

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

LEGON



CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

**THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE OF HIGHLY SKILLED GHANAIS UNDER THE
CANADIAN FEDERAL SKILLED WORKER PROGRAM TO CANADA**

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN MIGRATION STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

I, Adina Anita Naa-Abia Addy hereby declare that except for the references to other people's work have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my independent research conducted at the Center for Migration Studies, University of Ghana Legon, under the joint supervision of Dr. Osman Alhassan, Professor Delali Margaret Badasu and Professor Peter Quartey. I also declare that as far as I know, this thesis has neither in part or in whole been published nor presented to any other institution for an academic award.



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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my migrant friend of friends, one that sticks closer than a sister, Mrs. Alberta Frempong who through her life story, this research was born.

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Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and encouragement of many people over the years.

My God, hear these words from a grateful heart... Lord, I lift Your name on high! Lord, I love to sing Your praise. You were right there when I needed you. I am nothing without you. You made a way and showed me you are indeed the God of all impossibilities.

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Though the successful outcome of this work, depended on the contributions of many, I must say that, whatever shortcomings herein are my sole responsibility.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCA	Association of Chartered Certified Accountants
CA	Canada
CGA	Certified General Accountant
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CMA	Certified Management Accountant
CPA	Chartered Professional Accountant
FSWP	Federal Skilled Worker Program
GH	Ghana
HR	Human Resource
HRSDC	Human Resources and Skills Development Canada
HSBC	Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation
IOM	International Migration for Migration
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPRA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Act
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRB	Population Reference Bureau
UK	United Kingdom
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
USA	United States of America

GLOSSARY

Bridge Training Programs - Training programs help skilled newcomers get their license or certificate in their profession or trade, so that they find employment commensurate with their skills and experience in Canada

Canadian citizen - person who is Canadian by birth or who has applied for citizenship through Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and has received a Canadian citizenship certificate

Deskilling - In the migration context, the loss or decline of a migrant's skills and/or knowledge after a significant time of unemployment or employment at a lower skill level in the employment market of the new country.

Emigrant - From the perspective of the country of departure, a person who moves from his or her country of nationality or usual residence to another country, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence

Emigration - From the perspective of the country of departure, the act of moving from one's country of nationality or usual residence to another country, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.

Economic immigrants - includes immigrants who have been selected for their ability to contribute to Canada's economy through their ability to meet labour market needs, to own and manage or to build a business, to make a substantial investment, to create their own employment or to meet specific provincial or territorial labour market needs.

Employment Discrimination - negative employment decisions based on statuses such as birthplace or origins, rather than based solely on credentials and qualifications directly related to the potential productivity of the employee

1st generation - Persons born outside Canada. For the most part, these are people who are now, or have ever been, landed immigrants in Canada. Also included in the first generation includes

people who are non-permanent residents (defined as people from another country living in Canada on Work or Study Permits or as refugee claimants, and any family members living with them in Canada

Foreign credentials - refer to the highest education level (above a high school diploma) attained outside Canada.

Foreign work experience - refers to the immigrants' job experience prior to landing

Integration - when the immigrant identifies himself with his own culture and the host culture.

Immigrant refers to a person who is, or who has ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident. Such a person has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship by naturalization are included in this group.

Labour force - that part of the working-age population participating in work or actively job searching.

Labour market - arena where those who are in need of labour and those who can supply the labour come together

Labour market outcomes - refers to the employment situation of individuals in any given occupation evaluated by factors such as earnings, access to jobs, mobility, and relative unemployment rates.

Migration - The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international

Permanent resident - person who is legally in Canada on a permanent basis as an immigrant or refugee, but not yet a Canadian citizen (formerly known as landed immigrant)

Period of immigration - refers to the period in which the immigrant first obtained landed immigrant or permanent resident status.

Pre-departure orientation programmes - Courses designed to help prospective migrants, including refugees, acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to facilitate their integration into the country of destination. They also address expectations and provide a safe and nonthreatening environment in which to answer migrants' questions and address concerns.

Principal applicants in the skilled worker category - are permanent residents identified as principal applicants on the application for a permanent resident visa for themselves and, if applicable, accompanying spouse and/or dependents when they applied to immigrate to Canada.

Racial discrimination - Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life

Racism - set of beliefs which assert the natural superiority of one racial group over another, at the individual but also the institutional level. In one sense, racism refers to the belief that biology rather than culture is the primary determinant of group attitudes and actions. Racism goes beyond ideology; it involves discriminatory practices that protect and maintain the position of certain groups and sustain the inferior position of others.

Recent immigrants/Newcomers - are usually defined as those who landed during the five-year period

Returnee: A returnee is a person who returns home after a period of stay in a host country for any reason, voluntary or compulsory in order to live in his/her native country

Secondary applicants - includes immigrants who were identified as the married spouse, the common-law or conjugal partner or the dependant of the principal applicant on the application for permanent residence.

Skills gap - broadly defined as the difference between the skills that employers need, and the skills that are available in prospective employees

Socio-demographic characteristics – information on population such as statistics on age, sex, marital status, family size, education, geographic location and occupation

The terms ‘host’, ‘receiving’ and ‘destination’ country will be used interchangeably to refer to countries accepting migrants.

The terms ‘home’, ‘source’ and ‘sending’ country will be used interchangeably to refer to countries from which labour emigrates

Unemployed - when an individual is not employed, is looking for work, and is available for work

.

