegian, oh speak Norwegian"!' He said it so much that I said: "Ok, I will do that" (...) so when I finished my language exams, I said here you are I have passed my exams' (Female, 35 years, accountant, fluent in Norwegian, Master's education).

The above quotation illustrates how her continuous contact with the father-in-law and the constant communication barrier encouraged her to take the Norwegian language studies seriously instead of sticking to the English language. On the other hand, her Norwegian father-in-law might have constantly urged her to speak Norwegian because he expected her to acquire the language and use her educational qualification for future job searches. As time passed, she got employment as an accountant in an international company in Bergen because of her linguistic abilities. So knowing Norwegian is much more than just learning the language. As illustrated above, an individual may gradually become proficient in Norwegian by being married to a Norwegian and having the urge to constantly speak the language. In that way, it is also believed that one would access, in addition to language, the needed cultural codes and social networks to facilitate integration in 'good' segments of the labour market. We shall in the following section see how Norwegian networks helped informants to find jobs in professional and semi-professional segments.

Some informants also learnt the Norwegian language as part of their educational sponsorship requirements. A 52 years old male informant explained how his scholarship structure mandated him to take a one-year Norwegian language program.

'... when we came, the quota program was such that it was compulsory for us to learn the Norwegian language for one year before you start the actual course work and then write the thesis in Norwegian ...' (Consultant, Master's education, 28years in Bergen).

The response above shows that the one-year language program, which was offered by the Norwegian institutions for international students during the said period, gave the informant opportunity to learn the Norwegian language. However, not only did this enabled the informant (and most probably a number his colleagues) to access the Norwegian labour market to secure appropriate job and acquire a residence permit. Being married to Norwegians helped some of the

informants to stay on after ended studies, which in turn gave them opportunity to search for appropriate jobs.

Table 8 also shows negative employment outcomes for some informants who have an appreciable level of knowledge in Norwegian. Perhaps, they used job-seeking channels that were not influential or favourable. This takes us to the next topic on job seeking channels that were used by the informants in order to facilitate employment.

4.5.2 Job seeking channels

The possibility that a Ghanaian will get successfully integrated in Bergen’s labour market partly depends on the kind of channel used for accessing information and assistance about job opportunities. This serves as an important indicator of the type of job informants’ are likely to get in the labour market. Hence, I found it important to ask informants how they got information about their current jobs. The responses indicate that the informants managed to get their current jobs through four main channels; a Ghanaian network, a Norwegian network, a formal job search institution such as the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) and Adecco, or through the immigrants’ personal job seeking efforts (e.g. searching the Internet). The number of responses for each channel is shown in the preceding table.

Table 9: Job seeking channels for getting into the labour market

Job-seeking Channels	Professional Jobs	Semi-Professional Jobs	Menial Jobs	Total (%)
Through other Ghanaian	1	3	9	13
Through a Norwegian	4	2	-	6
Through a formal channel	1	2	2	5
Personal efforts	2	1	1	4
Total	8	8	12	28

Source: Fieldwork, 2015

The distribution of channels (through which informants’ current employment was obtained) presented above depicts that with the exception of the two self-employed Ghanaians, the majority (19) of the 28 employed informants got their jobs through an established social network (friends,

colleagues, family, former boss/supervisors, church members). However, a number of the informants also got their jobs through a formal channel, namely NAV and Adecco. One Ghanaian-Norwegian informant who had lived in Bergen for 15 years explained the process of seeking employment through NAV.

'I went to the NAV office and I informed them that I am not working and that I need a job. They asked me to apply for Dagpenger [financial support from NAV to Norwegians who are job seekers], take some courses and go search for a place I want to work. So I went to one of these grocery shops and I met the manager. I asked him if I could do my practicals [a form of internship] there and fortunately, he agreed. Then I returned to inform NAV about it. The practical was for six months during which NAV paid me Dagpenger. When I finished the period for practicals, it seemed I had gained some working experience. The boss also liked me because he always said to me that I am very hard working. Therefore, he employed me to work at the shop as a sales person. NAV stopped giving the monthly allowance and then I started receiving a proper salary from that work' (Male, 34 years old, Sales worker, Technical education).

The statement above outlines four main processes that the informant went through to get a job with the formal channel. First, he created an awareness of his state of unemployment to the institution, then he took courses and identified course-related workplaces for internship, then a period of internship and finally the result of the internship based on an acquired experience. The result, however, could be either employment or refusal. In his case, his result was positive and consequently he earned employment.

Furthermore, the number of Ghanaians who had acquired jobs through the formal channels may also reveal to some extent that the informants were not ignorant of institutionalized structures existing in the Norwegian society to help them find jobs that they desire. It is possible also that the informants might not have utilized such institutions because they are not Norwegians. In later sections, we shall see how Norwegian citizenship acquisition impact on job types for some categories of the informants. The mention of *Dagpenger* may serve as an indication of the way Ghanaian-Norwegians survived economically during periods of unemployment. Conversely, the findings from Ghana (in subsequent sections) indicate that ordinary Ghanaians without Norwegian citizenship sometimes rely on reverse remittance during periods of unemployment. Reverse remittances are simply 'the acts of support by relatives in migrants' origin country' (Mazzucato, 2011, p.457). The support mainly took the form of money.

In the following section, I examine the ways that peoples' social networks help in labour market integration processes and outcomes.

4.5.3 Social network and job type

To gain employment might be relatively easier if job seekers know someone who can give them appropriate information about job vacancies or recommend them to employers. That might be one reason why informants entered into social relationships (or networks) with either Ghanaians or Norwegians. Nonetheless, Table 9 shows that Ghanaian networks are very important for migrants who sought, especially, menial jobs while Norwegian networks played a significant role in enhancing migrants' employment opportunities in both professional jobs and semi-professional jobs. Consequently, these social networks affected the speed of entry into the labour market and segregate jobs. A female informant who started with a menial job but currently works as an accountant rates these channels for accessing appropriate job opportunities in Bergen's labour markets:

'Most of the time we contact Ghanaians because we want the quicker way of getting into the job market (...) In my case even though I was cleaning and doing all these things, I had a focus, I had a goal where I want to end. I didn't exclude the fact that there are institutions that can help me get to the place where I want to be and I used that. NAV is one place I went to and I had my current job with their help' (35 years, 9 years in Bergen, Master's education).

This informant confirms that a Ghanaian network is a quicker way of getting employment into menial jobs while channels outside migrants' nationality was important for her later transition from menial job to accounting job. She might not have solely depended on NAV for her accounting job, partly because of the procedure for obtaining a job through this channel. Hence, she worked part-time as a cleaner to sustain herself financially while going through the process of obtaining her current job. She rationalized the difficulties Ghanaians face in getting appropriate jobs as resulting from their underutilization of existing institutions (e.g. career centers etc.) that can aid their entry into appropriate segments of the labour market.

When asked about the way(s) the assistance from the contacts were offered, many of the informants (both employed and unemployed) mentioned information and recommendation as the forms of help received. However, access to information about job opportunities and a recommendation for employment by Norwegian contacts was deemed the most important channel

for getting successfully integrated in Bergen's labour market. The case of Nana illustrates how different types of social networks (Ghanaian vs. Norwegian network) influence job type among Ghanaian immigrants.

Case 2: Nana: 'I am just looking forward for a cleaning job'

Nana (54), a former research assistant, decided to travel to Norway for graduate studies following his former lecturer's advice. Traveling abroad, to him, was also another way of gaining financial support for his career development and an escape from the unsafe political atmosphere in Ghana as at the time of migration. Nana has lived in Bergen for 31 years.

According to him, although the education system in Norway when he arrived allowed him to study the Norwegian language for a year, he never preferred using his Norwegian to search for employment. This was because he had received information from Ghanaian colleagues he came to meet in Norway that jobs available for '*an average Ghanaian/international student were menial*' and did not require so much of communication. Therefore, he set a job-class ceiling for himself and, like his other Ghanaian colleagues, Nana did not attempt searching for jobs that matched his educational qualification, previous work experience or his linguistic abilities. He was willing to take any job that comes his way.

As he reflects on his experience searching for job in Bergen, Nana recalls his first employment as a roof repairer. His duty was to assist his employer in repairing houses with leaking roofs. When his contract ended, he decided to use his Norwegian language skills in his later job search for a 'normal' menial job. He believes using the Norwegian language helped him subsequently to secure his second job at the technical part of an educational institution. He worked there as a cleaner in the laboratories. Nana's contract ended after the summer period and he begun another search for a 'normal' menial job.

One day at the faculty where he was still a student, one of the administrators (a Norwegian) asked him in conversation, the kind of job he was going to do for the next summer. He enthusiastically replied; 'I'm just looking forward for a cleaning job'.

Surprised by Nana's reply, this administrator advised him to apply for job at health institutions where Nana's Norwegian colleagues worked. Nana heeded to this advice and finally got

employed as a house worker in one of the hospitals in Bergen where he worked with handicaps. Ever since he received this information, Nana's mindset changed completely to searching for jobs that matches his qualification. He currently works as a teacher and researcher in one of Bergen's tertiary institutions.

From the case above, it can be observe that the type of contact and the kind of information the informant received played an important role in his transition to high status jobs. Nana consistently searched for 'normal menial job' without a trial to a more qualifying job because of the kind of information he received from his predecessors which formed a perception that eventually prevented him from searching for an appropriate job. This case further illustrate that information received upon arrival has the effect of undermining migrants' agency of finding employment in areas other than the menial job segment.

4.5.4 Gender Differences in employment outcomes

Gender difference in employment outcomes was observed during data analysis. Specifically, out of 10 unemployed informants, seven were females while three were men (see Table 5, p. 55). More women than men concentrated in semi-professional jobs, particularly as nursing-care assistants in the welfare segment of the labour market. While the men, on the other hand, were spread across a broad range of job types. A significant proportion of the male workers interviewed also concentrated in the menial jobs segment. Moreover, when we compare occupation before and after migration, we would observe that women have acquired more upgraded employment status than men. During interview sessions, informants gave a number of reasons for such gender differences. One reason according to a 37-year-old female informant was:

'... it is a social pull kind of thing. You know these people are families. (...) People who come from the same place in Ghana they have similar information and similar access to resources, because then it is my brother and my brother and his families' (Administrator, 10 years in Bergen).

The informant identified job opportunities available through migrants' ethnic network as the reason that influence the pattern of job among the immigrants. This she believes eventually fuels

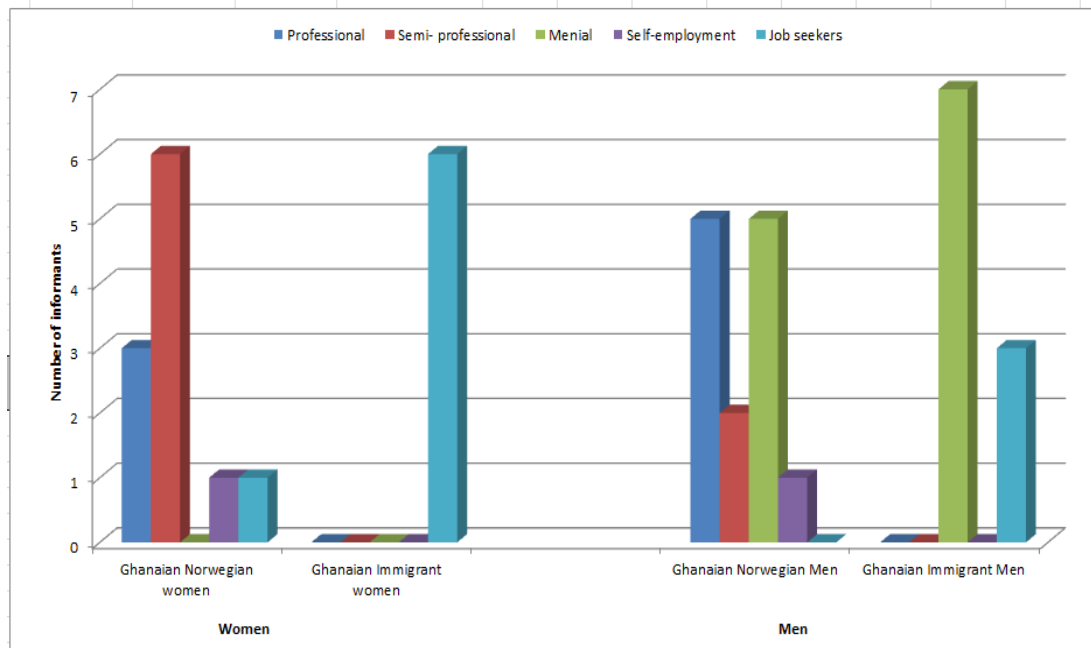
the concentration of Ghanaians in some particular kinds of job such as cleaning and care jobs. Another female informant mentioned three reasons why Ghanaian female immigrants are concentrated in nursing-care jobs. She states:

'It because it is the easiest and most secured job anyone can get because the work is a bit stressful. Ghanaian women might prefer such places because at the old people's home they need people all the time. The work there is stressful so workers get tired and sick all the time and the management would also need people to replace them. Working at that place is, for me, like living with your grandmother and helping her everyday' (48 years, Hjelpepleier, 27 years in Bergen).

In the above quotation, the informant identifies the readily accessible nature of the job (perhaps for women), and relative job security in the welfare segment of the labour market on one hand and the Ghanaian reciprocal culture of caring for aged relatives, on the other hand, as the main factors causing such occupational concentration.

Furthermore, not only were there differences in labour market outcomes based on gender. Employment opportunities and modes of incorporation also varied within the group depending on their citizenship status and length of stay in Bergen. Hence, locating differences within same gender was deemed important for understanding complexities in employment processes and outcomes (MaCall, 2005). Figure 3 below depicts that, female informants who are now Norwegians tend to succeed and progress well in the labour market than female informants without Norwegian citizenship. Thus, female Ghanaian-Norwegians with a high school certificate is more likely to secure employment in at least the semi-professional segment of the labour market than a female immigrant without Norwegian citizenship but with tertiary qualification. One reason for such discrepancies might be because of institutional structures that assist and favours permanent immigrants over temporal immigrants (reason derived from Case 4, p. 74). In Case 4, we shall see how institutions such as NAV assisted a Ghanaian-Norwegian to find a place for internship, which subsequently led to an appropriate job offer.

Figure 2: Employment outcomes based on citizenship



Source: Fieldwork, 2015

Surprisingly, among the Ghanaian-Norwegian men, the findings show that some male informants with high school and vocational qualifications worked in menial jobs, unlike their female counterparts who worked in the semi-professional segments with the same qualification. Although gender might have played a role in shaping occupational choices, other factors such as age and motivation for entry into the labour market might have equally been influential. Below is a case of a man who came after his wife to Bergen.

‘When you come here and you are thirty and above, with your background (...) the focus for older people and some of us who come for family reunion (...) is just finding any job in order to pay for family expenses and the huge Norwegian bills’ (50 years old, menial job worker, 11 years in Bergen).

The quotation suggests that one’s role in a family, in addition to age and motive of migration influence occupational choices. These factors motivated the informant to do menial job for a longer period. He might have not have changed his career as a cleaner for fear of suffering prolonged period of unemployment, which can render him incapable of discharging his responsibilities and role as a man of the house, father and husband. However, for some of the informants, they seemed motivated to either work in male or female-dominated jobs because of

their own internalized gender perceptions about which work is appropriate or inappropriate for men and women.

4.5.4.1 Changes in perception of gender roles

The way people get socialized influences their perception about what work is appropriate for men and women (Estevez-Abe 2006). Generally, research has indicated that these traditional perceptions about appropriate gender roles are bound to change because of migrants' acculturation experiences. This I found to be the case when informants were asked about which job they consider appropriate or inappropriate for men and women. Nearly all of the informants held the view that women are as capable as men to do the same types of jobs. A man in his early 40s contrasts gender ideologies in Ghana with that of Norway and further emphasised in the quotation below why he work as a cleaner, even though it is assumed as women's work in the Ghanaian context.

'We are in Norway, not in Ghana oh! What a man can do, a woman can do and do it even better. Why am I saying that, we have a typical proverb that I don't agree with that "Obaa tu tur a otwer bema den mu" [meaning that when a woman buys a gun it is the responsibility of the man to use the gun because a woman does not shoot]. Why! let me tell you, in Norway "Obaa tu tur a Otwe Obaa den mu" [meaning that (in Norway) when a woman buys a gun, the woman keeps it and uses it]. On Sundays, you'll see the men carrying the babies. In Ghana, we have another proverb that says "you will never see the cock followed by the chicks" but in Norway, the chicks follow the cock. Don't you also see women driving the Bybane [light rail] and the buses? These are all indications that there are no appropriate and inappropriate jobs for men and women' (Menial worker, 5 years in Bergen).

The various examples given in the quotation show the extent to which external mainstream gender ideologies serve as sources of motivation for informants' decision and choice of occupation. Thus, in the Norwegian society, it is very common to see women doing jobs which are largely ascribed masculine in the Ghanaian society and men vice versa. The informant's exposure has changed his perception about appropriate jobs for a particular gender. Some informants also perceived menial jobs as inappropriate and tedious for women. For men, jobs such as cleaning (renhold), washing (vaskeri) and cooking were seen as appropriate. Conversely, all these roles perceived appropriate for men are exactly what the Ghanaian society assigns for women. These ideologies associated with occupational choices also explain differences in the

occupation between men and women in this study, and further indicate that the informants' gender-role ideologies have changed over time.

Some informants also mentioned gender as one of the facilitating factors that enabled them to gain employment to their current jobs. They particularly explained how their gender played an influential role in the hiring process. A male cook shares his experience:

'One reason why they preferred me for the job was because the employees were mainly women. The boss and one technician were the only males. I made up the third male as at that time (...) I got to know this because one day the boss passed a comment that they need more men' (53years, 25 years in Bergen).

The informant's quotation shows how his gender as a man helped him secure employment in a feminine-dominated workplace. Thus, since most cooks in Bergen are women, a man seeking for a cooking job may have greater employment advantage (the vice versa is also true). Additionally, one's gender as a male was found to facilitate employment in mostly warehouse jobs. Such jobs, like cleaning jobs, usually require manual efforts in performing them and this also explain why a significant number of females were segregated from menial jobs.