Visible minorities - The Canadian Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the migration experience of the highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated to Canada through the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP). The study particularly seeks to find out the expectations of participants before emigration, their experiences as they attempted to participate in sectors for which they gained admission into Canada. The study was done in “multiple sites” in Canada: Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta Provinces and in Accra, Ghana. The qualitative research method approach was adopted for the study. Data were collected through in-depth face to face interviews and telephone interviews from twenty-one participants. Secondary (statistical) sources and information were also used in exploring some of the research objectives. The Dual Labour Market theory, the Neoclassical theory, the Network theory of migration by Massey et al (1997) and the Forms of Capital theory by Bourdieu (1986) provided a theoretical foundation for the understanding of the migratory process, general settlement and integration process of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in Canada. The study found that the participants had multiple expectations prior to migrating. The desire to be legally resident outside their home country (Ghana) was the primary reason for the majority. All the participants arrived in Canada as landed permanent immigrants. After three years, most of them attained the status of a Canadian national and were holding a Canadian passport. Being Canadians, they were accorded all the rights and privileges of a native-born in Canada. They were also allowed to travel to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and development (OECD) countries without any difficulty of acquiring visas and the limitations of most immigration laws as in the case when one travels on a Ghanaian passport. Another expectation of the participants was to enter into the labour market with their occupations and skills. This expectation was not fulfilled for many of them. They faced barriers as they attempted to enter sectors for which they had qualified through the FSWP. The main barriers found were lack of Canadian experience, devaluation of their credentials, racism, discrimination and psychological issues. To overcome these barriers, the participants adopted strategies such as volunteering, furthering their education, downgrading their qualifications or skills, changing careers altogether and, moving into unregulated sectors of employment. They had to deal with the feelings of emotional distress, anxiety and disruption of their families by making sense of their difficulties through the idea of sacrifices that they had made, often for their children. They also adapted to their new lives in Canada by compromising, seeking information and seeking comfort in love and support of family and religion. Recommendations made were that there should be Synchronization between various levels of governments and offices responsible for the labour market to overcome the disjoint between the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) policies and the labour market opportunities on a structural level, Credentialing process to assess foreign skills and educational certificates should be standardized. It was also recommended that there should be an introduction of mentorship programmes for the immigrants to solve issue of lack of information as well as the introduction of extensive bridge training programs should be organized to help skilled newcomers get their license or certificate in their profession to address the issue of brain waste. Counselling should be provided for new immigrants and families to help deal with and overcome psychological and emotional barriers of settlement and integration and to alleviate some illnesses and challenges that are associated with migration

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

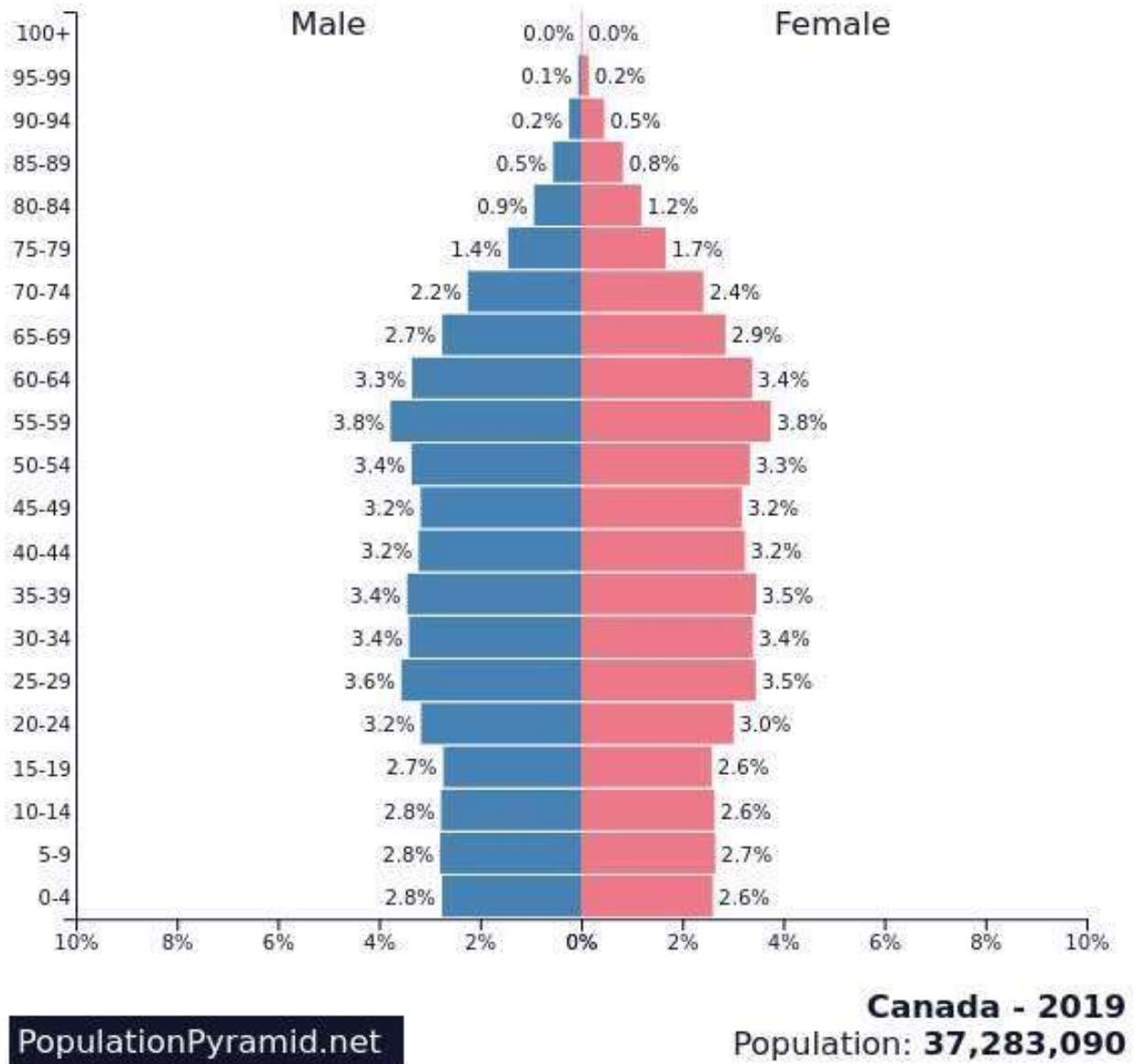
1.1 Background

Globally, average birth rates (refer to Figure 1.1) are declining fast in developed countries such as Germany, Australia, United Kingdom and Canada (Turner, 2009). The birth rates vary from country to country and are often at or below replacement level (Weeks, 2012). Additionally, science which has resulted in the advancement in medicine and sanitation has also given rise to an ageing population (Weeks, 2012; Turner, 2009). Conversely, some developing countries such as India, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Ghana, for example, still maintain typically high birth rates (refer to figure 1.2). Nonetheless, death rates in these developing countries are equally high due to issues and situations associated with disease epidemics, wars and other mass catastrophes (Weeks, 2012).