4.6 Other strategies for accessing the labour market

During interview sessions, informants discussed into details various ways they have managed to get jobs with or without assistance from their contacts. Some of them identified apprenticeship and 'cover-ups' as another means of getting into the labour market.

4.6.1 Apprenticeship and 'Cover-ups'

Liu (2006) suggests that in order to obtain access to job opportunities, new arrivals need to establish contacts with those who already have access to the jobs within the particular industry. This was found to be the case for some of my informants. Findings reveal that new arrivals (≤ 5 years) who try to secure jobs through their Ghanaian contacts often do so through either 'apprenticeships' or 'cover-ups' in order to gain a form of in-service training and employers' recognition respectively. Interviews with some of the recent arrivals revealed that, apprenticeship is usually done without the knowledge of the employer while 'cover-up' is done with the

knowledge of the employer. Apprenticeship, in this case, is for new arrivals who voluntarily serve a fellow migrant employee with the aim of learning how to perform a task. While ‘cover-up’ is for job seekers who already have acquired job skills (mostly through apprenticeship) and have been requested by their contact to substitute them in case of they are ill or on vacation. However, in both case, the job seeker has a chance of becoming an employee of the contact person (who is also an employee) occasionally.

During an interview with a 35 years male informant, I found that recent arrivals who became apprentice to their contacts with the hope of being recommended to employers for cover-ups or future employments sometimes gets exploited by the contact person. The case of Kojo who failed an attempt to secure a job through apprenticeship illustrates such disadvantages.

Case 3: Kojo: Ofosu used me and made a fool out of me

Kojo (35) works as a cleaner in Bergen, Norway. He quit his job in Ghana and travels to Norway for further studies after a phone conversation with his brother who lived in Trondheim (Norway) convinced him of the prospects of better life in Europe. It has been four years since he first arrived in Bergen and he combines his cleaning work with academic course work other than his previous courses.

Upon arrival in Bergen, Kojo was the first among his batch of newcomers to start work daily as an apprentice of Ofosu, a friend to his brother in Trondheim. Ofosu was working multiple jobs at the time, and Kojo was his apprentice for four months. Kojo did that thinking Ofosu would one day give him one of his jobs or, at least, introduce him to his employers. Kojo described this as a common practice among Ghanaian newcomers who undergo apprenticeship. Sometimes he had to work for four hours or five and a half hours, all without pay.

But Ofosu had a different interest. His interest was to benefit from the work of the apprentice. As a result, Kojo decided to quit the apprenticeship and he lost the ‘aspiring job’ to another Ghanaian. Kojo now holds the impression that Ofosu used him and made a fool out of him.

Nevertheless, he did not lose hope after such a long period of apprenticeship without ever getting even a ‘cover-up’ kind of employment. He began searching for any work that would enable him cater for himself financially. One day, as he accompanied a female Ghanaian friend to sign a

‘cover-up’ contract with her employer, Kojo found a job with that employer and he now work as a cleaner.

The case of Kojo also reveals that cover-ups are more helpful for gaining employment in the labour market than apprenticeship. This is because the ‘cover-up’ person is formally introduced to the employer by signing an agreed contract, as indicated above. Through this means, the individual builds a worker-employer type of relationship that puts him/her in a position to be considered for future employment. Analysis of the fieldwork data again confirmed that some informants who acquired jobs (mostly menial) through other Ghanaian contacts did so through ‘cover-ups’.

4.6.2 Volunteering Work

A common strategy undertaken by immigrants to access the labour market is to do unpaid internships (Mirchandani et al., 2010), which I hereby refer to as ‘volunteering work’. This idea is often to enable the immigrant break the barrier of skepticism and sell him/herself appropriately to employers. In turn, the individual also acquires skills, knowledge, values and work experience that increases their employability and access to jobs in the organization where the unpaid work was offered (ibid.). Volunteering work was an approach two of my informants adopted after their search for appropriate jobs had proven to be unsuccessful. Case 4 tells the story of how a 35-year-old young female migrant used volunteering work as a tool to be taken on as a finance administrator in an international company.

Case 4: Mrs. Hansen: I worked there voluntarily for ten months before getting employed as the finance administrator

Mrs. Hansen (35), a master’s degree holder, moved to Bergen seven years ago after marrying a Norwegian in Ghana. She quit her teaching job at a Ghanaian university and made plans to continue her career in Bergen. Having been to Norway before, she decided upon arrival to focus on ‘*getting the Norwegian language first*’. She knew that learning the language was also important for communicating with her Norwegian husband and his relatives who would expect her to use her education to work. This made her enroll in an intensive language course after which she passed with distinction. She could then speak Norwegian fluently in addition to English after completing the language course. Since she could speak and write Norwegian, Mrs.

Hansen's expectation was that her Norwegian family would assist her find a desirable job. However, this in reality did not happen as she expected. She said:

'It is not much different if you are married to a Norwegian or not, especially, when it comes to the job market. I never had any help from my husband or any of my husband's family who are Norwegians and had contacts on the job market. I mean they think you are not really integrated into their culture and so it is hard for anybody to trust you. Even your own husband finds it hard to recommend you because he does not know your capability. They don't even know what you have to offer and they don't want to feel the shame of recommending someone who cannot even do the job'.

However, she does believe that her marriage to a Norwegian had a positive influence on her fast language learning. Mrs Hansen began searching for job by registering with several recruiting firms. She also worked all kinds of menial jobs along her search for a job that was relevant for her education. She thinks that *'cleaning [menial job] is one means to hang around while searching for a job'*.

One day as she participated in a workshop organized by the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV), one of the staff recommended her to one employer who later accepted Mrs. Hansen's application for internship. Mrs. Hansen considered herself very lucky among her colleagues to get this opportunity and believed her internship with the company would be a stepping-stone to getting at least an office job in Bergen. But unfortunately, *'they don't trust us [foreigners] to be good enough to do what they are doing'* she said.

Mrs. Hansen mentioned that, *'with all my qualification, I was still given odd jobs [menial] in that company. I cleaned, washed the dishes, cleaned the sinks and sat at the reception. They showed me how to answer the phone so I was answering phone calls and doing some petty jobs'*. There were also times when she assisted at the accounts department. Mrs. Hansen worked for that company for ten months without a salary hoping for a vacancy where she could fit in. While she worked under internship, she received transportation and food allowance from NAV.

After ten months of voluntary work, she believed that her boss was not being fair to her. She says: *'She knew I was capable of working because I had worked at the reception and the accounting department. I had done other things and she knew I could work but still she was enjoying my services for free. Even when there were opportunities, I wasn't given any job'*.

However, at a certain point, the voluntary services paid off. *‘Five or six months later, after I had quit the job, that same manager where I had the internship remembered me and called me for employment as a ‘vikar’ [a temporal employee whose work is intermittent]. After my ‘vikar’ contract ended, she also recommended me to the human resource manager for employment at the accounts department. Three months after employment, I was promoted to become the finance administrator of the company’.*

Even though getting an office job was one of Mrs. Hansen’s dreams in Bergen, she still feels not successfully integrated when she compares herself with her colleagues in Ghana and their career advancement. She recalls a time when she visited Ghana and her former Ghanaian academic supervisors commented: *‘We thought you would be the first among your group to finish your PhD. All the lecturers here had so much expectation of you and now all the others have come and passed you’.* She now wishes for a time when she will be on the same lane with her colleagues back home.

From the above, one could deduce that the different ways in which informants (e.g. Case 1 and 2) viewed successful integration cause them to have different job satisfaction. In Case 1, Ato felt successfully integrated because he achieved his economic aim of migrating to Bergen despite his educational background and work as a cleaner. On the contrary, Mrs. Hansen sees successful integration as being equal in rank with colleagues. Her experience also tells the relative difficulty that the migrants’ encounter in spite of having the language, network and qualification. Hence, adopting the voluntary-service strategy seemed the ideal way for her to access the labour market, secure employment, earn a salary and be in a position to remit to relatives in Ghana.

In the next section, we shall see how the immigrants’ integration in the labour market empowers them financially to be in a position to improve people’s livelihoods in Ghana.

4.7 Labour market Integration and Migrant’s contribution in Ghana

The connection between labour market integration and immigrants' contribution at home is shaped by (a) their ability to a secure job, earn and save money and (b) the motivation to send savings back to the origin country (Stark and Lucas, 1988). Based on this thinking, I presumed that Ghanaian immigrants' ability to save and send money home would be dependent on the type of job they get in Bergen, which in turn influence the amount, and purpose of their remittance. To look into this, 10 recipients in Ghana of remittances from migrant informants in Bergen were sampled and interviewed. The findings indicate that employment status had an effect on migrants' ability to remit and meet the expectations of their relatives at home while the type of jobs informants engaged themselves in did not have a significant relationship with migrants' ability to save and send money to relatives at home. Plate 3 shows a male informant whom and Interviewed in Bergen. He works as a cook in Bergen and is able to send money for investment in a multiunit housing project in Ghana



Plate 3: Informant works as a cook in Bergen and builds a house in Ghana

Sources: Fieldwork in Ghana, 2015

Thus, there is a tendency that a menial worker in Norway is capable of possessing a fiscal asset that enhances the standard of living of his dependents in Ghana. Such asset is more likely to be acquired in the Ghanaian context supposed the informant worked as a professional than as a cook. Additionally, Case 1 shows that a cleaner can afford to own a house and live luxuriously in

Norway. Hence, with the exception of some unemployed informants, all informants regardless of the type of job they engaged in remitted either financially for investment as well as allowance or consumption purposes or non-financially in terms of items such as second-hand clothing, shoes and furniture, accessories, used vehicular parts, foodstuffs, among other items to relatives in Ghana. Some of these items, according to the informants, were purchased during 'loppemarked'. Loppemarked is an open market for buying and selling used items, low quality goods as well as high quality goods at cheap prices. However, about half of the recipients also acknowledged the receipt of both financial and non-financial remittances occasionally and for some specific events such as funerals.

Additionally, when recipients' in Ghana were asked about particular times that they sent money/items to their relatives in Bergen, reverse remittances in the form of money were mentioned by three informants in Ghana. A mother of a consultant in Bergen said:

'At the initial stage, we [migrant's parent] used to send him money. But that was way back at the beginning when he was not well established. After a while, he got a job and that was when he became self-reliant'

Another mother of a job seeker mentioned:

'Yes, I send her money whenever she is broke [out of money]'

In this way, this mother's act of sending money to her daughter in Bergen because she is unemployed, indicates how reverse remittances also serve as survival support for the informant. Moreover, these monies are sent to migrants as a kind of 'investment' to strengthen recipients' relationship with the migrant and equally stimulate migrants' obligation to reciprocate support in the future after securing employment.

4.8 Chapter summary

This chapter investigated and outlined the challenges as well as the factors that help Ghanaian immigrants to secure employment in Bergen. The Norwegian language and social relationships emerged as major themes in the findings. It was noted that proficiency in the Norwegian language and Norwegian contacts are more likely to improve the immigrants' chances of getting an appropriate job.

Additionally, one's gender, citizenship status and length of stay affected the type of job that they found in the labour market. The differences in labour market outcomes between men and women mainly stemmed from their ideologies about gender appropriate works. It was found that, the female informants mostly worked as nursing-care assistants because care jobs are similar to their gender role as women in a Ghanaian home while the men worked in menial jobs partly because the Norwegian society support gender ideologies that allows men to work feminized jobs.

In the next section, I shall discuss the employment processes and outcome of the selected informants in Bergen's labour market.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss major findings using the labour market theories, the theory of social network, gender and intersectionality perspectives and explain their usefulness in answering the objectives of my study.

I have put emphasis on professional, semi-professional and menial jobs in the preceding discussion because these are the large categories of jobs found in the labour market. This is also to help improve clarity of the discussion.

5.1 Getting successfully integrated into the labour market

Getting a job, an appropriate job and meeting expectations at home were the most important criteria for informants to feel successfully integrated in Bergen (Case 4, p. 73). Thus, informants' with appropriate jobs felt satisfied with their level of integration because they found jobs according to their qualifications. Hence, in this study having an appropriate job is seen as one medium through which successful integration is measured. Three main methods of seeking a new job were used. Informants used either social networks (informal means), or used a job seeking institutions (formal means), or searched the market through the media by themselves (personal efforts).

However, in setting out to search for jobs using either one method, half of the informants were confronted with a number of labour market requirements that they were not able to meet and therefore they remained unemployed or have taken up jobs that they were overqualified for. The other half worked in either professional or semi-professional jobs.

Professional and semi-professional jobs required, in addition to the English language, qualified persons who were fluent in the Norwegian language. While menial jobs, by contrast, require little or no knowledge of Norwegian, much lower qualifications, experience or skills. Professional and semi-professional jobs paid higher minimum wages than menial jobs. They offer better work conditions, security and opportunity for career advancement and are often full-time permanent

jobs. What factors, then, accounted for informants' employment in particular segments of the labour market and not the other?

In the preceding section, I discuss the reasons why some Ghanaian immigrants found jobs in professional, semi-professional or menial job segments of the labour market in light of labour market theories.

5.2 The job seeker's personal characteristics

From this study, getting a job in Bergen's labour market is not purely by chance as posited by the neoclassical theorist. Rather, some 'unique' human capital requirements are considered crucial for labour market integration. This implies that Ghanaian immigrants must also possess particular kinds of human capital in order to improve their chances of being selected in a competitive labour market such as Bergen's. The findings suggest that, Norwegian language proficiency and educational qualification formed the major human capital requirements for accessing Bergen's labour market. In other words, those who successfully integrate themselves into the Norwegian labour market are immigrants who possess both language and educational capital. While those unsuccessful in their attempt at getting a job, according to human capital perspective, may have had low qualifications and/or no knowledge in the Norwegian language which limits jobs available in the labour market to them. Hence, it was expected that, the migrants' individual characteristics such as migrants' educational background and their level of knowledge in the Norwegian language would affect the type of job they get.

However, the quantitative data derived from this study showed quite different results from what the human capital perspective suggests. A significant number of informants with higher qualifications (comprising of PhD, Masters' Bachelor and Diploma qualifications) either worked in menial jobs or were unemployed while those with lower qualifications worked in semi-professional jobs. High school and vocational/technical school graduates, as stated earlier, formed the highest number of immigrants in semi-professional jobs (details at p.57). This however does not solely imply that the high educational background of the informants were insignificant to their employment processes and outcome. Rather to enhance effective communication and relations between the employer, costumers and the co-workers, professional and semi-professional jobs required that Ghanaian job seekers have a certain level of proficiency

in Norwegian. The immigrants must be able to communicate in Norwegian proficiently. Menial jobs had no such 'strict' requirement. Therefore, to enhance communication and improve the relationship between the three actors on-the-job, a Norwegian employer is motivated to employ Ghanaian immigrants' whose human capital is made up of Norwegian in addition to their qualification/skills.

Norwegian language then becomes an important human capital that enables communication and influence migrants' level of integration in the labour market. It was assumed that Ghanaian migrants' level of fluency in Norwegian language is most likely to facilitate their access to qualifying jobs while migrants who have no knowledge in Norwegian would be more liable to experience difficulties integrating or finding qualifying jobs. As such, the study found it appropriate to analyse the effects of language proficiency on the type of jobs Ghanaians get in the labour market. I found out that, majority of the informants who were fluent in Norwegian, had access to a range of jobs other than menial jobs. Informants who had no knowledge of Norwegian either worked in menial jobs or remained unemployed. On the other hand, a number of the informants who had good or fairly good knowledge of the Norwegian language skills in combination with educational background also worked in menial jobs. This serves to confirm that Norwegian language proficiency is a necessity for seeking successful integration.

Nevertheless, the findings also challenge the human capital perspective that when Ghanaians possess the needed human capital (in this case language and education) for the job they are more likely to have access to the labour market and be integrated successfully by getting jobs that matches their qualifications. Ghanaians' educational background and their level of knowledge in Norwegian language were not enough factors to facilitate their employment in qualifying jobs. As demonstrated in Case 2 (p. 66), Nana, a university graduate from Norway, used the Norwegian language as a tool to get university employment. While he believed that using the Norwegian language helped him to secure the job, the language and his educational background alone did not fetch him any better job at the university than the 'normal' menial job. He cleaned the university laboratories. The case of Mrs. Hansen (Case 4, p. 73) is also no exception. With all her qualification and excellence in the Norwegian language, she worked in all kinds of menial jobs before being employed as the finance administrator. Other factors might have led to such

outcomes. However, in both instances, their knowledge of Norwegian served only as a means for gaining access to low-skilled jobs, despite their high educational qualifications.

Hence, I conclude that the neo-classicist perspective on the importance of region-specific human capital acquisition has failed to explain why such categories of the Ghanaian migrants worked menial jobs despite having the qualification and the linguistic ability to communicate. Neither can it explain why some Ghanaians with similar characteristics in terms of language and education found themselves successfully integrated while others were unsuccessful in their search for jobs. The role that the state and non-market institutions (e.g. social structures) play to condition labour market transactions is also neglected (Veblen, 1990; Leontaridi, 1998; Laumenskaite, 2001). While maintaining a focus on language as well as on job seeker's personal qualifications, this study found that informants' Norwegian citizenship helped them not only to find jobs that they desire but also to receive financial support which sustained them during the period of unemployment. As can be recalled from Case 4, Mrs. Hansen received food and transportation allowance from NAV during her period of unemployment. (Chapter 4, p.74). By contrast, migrants who lacked Norwegian citizenship relied on reverse remittances from Ghana to survive during periods of unemployment. As a mother in Ghana mentioned, her daughter in Bergen receives money from her because she is seeking for employment (p. 77).

This and other factors are informed by the segmented labour market theories. As pointed out by Fields (2009), labour market segmentation exists if job types do not match employee's personal characteristics such as professional education or skills.

5.3 Segmented labour market perspective

Unlike Neoclassicists, the segmented labour market theory argues that the labour market is composed of a variety of segments and is best understood in terms of a dual labour market – primary and secondary or 'good' and 'bad' jobs .

In this study, we observe that certain causal factors (e.g. Norwegian language proficiency) produce segmentation that seem to be in line with Fields' (2009) criteria of SLM above. The primary segment (mainly composed of professional and semi-professional jobs) is delineated by employees' who are proficient in Norwegian language in combination with other qualifications.