The decreasing birth rates and increasing ageing in most developed countries have created demographic imbalances and labour market challenges (Turner, 2009). Countries in such situations are said to lack population momentum. What this further means is that, they are not able to replace themselves in terms of population growth (Turner, 2009). This challenge has consequences for such countries. Some of the challenges are the inability to sustain pension systems, the creation of wage crises, capital accumulation, a strain on the welfare state, accentuating a fiscal crisis, a declined tax base, and increased expenditures on the elderly, among others (Statistics Canada, 2016; Rai, 2013; Turner, 2009; Citizen and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2008; Statistics Canada, 2007; Satzewich, 2000; Myles & Boyd, 1982).

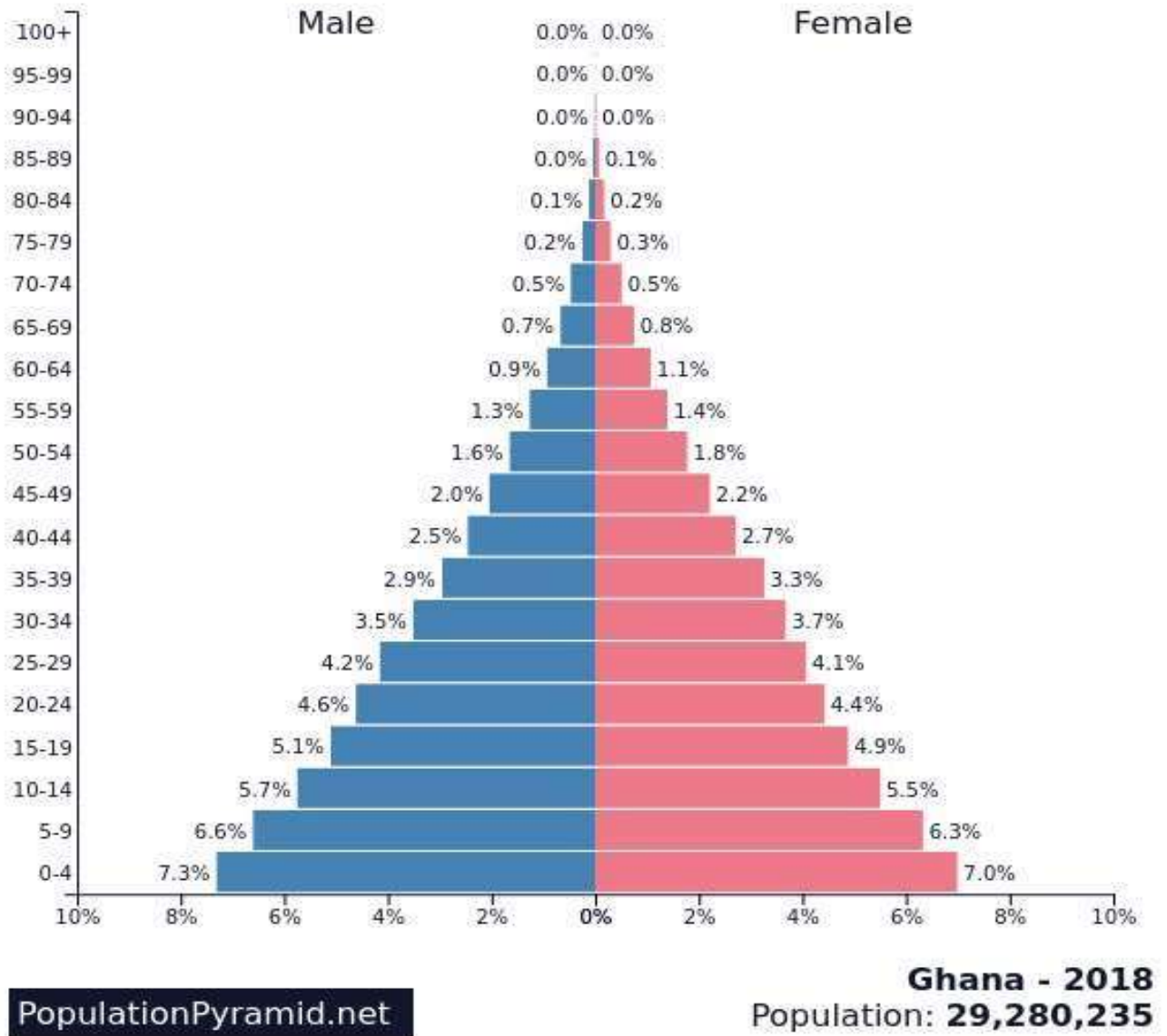
Prominent among such countries with this challenge of low birth rates and declining death rates is Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017; HRSDC, 2014; CIC 2012; Alexander, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2012; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). Key findings of the Population Reference Bureau (PRB) (2018) and the CIA World Fact book (2017) put Canada's population total fertility rate (TFR) at 1.5. This figure is due to low fertility. This level according to statistics is far too short of 2.1, the replacement fertility rate which Canada should have. Consequently, there has been a shortfall of 0.6 of Canada's growth rate. These statistics indicated a lack of population growth or at least replacement for Canada, revealing that Canada is not in the position to replace herself giving the national demographic trends of increasingly ageing population and declining birth rates. This trend has been further substantiated by Statistics Canada (2017) as revealed by a demographic shift during the 2016 census where there were more Canadians aged 65 years and older than there were under age 15, for the first time in recorded history of the country (refer to Figure 1.1).

Figure 1. 1 **POPULATION STRUCTURE OF RECEIVING COUNTRY CANADA**



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. World Population Prospects: The 2019 Revision.