Jobs in the secondary segments (mostly menial jobs) require neither professional training nor Norwegian proficiency.

Primary jobs, on the other hand, have become competitive and limited, partly because of employers' preferences and the recent Eurozone crisis (Dølvik et al, 2015). The competition not only exists among Ghanaians with similar characteristics, but also with native Norwegians as well as other immigrant groups who equally possess similar qualities. A queue for employment in the professional and semi-professional jobs is formed and recruitment is based on the cost of training after employment. Rational employers' then practice discrimination to avoid incurring costs after employment. The market then becomes a highly competitive place in which the possession of certain qualities advantages some groups over others (we shall later see how social networks help migrants to negotiate such hindrances).

Additionally, as the primary segment becomes very competitive, there is also the propensity that a significant number of Ghanaians, as shown in the findings, are confined in secondary segment-menial jobs serving as an indication of segmentation. Those migrants found within the professional and semi-professional job segment of Bergen's labour market are the individuals whose characteristics advantaged them relative to others' in the group. By comparing employment differences on the basis of migrants' education and language proficiency, the quantitative data showed that in addition to the migrants' personal qualifications, particular genders were preferred for certain jobs in the labour market. Men were mostly preferred for cleaning jobs while women were considered appropriate genders for 'hjelpepleier' jobs (Chapter 4, p.67 & 68). Discrimination, then, can be said to have occurred based on gender.

Other factors that led to the concentration of the informants in either segments of the labour market in spite of their educational qualification is length of stay in Bergen and citizenship status. For instance, it was found that immigrants who have Norwegian citizenship or had lived in Bergen for more than five years have a greater chance of obtaining 'good' jobs other than secondary segment menial jobs (p.59). Their length of stay as well as citizenship status may have served as an indicator of their language skills, place-specific experience, low-cost of training and better understanding of the Norwegian socio-cultural context.

Although the study has classified the jobs informants' engaged in into primary and secondary jobs, in reality, it is very difficult for one to draw a clear cut boundary between 'good' and 'bad' jobs or primary and secondary jobs in the Norwegian labour market. As one of the informants put it; menial work in the Norwegian labour market offer better wages than some professional jobs in the Ghanaian labour market. It therefore becomes very difficult to define 'good' jobs from 'bad' jobs (in terms of wages). Furthermore, the findings also depicts that informants could decide to work in both segments – e.g. an informant could work as nursing care assistants in old-peoples home and operate a grocery shop or work as cleaners concurrently (chapter 4, p.56). Others with higher qualifications paradoxically worked in low segments of the labour market. These findings challenge the SLM perspective of a dual labour market and rather suggest the existence of segmentation with imperfect information and mobility.

5.3.1 Trust building and securing jobs

The qualitative data, on the other hand, highlights the dualist perspective on discrimination in another dimension where recruitment of the migrants is based on 'trust'. As stated by Liu (2006), one of the main hindrances immigrants face in a new destination is employer's unfamiliarity with immigrant's credentials. Therefore, it was found possible for a Norwegian employer to practice racial discrimination because they are skeptical about the productivity level of the Ghanaian immigrants and this had the tendency to cause hindrances to the labour market as well as to primary jobs. Case 4 confirms this claim by showing how Mrs. Hansen found it difficult to receive recommendations from her Norwegian relations because of their lack of trust in her ability to work like Norwegians in the labour market. Relationships based on trust then become a means through which Ghanaian job seekers connect with Norwegian employers. Furthermore, this provides an explanation for how some found job in the primary segment and not the secondary segment and vice versa. Thus, in order to reduce skepticism, majority of the informants use contact persons as a means to enhance their chances of acquiring jobs in the labour market (Table 9, p.63). Since it is more easier for a Norwegian employer to 'trust' the recommendation of a fellow Norwegian associate, it is assumed that a Norwegian network would bring significant differences in job types obtain by Ghanaians in Bergen's labour market for a successful integration.

In the next section, I discuss how informants used their social networks and further assess the extent to which the above statement is true.

5.4 The effect of social networks

As we have seen from the above discussion, informants' educational qualification did not play major influential role in finding appropriate jobs and integrating successfully in the Norwegian society. Their level of knowledge in Norwegian was comparatively not good enough to fetch them jobs that matched their qualification and so the informants had to rely on their personal contacts to facilitate their access into Bergen's labour market. To analyse the importance of personal contact, the concept of social networks is used. The concept reveals how people become aware of job information, making it a very useful analytical framework for understanding the means through which informants' secured appropriate assistance and employment in this study.

From the research findings, it was observed that the assistance from informants' contacts was first of all needed to get information about the educational opportunities in Bergen. Hence, about half of the informants had moved to Bergen for educational reasons. The qualitative data (Chapter 4, p. 50) also indicate that a number of the informants from the Ashanti region had moved to Bergen upon receiving information about the scholarship package in Bergen. The information was received by the immigrants because the contact person is a relative in Bergen and hailed from the same District in the Ashanti region. The network, in this case, was organized based on kinship ties and ethnicity and the information about the opportunities in Bergen circulated within this network. Even though other immigrants later got to hear about the educational opportunities, at the initial stages many potential candidates were excluded from such information because they were not members within this particular network. This confirms Granovetter's assertion that, information that leads to actions is more likely to spread through chains of personal contact than through impersonal routes (1985, p. 4). The social network theory is thereby useful for understanding how information circulated in the Ashanti network.

A number of informants also relied on information from friends, colleagues and former co-workers to hear about the labour market conditions in Bergen. Case 1, among other extracts from the interviews (Chapter four, p. 52), for instance inform us of how the immigrants use their social

contacts before migrating. Case 1 tells of how Ato migrated to Bergen after having contacted a co-worker in Spain (who had visited Bergen earlier) about the labour market condition in Bergen. The assistance in the form of information received partly influenced their move to Bergen.

However, upon arrival in Bergen, information about job opportunities became a prerequisite for the immigrants' labour market integration (Granovetter, 1985, p.6). And so, assistance from migrants' social contacts was needed to decode job information which is usually published in the Norwegian language and also to attest the informants' productivity to employers who play a key role in hiring decisions. This therefore required that informants rely more on ethnic-members, family-relations, colleagues, supervisors and other associates in order to circumvent hindrances caused by language barriers. For this reason, a social network was needed for the immigrants' integration. They depend on Ghanaian/Ghanaian-Norwegians as well as Norwegian social relations developed mainly through education, marriage and former employments for language and information related job-seeking assistance. As we saw in Case 4, the informant's Norwegian father-in-law motivated her to learn the Norwegian language by constantly urging her to speak Norwegian. By taking a language course and interacting in Norwegian with her Norwegian relations, she improved her linguistic skills immensely.

A Ghanaian-Norwegian contact is assumed to have a good knowledge of Bergen's labour market because of their length of stay and citizenship status. As a result, some informants relied on them for assistance in reading job publications in the media, writing CVs in Norwegian and also to learn about ways to present themselves during job interviews. Others relied on ordinary Ghanaian colleagues for apprenticeship and cover-ups in order to learn country specific working skills and to improve their chances of getting a job. The different kinds of contacts in this instance have generated different kinds of 'resources' (Granovetter, 1983, p.209), such as language learning, translation and interpretation.

Aside the different resources embedded within networks, all the various mentioned contact groups were also needed for a common aim of providing recommendation for the job seekers within their network. Like Granovetter, Lin (2001) argues that social contacts may be most effective when they exert influence on employers. Employers rely on the trust they have in their employees (who are the contact persons in the network) to recommend productive and trainable new workers. And so, a significant number of informants use either one of the above kinds of

social contacts to hear about their jobs and secured employment through their assistance. Very few obtain employment through their qualification/personal efforts. This implied that, informants who are outside any of the above mentioned networks are excluded from information about job vacancies and recommendations needed to convince employers. In this instance, social network theories are useful for understanding why a number of informants were without jobs. Since information circulates better in a network, the explanation is probably that these unemployed informants were excluded from a network or assistance needed to enable them have access to jobs in Bergen's labour market.

As informants' duration of stay increased, their frequent participation in Ghanaian social gatherings (Chapter 3, p. 34-36) also increased to strengthen their relationship with each other and allow for a close network of Ghanaian relations where greater support can be attained. It was therefore not surprising that, majority of informants who had used social contacts to obtain jobs, relied on Ghanaian contacts. Nevertheless, the nature of these contacts, according to Granovetter (1973), limits opportunities of others to access appropriate jobs and integrate successfully. As a result, highly qualified Ghanaians who lack a particular network also lack access to information on a wider range of jobs other than menial jobs. Other Ghanaian immigrants' were also exploited in the process of obtaining employment assistance from particular contacts persons within the group. Case 2 and case 3 for instance illustrates how the use of networks yielded different job types among the immigrants.

In the following discussion, Case 2 and Case 3 are used extensively to explain the nature and consequence of social networks as a means for searching and securing jobs in Bergen's labour market.