Figure 1. 2 **POPULATION STRUCTURE OF SOURCE COUNTRY GHANA**



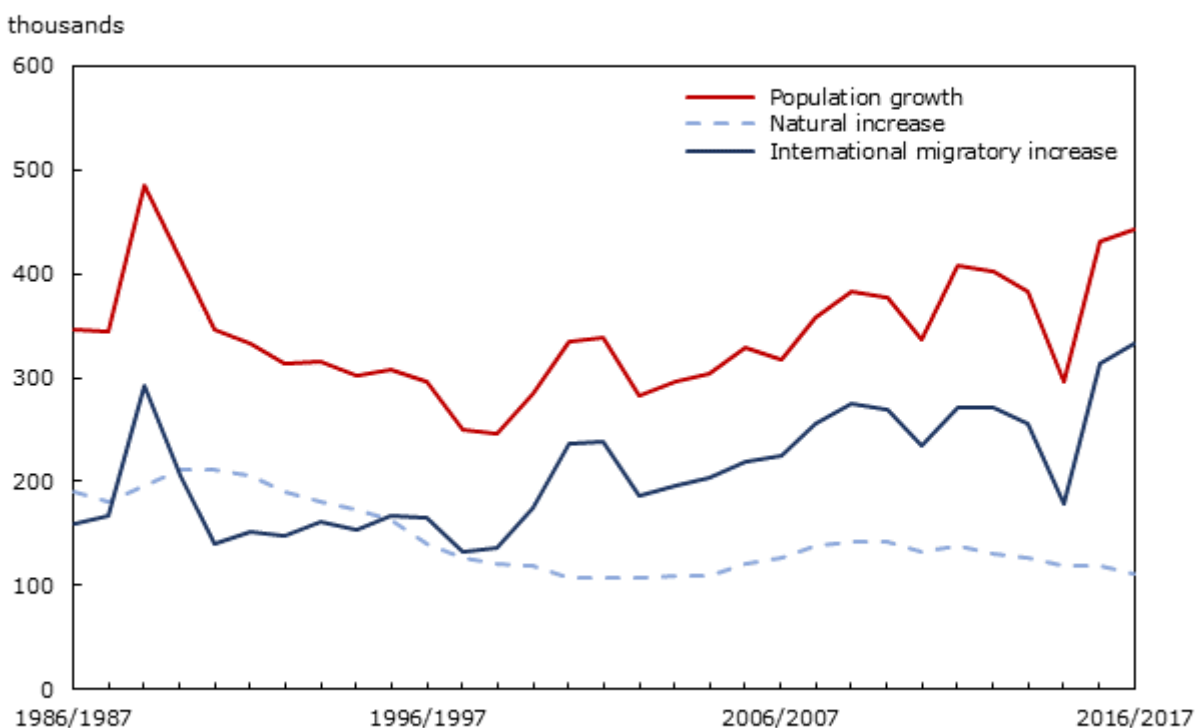
Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division.
World Population Prospects: The 2019 Revision.

Myles and Boyd (1982) and Satzewich (2000) stated that this could have been the call for Canada to frantically find ways of addressing and solving this possible and pressing challenge. Hiebert (2006), Hiebert & Ley (2003) and Fleras (2015) noted that migration was perhaps a solution to Canada’s challenge (refer to chart 1).

... in a nation where fertility rates have fallen to 1.5...migration represents a decisive ingredient in demographic stability” (Hiebert, 2006:130). This was further buttressed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2017.

Chat 1. 1 POPULATION GROWTH OF CANADA

Chart 1
Population growth



Note: For data prior to 2012, population growth is not equal to the sum of natural increase and international migratory increase because residual deviation is also considered in the calculation.

Source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM table 051-0004.

The ILO (2010) and OECD (2001) also in agreement stipulate that, global migration was a solution and a defining phenomenon of the early 21st century. According to Sakamoto, Chin and Young (2010) and CIC (2008), Canada with regard to this, took a decision to fill the vast gap with immigrants in order to avert the potential crisis of labour shortages.

Consequently, Canada introduced a number of programmes to admit different categories of immigrants namely, immigration for social purposes, the family class; immigration for humanitarian purposes, that is, refugees and those in refugee-like situations and immigration for economic purposes, the economic class which is made up of the skilled workers, business immigrants and provincial nominees (Statistics Canada, 2017; CIC, 2010; OECD 2001).

Skilled migration is not a new phenomenon but its character and volume have been transformed quite dramatically in recent years. For instance, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that 27,000 skilled Africans left Africa for the industrialized world as far as 1960 and 1975 (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC, 2014; Williams & Balaz, 2014; CIC, 2012, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001, Bunnell & Coe 2001, Fadayomi, 1996; Adepaju 1991; Appleyard, 1991).

In the first half of the 1990s, immigrants accounted for 70% of all the net labour growth of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2008). Statistics Canada (2008) noted that between 2001 and 2006, Canada's population increased by 5.4% mainly due to immigrants. Fleras (2015) likewise reported that in 2010 Canada recorded the highest total number of migrants in fifty-seven years when she admitted

281,000 migrants that year. CIC Facts and Figures (2008) also reported that Federal Skilled Workers (FSW) comprising of the principal applicants, spouses and dependents accounted for 81% of the total economic class and 46% of the total number of immigrants who arrived in Canada from 2002 to 2008.

According to Appleyard (1991), originally most of the migration flows in the 19th century were initiated by way of the colonial enterprise and slave trade passages (Adepoju, 2010). Appleyard (1991), further stipulated that, migration was usually embedded with the concept of the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. People from developing countries who are deemed poor are said to be pushed out by economic hardships, and pulled into the developed world “to take advantage of opportunities, freedom, security and excitement” (Fleras, 2015: 4; Lee, 1966; Ravenstein, 1885, 1889).

Major factors such as the ill motivation in terms of poor remuneration, poorly equipped facilities, limited career opportunities and understaffing of personnel more so and especially in the health sector gave rise to the migration of people from the South to the North (Anarfi, Quartey & Agyei, 2010; Quartey, 2007; Dovlo, 2005 Bueno de Mesquita & Gordon, 2004; Anarfi, 1982).

Remarkably, current trends on the contrary indicate that Canada, by the programs introduced is virtually luring, vying, poaching and initiating migration from the South to the North to help address their demographic imbalances and labour market challenges (OECD, 2008).

Consequently, a significant number of brains have to migrate to Canada but their experiences are yet to be documented (Quartey, 2006).

This work focused mainly on the migration of skilled workers believed to be ‘the brightest and the best’ from Ghana to Canada. This research therefore sought to find out the migration experiences of highly skilled Ghanaians who under the FSWP migrated to Canada.

1.2. Definition of terms

Definition of terms and concepts go a long way to help avoid ambiguities in a research. It places the researcher and its readers on the same page to ensure a good understanding (Van Mill, 2019; Van Mill & Henman, 2016). Alam (2004) states that defining terms sets the theoretical and conceptual parameters for a study. In view of this, it is important to define and distinguish some terms in this research.

In this study, the researcher will define the concept of “highly skilled Ghanaians” by drawing on the thoughts of authorities in the migration field. Lowell and Findlay (2001:3) recorded that the term “skilled” is often interpreted in the literature in terms of educational attainment. They referred to “highly skilled persons” as tertiary educated persons, primarily those with at least four years of education after primary and secondary school (12 years).

Again, highly skilled workers are normally defined as “those having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field” (Iredale, 2001:8; 2016:1).

Drawing on the strength of the definitions cited, the concept “highly skilled Ghanaians” used in this research will mean Ghanaians, as individuals born and raised in Ghana, who have had at least a first degree from a tertiary school in Ghana or any other country outside Canada. Persons in the highly skilled category often seek to maximize return on their investment in education and training by moving in search of the highest paid and/or most rewarding employment (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD SOPEMI, 1997: 21).

Again, the term “experience” is used here in two fold; firstly it will refer to the initial settlement experiences of the highly skilled Ghanaians and secondly also in terms of their integration in Canada. Experts such as Omidvar and Richmond (2005) noted that, the settlement stages involve the issues and challenges that emerge for immigrants during the first few years’ post-migration whereas integration and assimilation involve a consideration of issues and challenges associated with adapting to the host society and culture over a longer period.

This study will thus examine the term “experience” to include the settlement experiences which the initial expectations and realities of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrant have before they adapt and after they assimilate into the Canadian system.

An immigrant as defined by Statistics Canada (2017) and Census of Population (2016) and adopted in the study, is a person who is, or who has ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident.

Such a person has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship by naturalization are included in this group.

Federal skilled workers fall under the economic immigrant category in Canada. Economic migrants are persons who have been selected for their ability to contribute to Canada's economy through their ability to meet labour market needs, to own and manage or to build a business, to make a substantial investment, to create their own employment or to meet specific provincial or territorial labour market needs (Statistics Canada, 2016). Thus, a federal skilled worker will mean in this study, as a person who has been selected for his or her ability through Canada's point system to contribute to Canada's economy through his or her ability to meet labour market needs (Statistics Canada, 2016). Period of immigration refers to the period in which the immigrant first obtained his or her landed immigrant or permanent residence status (Statistics Canada, 2017; Census of Population, 2016).

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Canada like many of the OECD countries in the North is faced with population deficit because they lack population momentum (Statistics Canada, 2016; Weeks, 2012). Canada as a country has been described as an ageing population due to the combination of a lower birth rate and a higher life expectancy. This implies that she cannot replace herself naturally giving the national demographic trends of increasingly ageing population and declining birth rate. A natural increase is the difference between births and deaths (Statistics Canada, 2016; Weeks, 2012). This is how a

population grows or declines when there is no migration. Canada has been noted to have a shortfall of 0.6 because its total fertility rate stands at 1.5 (HRSDC, 2014; PRB, 2007).

Strategies for dealing with this demographic shift must be made in advance in order to adequately prepare for the greying population's changing needs as an ageing population also suggests a shrinking labour force. Migration authorities and demographers such as the Director of United Nations, Joseph Charmie noted that, one obvious way to mitigate this pressing challenge is through immigration. This Canada's Minister of Immigration publicly announced that as we moved deeper into the new millennium the country faced a shortage of up to one million skilled workers within five years (CP, May 4, 2003 as cited in Lorne, 2006). Some other immigration ministers such as Jason Kenney in the same vein in trying to seek to salvage the situation introduced a number of migration schemes (Alma 2013; McCullough, 2013). As explicitly noted by migration authorities such as Hiebert (2006) "in a nation where fertility rates have fallen to 1.5... migration represents a decisive ingredient in demographic stability" (Hiebert, 2006:130; Hiebert & Ley, 2003; Fleras, 2015).

In line with this direction, Canada put in place various schemes to attract immigrants into the country. Prominent among the programmes introduced, was that which attracted economic immigrants such as the FSWP. The policy focused on attracting the skills of highly educated immigrants to drive and promote the economic growth of Canada (Sakamoto et al, 2010; CIC, 2017).

Similarly, the highly educated look to Canada for opportunities to use their skills, abilities and knowledge to achieve high economic standards of living and successful integration into the Canadian society (Picot, 2004).

Again, for most skilled professional Ghanaian immigrants, the programme has been also a convenient door of opportunity to greener pastures. Manuh (1998) recounts how most Ghanaians in Canada viewed their citizenship in “instrumental terms”. They see the benefits of possessing a Canadian passport in that it allowed them entry into other OECD countries with no harassment or limitation. This was because more often than not, it is said that most Ghanaians face limitations, harassment and embarrassment travelling on a Ghanaian passport (Manuh, 1998). Asare (2012) also observed that most Ghanaian nurses in particular, preferred to migrate to Canada and other countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Asare (2012) continued to argue that to these nurses, Canada offered better opportunities to easily upgrade and practise their profession with better equipment and salaries.

Having observed this though, it is worth indicating that this phenomenon of nurses immigrating to Canada for greener pastures is not only peculiar to Ghana and other developing countries, but also occurs in other developed countries such as the UK (CIC, 2012; HRSDC, 2014; CIC Facts and Figures, 2008).

Nonetheless, migration authorities such as Dovlo (2005), Anarfi (1982), Anarfi, Quartey & Agyei (2010) and Quartey (2007) observed that, while this mass and wholesale skilled worker emigration phenomenon is ongoing, Ghana is also experiencing brain drain as she loses her valuable skills and talents to Canada (Asare, 2012).