5.5 Nature of social network and job types

Granovetter (1983) classifies social networks into strong and weak ties. As noted earlier strong ties are set of close friends, relatives and people similar to the individual while weak ties are set of people who are less well known or dissimilar to the individual (ibid.). Based on such similarity and for conceptual simplicity, I classify the informants' relationship with all Ghanaians as strong ties while a Norwegian relationship constitutes weak ties. Majority of the informants, in spite of their high educational backgrounds, used strong ties rather than weak ties. Conversely, the range

of appropriate jobs the informants secured via strong tie network was limited. These jobs were mainly cleaning, laundry and store keeping which has limited prospects for career advancement. The qualitative data further depicts that the informants were motivated to use strong ties other than weak ties because of relatively ease with which informants had access to job information and employment assistances from other Ghanaian colleagues. Additionally, the kind of information received upon arrival as well as the pattern of employment among the immigrants also motivated newcomers to seek particular kinds of jobs.

Weak ties, unlike strong ties, were useful for learning the Norwegian language itself, which is a key for unlocking and accessing appropriate information, recommendation as well as qualifying jobs. As pointed out by Granovetter (1973), weak ties often give access to a wider range of information relevant for securing appropriate jobs. And so, those who used weak ties got professional and semi-professional jobs (see Table 9, p.63) which offers greater opportunities for career advancement. To illustrate how weak ties are important in helping migrants integrate successfully, I use case 2 and case 3. As can be recalled from the Case 1 and 2, Nana and Kojo used different kinds of social network to secure employment in Bergen's labour market. While Nana later received assistance from an acquaintance at his faculty, Kojo rather turned to a Ghanaian colleague for help when Ofosu disappointed him. Both of them later on secured different jobs. Nana secured a professional job while Kojo got a menial job. Thus, weak ties, rather than strong ties provided Nana with information different from what he had received from his Ghanaian predecessors. This shows a Norwegian network as a prerequisite for Ghanaian immigrants seeking to integrate successfully in the labour market. Consequently, a number of informants found it relatively difficult to access jobs outside the menial job category. The different kind of social networks and the associated employment outcomes therefore supports Buhai & Leij (2014) assertion that network channels lead to occupational segregation in the labour market.

5.5.1 The dynamic nature of immigrants' social relationships

The qualitative data reveals more information about the precise nature and strength of the informants' social relationships. It shows that what constitutes strong or weak tie relationship may vary over time and across different situations. So that, a Ghanaian who is married to a

Norwegian, may forge strong ties with that Norwegian and his/her families. Moreover, it is possible for a Ghanaian employee in the labour market, although highly qualified, to develop strong ties with Norwegian co-workers (instead of a Ghanaian) in low status jobs over time. And in the same way, it is likely for a Ghanaian immigrant with limited Norwegian language proficiency to forge strong ties with a Norwegian or Ghanaian Norwegian in order to access linguistic resources. A close relationship with a Ghanaian who has no knowledge in Norwegian language may not be beneficial for career prospects. Thus, it therefore apparent that shared nationality may not be sufficient basis for categorizing informants' relationships as strictly strong or weak ties. They change over time in specific contexts such as Bergen's (Granovetter, 1983, p. 229).

Additionally, there may be other sub-divisions in this type of classification. For example, it appears in the findings that those who got professional and semi-professional jobs using strong ties had rather turn to a particular kind of strong tie: Ghanaian-Norwegian strong ties instead of 'ordinary' Ghanaian strong ties. Given that this assumption is true, then the finding to some extent diverges from Granovetter's (1983, p.93) view that weak ties, other than strong ties, have the potential to offer help to better jobs and rather point to the dynamism in strong ties and how they impact on job types.

Although it is also obvious from the findings that weak ties are the most beneficial means of accessing better job information, the research further indicates that the type of job informants acquired were not only influenced by the nature of ties but also on other structural factors among which includes gender. This eventually caused a concentration of men and women in different jobs.

5.6 Men's and women's job: Gender and intersectionality perspectives

As part of the study objectives, I examined how aspects of the informants' identity facilitate access to different kinds of jobs for different categories of the Ghanaian immigrants and the extent to which the identities served as hindrances for others. The informants' gender was one aspect of their identity that influenced the kinds of jobs they engage themselves in Bergen that otherwise they would not have engaged in Ghana. By incorporating the concept of gender, the study reveals the gendered nature of jobs that the immigrants engaged themselves. This would

not have been achieved should I have interviewed only men or only women. Hence, the relevance of this concept is the difference it makes to our knowledge on how the labour market operates for Ghanaian men and women in Bergen (Collins, 2000).

The study findings shows that although men and women have equal access to all kinds of jobs (ranging from professional to menial jobs) in the Norwegian labour market, most men in this study worked menial jobs because menial jobs required physical strength to do different kinds of cleaning activities. On the other hand, women mostly worked in nursing-care jobs, which they consider as relatively less tedious. Also in the Norwegian labour market, these jobs in health care are also regarded as women's occupation while men are rather regarded appropriate genders for jobs such as construction and manufacturing (Estevez-Abe, 2005, p. 198). Based on unemployment, the quantitative data indicate that more women than men faced greater challenges in accessing Bergen's labour market and so more women were unemployed (see Table 5, p. 55). Case 4, for example, reveals how a migrant woman served voluntarily for ten months in order to secure an appropriate job in the labour market. Women who could not afford the awkwardness with such challenges may seek other jobs which are relatively easier to access. Subsequently, the study set out to explore why the women preferred nursing-care jobs and why men preferred cleaning jobs.

Labour market theories attribute the relationship between gender and work to actions of employers because of gender difference in human capital accumulation. However, both men's and women's educational qualification and skills are relatively high in this study. This renders the theories inadequate to explain the informants' situation in Bergen's labour market and rather focus on feminist perspectives. Feminist scholars therefore attribute this pattern of the gendered occupation to socialization processes that influence peoples ideologies about which jobs are suitable for men and women. My study explored the extent to which socio-cultural ideologies reinforce labour market segregation.

As noted in the findings, nearly all the informants held the view that women are capable like men to do same type of job. Their gender ideologies have changed with an exposure to a different culture and tradition. However, the change in perceptions was found greater among the men than the women. The quantitative data confirms this by indicating how a greater number of the men have accepted jobs that are largely stereotyped as feminine in the Ghanaian culture. These jobs

include cleaning (*renhold*), cooking and washing (*vaskeri*). They are assumed appropriate for women rather than men. And so, in a typical Ghanaian society a man found doing any of these kinds of jobs is being stereotyped as ‘Kojo B3sia’ (meaning Kojo is a woman). By not giving way to the influence of such stereotypes on the type of job one chooses, a number of the men worked menial jobs which comprises of cleaning, cooking and washing activities. This shows a change in perception regarding gender-appropriate jobs.

The qualitative data also shows that menial jobs were perceived a masculine domain among the informants because it seemed tedious and demands physical strength while the caring jobs was rationalized as being equivalent to women’s care roles in a typical Ghanaian home (p. 68). Such approximation of job type with gender-appropriate roles confirms, to some extent, feminist perspective that socialization influences our ideologies about what work is appropriate for a particular gender. The women, in this case, sees their job as being similar to discharging socialization roles in a Ghanaian household where the care for aged-relatives is a reciprocal responsibility of younger females. We shall now see, in the following section, how gender interacts with other aspects of the immigrants’ social identities to help them overcome various challenges and enhance their chances of securing higher positions in the labour market.

5.7 The effect of job seeker’s social identities

The concept of intersectionality maintains that socially constructed identity categories such as gender, race, class and ethnicity should be studied not in isolation but in relation to each other so that researchers can unravel how people’s various characteristics effects their level of integration in the labour market (Falcon, 2009; Shield, 2008; McCall, 2005; Browne & Misra, 2003).

From the research findings, it was observed that men and women face multiple challenges during their search for job. The qualitative data for instance tells of a young man who served as an apprentice for four months (Case 3, p. 72) and that of a young woman who served voluntarily for ten months before securing an occupation (Case 4, p. 73). Such subjective experiences turned to shape their perceptions of how the labour market operates for non-western immigrants. However, in this section, I used the intersectionality approach to reveal employment differences beyond a discussion that focuses on the multiple experiences of only men and women. Rather, I focus on immigrants multiple social identities and further examine how these identities impacts on the

kinds of jobs available for different categories of the Ghanaian immigrants within and between genders.

The data analysis indicates that gender intersected with informants' nationality, marital status and educational class to create 'high' and 'low' intersectional identities, resulting in high and low positions on an 'intersectional ladder'. In other words, in addition to higher qualifications, an informant is likely to occupy a 'high' position on the intersectional ladder, when he/she possesses Norwegian citizenship and/or has stayed in Bergen for a relatively long period (≥ 5 years). On the contrary, those who occupied 'low' positions were mostly newcomers. To illustrate this concept of 'high' and 'low' intersectional positions in the labour market, I refer to the case between Kojo and Ofofu (Case 3, Chapter 4, p. 72). Kojo was an apprentice of Ofofu who worked multiple jobs. As a newcomer with a high potential to climb on the ladder, 'Kojo' was faced with the problem of getting a job. He had to rely on Ofofu, whom he believed had the potential to assist him to secure employment. In this case, for instance, we can say Kojo occupied 'low' position while Ofofu occupied 'high' position on the intersectional ladder. Although Ofofu is not a Ghanaian-Norwegian, his length of stay rather (and not citizenship) has created positional difference that gives him power to offer employment assistance to newcomers such as Kojo.