In line with this thought, Asare (2012) and Adepoju (2010) concurred by stressing the point that, some skilled workers are not be easily replaceable in their home countries. For instance, a brain surgeon or medical doctor who has acquired some number of years of experience might not be immediately or easily replaced by a fresh graduate from the Medical School in the event that the doctor vacates his post to travel abroad. Thus, this is the loss of skill to the government if all these skilled labours ended up leaving the country and a loss to the Ghanaian tax payer in the long term (Asare, 2012).

On the contrary, literature has revealed that whilst the FSWP is targeted at professionals and the highly educated moving to Canada, the labour market has no place ready made for them thereby creating a disjoint. According to Foster (2006) and Fleras (2015), the structure of the selection gave a false assurance of getting a commensurate job upon migration. They further stated that Canadian FSWP gave an impression that highly skilled immigrants were wanted and welcome to work in their field of specialty. However, this is scarcely the case (Grubel, 2013). Furthermore, Grubel (2013) clarified his point by stipulating and arguing that, whilst the Canadian Government gave immigration based on educational credentials and occupational skills, the labour market in Canada, rejected the migrants' educational credentials and occupational skills. The labour market demanded Canadian education and work experience (Sakamoto et al, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2005; Picot & Hou, 2003). These, therefore, created disconnects between the immigration system and the labour market.

Equally, Danso (2002) also corroborated by supporting Foster (2006) and Fleras (2015), narrated how many migrants ended up with 'odd jobs' because their skills have been devalued as a result

of the lack of Canadian experience. Such professional migrants, despite holding post graduate degrees end up working as cleaners, security guards, factory workers, pizza or newspaper deliverers and taxi drivers known as “doctors driving cabs phenomenon” (Alexander et al, 2012; Man, 2004; Sallaf, Greve, Ping, 2002).

They further noted that, in Canada, two-thirds (2/3) of university-educated immigrants were over educated for their current jobs. Furthermore, Reitz (2011) concurred to the assertion by adding that 42% of all immigrants to Canada aged 25 and 54 had higher levels of education than their jobs required (Reitz, 2011, Oreopoulos, 2009, Statistics Canada 2005).

Additionally, George et al (2012) reported that working for lower wages created economic wastage and long-term implications for the integration of skilled immigrants in Canada. They continued to assert that one could not rule out the mental and emotional stresses such migrants underwent. ILO (2014), Rai (2013) and Cedefop (2010) also noted that non-recognition of foreign credentials was one of the major setbacks that resulted in skill mismatch and disconnects. Furthermore, Mensah (2010), Weiner (2008), Opoku-Dapaah (2006) and Wong (2000) brought in another angle of the assertion of George et al (2012) and Cedefop (2010) by recounting how Ghanaians in Canada face discrimination in the labour market. According to them, discrimination and racism are also sources of disconnect which create constraints and exclude immigrants from the job market.

Some studies also revealed that programmes in Canada to get new migrants integrated lack the mechanisms to place them into good jobs (Sallaf et al, 2002). According to Man (2004), the job training programmes available to the migrants are expensive and have to be paid for by the migrants themselves. He further reiterated that some of the training programmes main emphasis was to prepare the immigrants to fit into the Canadian cultural organization (Man, 2004). Guo (2013) agreed with the assertion by Man (2004) that, the employers also expect that the immigrants think and act like a Canadian born. Guo (2013) further stipulated that migrants are forced to accept Canadian workplace expectations whether it is discriminatory or not. In Guo (2013) view, this kind of training was a form of mental colonization which was not fair. It serves as a one-way process of integration (Guo, 2013).

Whilst many of the existing studies have looked at the deprivation of visible minority immigrants (including Ghanaians) in education, labour market and housing patterns (Mensah, 2010, Owusu, 1999, Murdie, 1994), little attention has so far been given specifically to Ghanaian immigrants under Federal Skilled Worker Program. This therefore is the departure point of this research from others as it focuses on the experience of the highly skilled labour migrants from Ghana to Canada under the FSWP.

It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to examine the experiences (expectations and realities) of Ghanaians immigrants under the FSWP adopting the Dual labour theory, the Neo classical theory, the Network theory and the Forms of Capital theory to examine nuances in respect

of their job search in the Canadian labour market and the effects of these experiences on their lives as narrated by the participants themselves.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

In the light of examining the experiences of highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in the Canadian labour market, the general objective of this study is to investigate the expectations of Ghanaians who through the FSWP migrated to Canada and compare them with their actual lived experiences.

In order to achieve this, the study proposed the following specific objectives namely:

- i. To examine the expectations of the highly skilled emigrants, and to find out the extent to which these expectations have been met.
- ii. To ascertain if these Ghanaian migrants face any obstacles as they attempt to participate in the sectors for which they gained admission into Canada through the Skilled Worker Program.
- iii. To explore how their background characteristics (their race as Blacks, their Ghanaian educational credentials and work experiences foster among others) hinder their employment chances in Canada.
- iv. To examine ways in which highly skilled Ghanaians could be more easily integrated into the Canadian system from their perspective.
- v. To find out the opinions of the highly skilled Ghanaian emigrants about Canada's Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP).

1.5. Justification of the Study

Works of Migration Authorities have looked at migration of the skilled to OECD countries in general. Yet again, works by Authorities in the field such as Manuh, 1998; Wong, 2000 and Mensah, 2010, 2009 among others have looked at other category of immigrants to Canada but not specifically through the FSWP. This study will fill a gap within the migration literature on highly skilled Ghanaians to Canada in particular.

The rationale for the use of Ghanaians in this study stemmed from the fact that Mensah (2010) asserts that they are among the largest Black African groups in Canada. They have, however, received scant research attention in the burgeoning literature on immigrant integration in Canada (Mensah, 2010, 2009; Opoku-Dapaah, 2006; Wong, 2000; Owusu, 1999, 1998).

Again, like many other Black African immigrant groups in Canada, Ghanaians continue to experience racial discrimination (Mensah 2010; Opoku-Dapaah, 2006; Wong, 2000), making them a choice worth considering for such a study.

Finally, my personal background as a Ghanaian and a student of migration studies has prompted me to study migrants from Ghana for reasons of intense personal curiosity. This is also because I believe my cultural competence would enable me gain a better understanding of the subtleties of the field data obtained for this study.