From Case 3, we can also tell that it is possible for those 'high' on the ladder to treat newcomers preferentially or exploit them. In the fourth paragraph, we shall see how religious membership also helps one's transition from 'low' to 'high' position on the intersectional ladder.

Conversely, there is greater likelihood that Norwegian employers will offer full-time professional and semi-professional to the categories of the Ghanaian immigrants who occupied the 'highest' intersectional identities. These aspects of the individuals' identities also affected the integration of Ghanaians with citizenship as opposed to Ghanaians without citizenship. To delve into the effect of these factors, I compare the difference in labour market outcomes between Ghanaian-Norwegians and ordinary Ghanaian immigrants (Figure 2, p.69); and further show how they interact to produce various axes of differences among the immigrants.

The findings show that an ordinary Ghanaian immigrant occupying a 'low' position is more likely to face greater challenges (due to limited Norwegian language proficiency and assistance) in their search for job than a Ghanaian who is a Norwegian. Their marital/nationality status, linguistic ability and greater knowledge of Bergen's labour market (resulting from longer-periods

of stay) gives the Ghanaian-Norwegians greater access to assistance from state job-seeking institutions in addition to assistance from their social contacts than for ordinary Ghanaian immigrants without a Norwegian citizenship. Case 4 confirms this claim by showing how Mrs. Hansen's marital and citizenship status facilitated her to upgrade her Norwegian language skills and access job seeking assistance from state recruiting institutions. Her story tells of the immense support she received (in terms of finance and job seeking assistance) from the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV). Such support might not have been received should she have been an ordinary Ghanaian immigrant without Norwegian citizenship. Consequently, these personal variables shaped informants' experiences and obviously translated into the type of jobs Ghanaian-Norwegian men and women accessed and the type of jobs an ordinary Ghanaian men and women found.

The finding shows that a female Ghanaian-Norwegian with a high-school certificate is more likely to access semi-professional jobs rather than ordinary female Ghanaian immigrant with a tertiary qualification, and whose stay in Bergen is temporal. Although employers' are also motivated to engage workers whom they think possess the needed skills and qualification, in this instance, gender intersects with citizenship status, and educational class to offer female Ghanaian Norwegians high positions, privileges and power³ to access appropriate jobs in the labour market than ordinary Ghanaian female immigrants. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of the unemployed females were not Norwegians by citizenship although they possess higher educational qualifications.

Furthermore, for Ghanaians in the 'ordinary immigrant class category to climb the intersectional ladder and find jobs, it was observed that additional factors such as one's membership in a particular religious group (mostly Ghanaian Christian churches) improves their chances. In addition to religious membership, it was also observed that the roles job seekers perform in those groups were considered by those who see those potentials and can actually help (Chapter 4, p. 94). In other words, church members and leaders who are quite 'high' on the ladder are more willing to offer preferential job seeking assistance to, for example, an unemployed choir director

³ Especially in terms of language, social network as well as a greater knowledge of the operations of the labour market

than unemployed immigrant who is an ordinary church member and who plays no role in church activities.

What also emerged from the intersectional analysis are the multiple obstacles ordinary Ghanaian men faced in their search for appropriate jobs. Men's gender, citizenship status and whether or not they have the needed language skills and qualification, limited their chances of seeking a wider range of jobs. Their gender limited the likelihood of getting nursing-care jobs and their short term of residency as well as marital/citizenship status deprived them the needed Norwegian language proficiency and assistance from state job seeking institutions for accessing suitable jobs. Hence, to avoid unemployment a number of them sought menial jobs for which they were overqualified for.

5.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have used three theoretical frameworks to discuss labour market integration processes and outcomes among Ghanaian immigrants. I also used these theories to show how informant's social network, personal characteristics and gender facilitates or hinder access to appropriate jobs. I have shown that informants' language proficiency and education were not adequate to fetch them appropriate professions. Consequently, they sought employment assistances from a network of Ghanaians with whom they have been in contact. Accordingly, potential and highly qualified immigrants lacked access to information and recommendation on a wider range of jobs other than menial jobs.

Institutions in society and ideologies about gender-appropriate jobs additionally produced difference in access to semi-professional jobs in the labour market. I discuss the findings based on gender, marital status, citizenship, educational class and religion; and used the intersectionality approach to unravel various level of differences in employment assistance and outcomes within this group of immigrants. An interesting issue that came up was the fact that a Ghanaian-Norwegian with a high school certificate is more likely to succeed and integrated successfully than an ordinary Ghanaian immigrant with a tertiary degree whose period of residency is short.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The study aimed at examining the factors that facilitate or hinder Ghanaian immigrants from integrating successfully in Bergen's labour market and how this affects migrant's household in Ghana. Drawing on the labour market, gender and social network theories, I focused attention on the following specific objectives:

- i. What was the initial purpose of coming to Bergen?
- ii. Which aspects of the Ghanaian immigrants' identity (gender, nationality, education and skills) facilitate or hinder labour market integration?
- iii. Which aspects of the labour market act as hindrance against employment and which strategies are used to overcome these hindrances?
- iv. How does the immigrants' employment status influence the possibility for an improved well-being of their families in Ghana?

The feminist concept of intersectionality was used to explore informants' positions in the job market and these positionalities, which are created through multiple identities results in privileges and challenges. The social network theory was also used to explore the means through which immigrants got access to information about job vacancies and how the different information sources yielded appropriate employments for informants.

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and draws conclusions based on the findings in relation to the research objectives

6.1 Summary of findings

6.1.1 Initial motive for migration

As stated above, the first objective of the study was to find out the initial motivation for moving to Bergen. The findings show that the majority of my informants initially moved to Bergen for educational advancement. Their educational levels were also high with a greater number having

tertiary education. On the contrary, most other non-western immigrants in Bergen had moved into the region mainly as asylum seekers and most probably with relatively lesser educational background. However, through education the informants' accessed various segments of the labour market and as a consequence half of the informants were motivated to continue their stay in Bergen. The majority of the informants had spent more than eleven years in Bergen and so has acquired fairly good knowledge of the Norwegian language. These personal characteristics among other aspects of the informants' identities influenced their employability and job preferences.

6.1.2 Aspects of the Ghanaian immigrants' identity that facilitate/hinder labour market integration

To address this research question, I used the labour market, gender and intersectionality perspectives to explore the category of Ghanaians recruited for the different kinds of jobs that have been outline in this study. Findings show that, the majority of the Ghanaians who found professional and semi-professional jobs were mainly those who in addition to their educational qualification were proficient in the Norwegian language. Majority of informants who found jobs in the menial segment were had a fairly good knowledge in Norwegian. While a number of the informants without jobs had no knowledge of Norwegian. Their gender was additional major aspect of their identities that influenced the type of jobs they sought on the labour market. Most men found menial jobs while most women secured semi-professional jobs.

The immigrants' length of stay and marital/citizenship status were other aspects of informants' identities that played crucial role in determining employment outcomes. It was found that migrants who had lived in Bergen for more than 5 years (≥ 5 years) are more likely to climb the intersectional ladder and occupy 'high' intersectional positions in order to obtain jobs outside the menial job segment. Concerning citizenship status, the study also found that Ghanaian-Norwegians have greater access to opportunities/appropriate jobs and this makes them occupy 'high' positions than ordinary Ghanaian immigrants. Furthermore, in the case of informants without citizenship, it was observed that additional factors such as ones' religious membership and the roles they perform in those groups were considered to determine preferential job seeking supports.

These factors outlined either facilitated or hindered access to a range of employment opportunities among the informants.

6.1.3 Aspects of the labour market that facilitate/hinder labour market integration

The labour market required the immigrants to satisfy certain requirements in order to participate and have access to certain kinds of jobs. For jobs other than menial jobs, the job seeker is required to have a certain level of knowledge in Norwegian together with other qualifications. Hence, depending on the informants' level of knowledge in Norwegian, the data shows that 16 out of the 40 informants worked either professional or semi-professional jobs. A greater number of the informants who found it difficult to satisfy this requirement were found unemployed or had taken jobs that do not match their qualifications. Table 8 (p. 61) shows into details how the Norwegian language requirement affected the kind of jobs Ghanaians secured in the labour market. Very few of the informants with the language requirement were found unemployed or worked in menial jobs. A discussion of this finding revealed another requirement that informants needed to satisfy (in addition to the Norwegian language) in order to win the 'trust' and convince employers that they could work like other equally qualified Norwegians and western immigrants.

The finding indicates that access to a social network is particularly useful for enhancing employers' trust for immigrants in order to facilitate employment into high status jobs. However, the nature of the social network affected opportunities of other informants to access a range of jobs other than menial jobs. It was found that access to information and a recommendation for employment by Norwegian contacts is more likely to help informants to secure appropriate jobs. Ghanaian contacts were more helpful to informants seeking menial jobs. In addition to information and recommendation, Ghanaian contacts provided other assistances in the form of 'apprenticeship' and 'cover-ups' which helped some immigrants to learn the Norwegian way to perform a task and become established in the Norwegian system of work.

The study also found apprenticeship, cover-ups and voluntary services as major strategies informants used to overcome hindrances in the labour market, and as a means to earn employers' 'trust' and secure desirable jobs.

6.1.4 Employment status and informants' contribution at home in Ghana

As shown in the findings, the majority of the informants worked various jobs and these jobs offered various levels of wages. Only a fraction (representing 10 informants) of the informants was unemployed. However among those who found jobs in the labour market, the research data shows that work type had no significant impact on the immigrant's ability to remit and discharge family-related responsibilities at home in Ghana. Instead, unemployment affected informant's ability to send money to relatives in Ghana for either personal or family investments. The interviews with migrants' relatives in Ghana also confirmed unemployment as one reason why immigrants did not contribute financially at home. During such periods of unemployment, it was found that Ghanaian-Norwegians relied on state institutions for financial supports while ordinary Ghanaian immigrants relied on monetary assistance from relatives in Ghana. For those immigrants who had secured jobs, the findings indicates that they mainly contributed both financially and non-financially for investment and consumption purposes with motives of fulfilling expectations and also improving the well-being of relations in Ghana.

6.2 Conclusion

By examining aspects of the labour market and the immigrants' identities that facilitates or hinder employment opportunities, this study contributes to existing knowledge on how western labour market operates for non-western immigrants. In particular, my study illustrates how factors such as Norwegian language proficiency, social networks and individual identities (such as gender and citizenship) facilitate or hinder successful labour market integration among Ghanaian immigrants.

The research findings indicate that, in addition to the job seekers' qualifications, Norwegian language proficiency and Norwegian job seeking networks helps to improve access to professional and semi-professional jobs. Immigrants who lacked such requirements consequently found it difficult to find 'good' jobs. Those who mainly relied on (ordinary) Ghanaian networks in order to overcome labour market hindrances predominantly got menial jobs. Others relied on apprenticeship, cover-ups and voluntary services as strategies to avoid hindrances in situations where employers' were skeptical.

The findings also revealed differences in levels of labour market integration based on gender, citizenship/marital status, length of stay and religious membership. For instance, it was realized through the findings that one's membership in a 'church-network' and most importantly the role they play in such organisations is more likely to bring the informant job seeking assistance from the church leaders and the members of the congregation who can actually help.

In conclusion, the findings support the general claim that non-western immigrants face immense hindrances finding appropriate jobs in western labour markets. However, I found that this was not largely the case for all categories of Ghanaian immigrants. Rather, certain category of the Ghanaian immigrants tends to face the greatest hindrances to successful integration in the Norwegian labour market.

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APPENDIX ONE

SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BEREN RESEARCH FOCUS: INTEGRATION OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN BERGEN'S LABOUR MARKET AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION AT HOME IN GHANA

The survey aims at producing data on the above topic in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy (MPhil) Degree in Development Geography at the University of Bergen. Any information provided will be utilized for research purposes only and will be treated as confidential. Your input would be most valued. Thank you very much.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Ethnicity
4. Level of education
5. Current nationality status: Norwegian citizen Ghanaian citizen
Other specify,
6. Do you have any knowledge of the Norwegian language?
7. Marital status
8. Who did you live with in Ghana before leaving for Norway?
 - a. Who do you live with presently?
9. What motivated you to leave for Norway? Why?
10. Did you stay in any other country than Ghana before coming to Norway?
 - a. Where and why?
11. What was your occupation in Ghana before you travelled?
12. When did you move to Norway?
 - a. Where did you settle first?
 - b. When did you settle in Bergen?
 - c. What motivated you to move to Bergen, Norway?
13. Have you worked since you settled in Bergen?
 - a. What has been your duty?
 - b. How would you classify the jobs? Private Public sector
Full time Part-time
Formal Informal
14. How did you get to know about the job?
 - a. Did you need someone's help before getting the job?
 - b. How are you related to your contact person(s)? Can you mention other background information about the person (age, gender, nationality, educational background, place of residence in Bergen or elsewhere, whether he/she is also a migrant etc.)?
 - c. What has been other requirement for your employment (e.g. qualification, language, documentation etc.)?

15. Did your qualification from Ghana helped in getting a job?
16. Has something ever prevented you from getting the job that you desired before?
 - a. Which strategy did you/ do you plan to use to overcome that problem/barrrier?
 - b. What motivates (d) the use of the preferred strategy?
 - c. Would you recommend it to others and why?
17. Have you experienced difficulties in getting a job(s) because you were perceived as a Ghanaian/African?
 - a. When did you discover?
 - b. What did you do?
 - c. Have you heard about others with such experiences?
18. In addition to work, what other activity(s) are you engaged in (e.g. education, training)?
 - a. How do you manage to combine work with other activities(s)?
 - b. How is the other activity related to your job?
19. If you are currently unemployed,
 - a. What do you think may be the cause for your unemployment?
 - b. How are you coping economically?
20. Do you receive welfare support from the Norwegian state funds?
 - a. What kind of support?
21. Do you receive financial support from anyone?
 - a. Where do they live presently?
 - b. And how is the person related to you?
 - c. What is their occupation?
22. Have you received any assistance from your 'contacts' (family, friends, and colleagues) before getting a job?
 - a. In what way(s) are/were the assistance offered?
 - b. If no, how have you managed to get work without assistance from your contacts?
23. Ideally, which type of jobs do you consider appropriate for men and women?
 - a. Why do you believe these jobs are appropriate men and women's work?
24. Which job would you consider inappropriate for men and women?
 - a. Why do you believe these jobs are inappropriate men and women's work?
25. Have you heard of cases whereby one gender was preferred for some jobs?
 - a. If yes, what kind of job?
 - b. Why was that gender preferred?
26. In what way has your gender influenced the type of job(s) you have engaged yourself in or wish to engage in?
27. In what way(s) do your work schedules conflict with your gender roles and expectations?

28. Has working in Bergen helped you to achieve any goals?
 - a. If yes, what are they?
 - b. If No, what hindered you?

29. Do you help anyone in Ghana?
 - a. Who do you send money to?
 - b. How are you related to the beneficiary?
 - c. How frequently do you send money/items?
 - d. By which means do you send the money /items?
 - e. Why do you send the money/items?
 - f. How do you get to know if the money/items are used for the purpose for which you send them?

30. Do you send money/items to persons in other countries/cities apart from Ghana?
 - a. Where?
 - b. To whom?
 - c. For what purpose do you send the money/items?

31. Do you regret having moved to Bergen?

32. Under what condition(s) would you like to stop residing in Bergen?
 - a. Which country/city would be your next place of residence and why?

33. Do you have any plans regarding
 - a. Further education in Bergen? Why?
 - b. Retirement in Bergen? Why?
 - c. Retirement in Ghana? Why?
 - d. Moving to another city/country?

34. Can you please provide contact details of a relative in Ghana for a follow-up interview?

APPENDIX TWO

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RECIPIENTS OF MIGRANTS REMITTANCES IN GHANA RESEARCH FOCUS: THE GHANAIAAN IMMIGRANTS' CONTRIBUTION AT HOME IN GHANA

The survey aims at producing data on the above topic in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy (MPhil) Degree in Development Geography at the University of Bergen. Any information provided will be utilized for research purposes only and will be treated as confidential. Your input would be most valued. Thank you very much.

1. Who lives in your household and how are they related to the migrant?
 - a. Who would you say is the head of this household?
 - b. How many are dependent on the migrant?

2. In what way are you (the interviewee) related to the migrant?

3. Are there any children of the migrant living in this household? Yes No
 - a. If yes, how many are they?
 - b. Kindly tell me about their background (marital status, education, age, etc.)
 - c. Who cares for the children?
 - d. Where were the children living before your relative traveled to Bergen?

4. Does this household receive money/items from the relative in Bergen? Yes No
 - a. If yes, what makes him/her send the money/items?
 - b. If no, why?

5. Apart from your relative in Bergen, does this household receive money/items from relative (s) and others in other countries/cities? Yes No
 - a. If yes, in which country/cities is the person staying presently?
 - b. How is the person related to you?
 - c. Under what circumstance(s) does he/she send money/items?

7. Who receive the money/items from Bergen?
 - a. Why are the money/items sent to that person (s)?
 - b. What are the money/items used for?
 - c. How often, do you receive money/items from your relative in Bergen? ...

8. Which other person(s), apart from the migrant's immediate family, receive help from your relative in Bergen?
 - a. What kind of help and why?
 - b. Where does the person(s) stay presently?

9. Who makes decisions about the use of money/items sent home by the migrant?

- a. In case the decision maker is different from migrants themselves, kindly tell me who this person is (gender, position in the family, age and other background information) and why that person is the decision maker.
10. Are there particular events (such as illness, funerals, weddings, etc.) that affect the amount of money/items receive? Yes No
- a. If yes, mention them.....
 - b. What will be the effect should the migrant fail to send money/items for those events? ...
11. How would you describe a poor household?
12. How would you describe a rich household?
13. How would you describe your household? Rich or poor?
- a. What achievements has your household made so far with the help of your relative in Bergen? What assets do your household have now?
 - b. What will be the effect should the migrant fail to send money/items home?
14. Can you describe your expectations of someone who lives and work abroad?
- a. Has your relative in Bergen met your expectations?
 - b. Would you say migration helps families?
15. Have you ever regretted that your relative traveled to work abroad? Yes No
- a. If yes, please explain what caused the regret.....
16. Do you recall times that you sent money/items to your relative in Bergen? If yes, what's called for that?
17. Under what circumstance would you like your relative in Bergen to return to Ghana and why?