1.6. Structure of Thesis

The study is presented in eight chapters:

Chapter one mainly discusses the background of the research study. It discusses also the problem statement of this research and the objectives of the study and the justification of the study are stated

as well. To avoid any ambiguities in terminology, the chapter concludes by defining some concepts and operationalising some key terms used in this study.

Chapter two is in two sections. Section 1 reviewed pertinent literature in the field of research and discussed studies and findings of previous research of related works. The existing literature examined drew attention to existing gaps in the field, and concludes with a brief description of how the proposed research would contribute to closing existing gaps in the literature. Section two focuses on the theoretical framework of the study. Here the Dual Labour theory, Neo-classical theory and the networking theory of migration by Massey et al (1997) as well as Bourdieu Forms of Capital (1986) were adopted as the foundation for the study.

Chapter three describes the methodological approach used for this research. The philosophical underpinnings for the approach were addressed to give insight to the research method used. The method of data collection was the qualitative research design. The setting for the study, sampling procedure or strategy, and sampling selection criteria were thoroughly discussed in this section. Data collection procedure, data trustworthiness and analysis were described as well. Ethical considerations and dissemination of findings were also discussed in the chapter.

The data analysis findings and discussions for this study are found in the **fourth chapter**. The **fifth, sixth** and **seventh** chapters dealt with the discussion of the findings. The **eighth** and final chapter was concerned with the summary of the entire work and the conclusions that were drawn at the end of this research. Some recommendations were also made in this same chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Literature review is critical for every research. It provides critical analysis for previous studies in the area of a research. The literature and theories used helps to establish a study in context by the gaps that will be identified. A good review of literature helps in the formulation of the objectives of the study. It also gives insight on what work has been done in your area of choice and answer the question of what else need to be known thus whether the research is worth doing.

This chapter is divided into two sections to broaden our understanding and give us an insight to works relating to this particular research and their theoretical perspectives, the first section reviews literature under the following sections:

- i. Overview of Migration
- ii. Causes of Migration
- iii. Costs and Benefits of Migration
- iv. Skilled Migration
- v. Migration Policy of Canada
- vi. Overview of the Federal Skilled Worker Program
- vii. Historical Background of Ghanaians in Canada
- viii. The Canadian Experience of Immigrants

The second section is focused on the migration theories which underpins this study. The section begins with a review of international migration theory to lay the intellectual foundation into the theoretical positioning of the framework for this research.

2.2. Overview of Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another in order to live and work. These movements of people could take different forms and types. People can move from a rural area to another rural area. This type of movement is referred to as rural-rural migration. Others also move from a rural area to an urban area and this is known as rural-urban migration. Furthermore, people also move from an urban area to a rural area which is known as urban-rural migration whilst others move from one urban region to another urban region. This is called urban-urban migration.

Yet again, people move across a country's boundary to another and that is referred to as international migration whilst when the movement is within the same country or region is known as internal migration. These movements could be short-term where the migrant goes out and resides in a region for a short period and returns to his country of origin. This type of migration usually lasts for six months and is referred to as temporary migration. Notwithstanding, some migrants move for longer periods and with no intention of returning to their home country. This type of movement is referred to as permanent migration.

To add to this, other movements are known as seasonal when the person moves to a place more often to work and return after a period. Anarfi et al (2003) have also captured stepwise migration. This is where the person migrating decides to transit in other regions on his way to his final destination because of reasons such as financial issues or regulatory policies of destination regions.

Yet again, migration theorists have made mention of circular migration where a migrant makes a series of stepwise migration and ends up in the originating region. Chain migration is yet another

form of migration where people move to a location because of previous migration of kinsmen, friends and other relations referred to as social capital or networks. All these movements or migration from one place to another are caused by various factors.

2.3. Causes of Migration

The causes of migration have been categorized by authorities such as Ravenstein (1885, 1889) and Lee (1966) as push and pull factors. These factors form the basis for many movements. Push Factors are explained as reasons for leaving a place (emigrating). These are more often than not certain difficulties, hardships and challenges like food shortage, war, floods and calamities among others, which make it unbearable for the individual to stay in the place of origin. Conversely, pull factors are the reasons for moving into a place, which is called immigrating. The reasons can be a perception, an aspiration, dream, or any desirable factors which are usually available in the developed world such as abundance in food supply, advancement in technology and the lure of things not commonly found in source countries. Theoretical explanation of causes of migration are categorized fundamentally also into two namely, economic factors and noneconomic factors. Economic factors often involve voluntary migration whereby, people take a decision to move to work or to seek greener pastures resulting in labour migration.

Major non-economic factors include environmental reasons, cultural reasons, political reasons and social reasons. Environment factors include reasons such as better climate, calamities, and natural disasters. Cultural reasons include religious freedom and education while political reasons comprise reasons such civil wars or escaping from political and social reasons include family reunification or moving closer to a friend. Involuntarily migrations occur where the choice to

migrate is controlled by factors not within the migrant's means. It is also referred to as forced migration. Involuntary migrants are usually asylum seekers, refugees, displaced people and persons in such like category.

2.4. Costs and Benefits of Migration

Migration is becoming a very important subject for the life of cities. Many opportunities and attraction of big cities pull large numbers of people to big cities. Migration can have positive as well as negative effects on the life of the migrants. Some of the positive impacts of migration include reduction of unemployment, better job opportunities which improve people's quality of life for example the social life which improves relationship among people. Greater economic growth is among the benefits of skilled workers migration. Better opportunities for higher education are possible for children and there is reduction of population density and a decrease in birth rate.

Among the negative impact of migration are: population reduction in the less developed areas, inflow of workers in the urban areas, leading to competition for jobs and facilities. It also exerts pressure on the limited resources available. The cost of living is likely to be higher in the urban areas. Migration can also change the population of a certain place, affecting the distribution of that place. Some migrants may also lack basic knowledge and life skills which puts them at a disadvantage for most jobs. Slums where living conditions are found wanting, are increased due

to an influx of migrants who are also exposed to exploitation. The increase of nuclear families is a possible outcome of migration resulting in children being raised without the wider family cycle.

2.5. Skilled Migration

Skilled migration is the temporary or permanent transfer of human capital and the investment made on them from one country (sending country) to another (a receiving country) (Trevelyan and Tilli, 2015; Adepoju, 2010; Quartey et al, 2006; Anarfi et al 1982). Though skilled migration also occurs amongst OECD countries, it is more pronounced from a developing world to the developed region. It has been recorded that thousands of human capital migrate from developing countries to developed countries (Lowell, 2002).

This form of migration has varied effects on both the sending country and the destination countries. Some migration theorists have argued that movement of skilled migrants is the movement of capital and results in a significant transfer of wealth from the home country to the host country. The wealth transfer though cannot be actually measured, arises because of the large investment in education and child rearing costs, which can be enumerated as the entire cost of children's upbringing. That is to say, the total amount spent on education from the primary level through to the secondary and higher education level. These could also include the payment of scholarships to students studying abroad, continuing education after graduating from higher educational institutions and improvement of the professional level (Trevelyan, 2002). The stable environment that enables this activity cannot also be ignored. It was further argued that, migration of skilled

labour has far more consequences than the initial wealth transfer that occurs when a skilled professional enters employment in the destination country (Trevelyan and Tilli, 2015; Adepoju, 2010).

2.5.1. Negative effects of skilled migration on emigration countries

Numerous works of migration researchers have discussed the possible challenges and benefits to the sending countries. Among those mentioned is the issue of brain drain.

Brain Drain refers to the loss of skilled individuals due to emigration of skilled persons out of a country. When this occurs, “the intellectual capacity for the future” of a country cannot be built (Adepoju, 2010:127; Quartey, 2006).

2.5.2. Positive effects skilled migration on emigration countries

In contrast to the negative impacts previously discussed, several benefits of skilled migration has also been recorded. These are employment, remittances, and brain gain, brain circulation, brain expert among others.

2.5.2.1. Employment

Firstly, skilled migration has been noted for reducing unemployment for especially the low skilled in sending countries, records of high unemployment had been the bane of the less developed regions (Adepoju, 2010; Quartey, 2006).

Many developing countries at present do not have job growth rates adequate to meet their population growth rates and therefore stand to profit significantly from international migration (Adepoju, 2010; Quartey, 2006).

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2019), 1.2 billion additional jobs need to be created in developing countries by 2050 to keep the formal employment rates at the 2015 level. This implies that an additional 875 million jobs will have to be created by developing countries to avert pressure on the labour market on sending countries. Thus, one of the most important benefits for sending countries is that labour migration opens an alternative employment avenue in receiving countries.

2.5.2.2. Remittances

Adepoju (2010:140) defines “remittance as transfer of money, goods and divers social features sent or brought by migrants or migrant groups back to their country of origin or citizenship. He notes that remittances can also be termed social when the flows are non-monetary. Adepoju (2010), in citing the north-south center of the Council of Europe (2006), defines social remittances as the Diaspora ideas, practices, world view, values and attitudes, norms of behaviour and social capital which include knowledge, and expertise that the Diaspora meditates and either consciously or unconsciously transfer from host to home count (Adepoju, 2010:140).

Quartey (2009) groups remittances into macro and micro levels. On the macro level, remittances contribute to the GDP of a country, whilst on the micro level, remittances are used for basic needs

at the household level (Awumbila et al., 2013, Heymann et al., 2009; Quartey, 2009). Remittances to sub Saharan Africa amounted to 38 billion dollars in 2017. Ghana 2.2 billion dollars, Remittances to sub Saharan Africa amounted to 38 billion dollars in 2017. Ghana 2.2 billion dollars. Remittances to sub Saharan Africa amounted to 38 billion dollars in 2017 with that of Ghana's being 2.2 billion dollars, Addison 2004 have noted that remittances exceeds the value of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in most developing countries (World Bank,2019).

On the micro level, to Hildebrandt and McKenzie, (2005) and Mansuri, (2007), state that investments in health and education impacts home countries positively because of the outcomes on the recipients. On the national level, Quartey (2006) noted, that remittances to Ghana from the diasporas have direct impacts on the livelihoods of households when monies sent home are used in paying school fees and to fund other domestic activities of the “stay - at - homes” or left behinds. This to him helps to improve educational outcomes and livelihoods in general. This arrangement is termed the development mantra (Ratha, 2003). Migrants' capacity to remit, transfer and contribute to the development of their countries of origin increases with effective integration. Consequently, this helps to reduce the international wage gaps and migration pressures.

Social remittances are the “transmission of learnt behaviours, attitudes, ideas, practices, cultures and social capital “transferred from the Diasporas unto relations in the home countries (Levitt, 1996 as cited in Awumbila et al, 2018:230).

2.5.2.3. Brain Gain, Brain Circulation, Brain Exchange, Brain Globalisation and Brain Export.

Furthermore, other benefits of skilled migration is brain gain, brain circulation, brain exchange, brain globalisation and brain export. These are all forms of human capital acquired as a result of new knowledge, habits and skills acquired as a result of staying in a receiving country. Return migration, in particular, can resupply the highly educated population in the source country and, to the degree that returned migrants are more productive, they further boost source country productivity. Money returns via worker remittances. And the transfer of technology can be as important as the physical return of expatriates return migration which accelerates productivity. High rates technology and knowledge transfer increase growth. Most workers move for better opportunities. Yet, having moved abroad they retain connections and networks back to their home country. When these networks are fostered, they can yield a flow back of knowledge and new technologies that can boost source country growth. Whether emigrants are permanent or temporary, backward linkages to their source country can increase the available knowledge and technology that boost productivity.

Findlay and Lowell (2001:8) defines brain gain as pertaining to source regions, can be explained as “the increase in human capital as a consequence of either return migration of worker who gained additional human capital abroad or increased human capital of non-migrants who increase their investment in their own human capital as a consequence of out-migration of others.

The return, or a sequence of migrations and returns, of skilled workers is called brain circulation. Lively return migration of the native born, or brain circulation, re-supplies the highly educated population in the sending country and, to the degree that returned migrants are more productive, boosts source country productivity (OECD,2013).

A given source country may exchange highly skilled migrants with one or many foreign countries. A brain exchange occurs when the loss of native-born workers is offset by an equivalent inflow of highly skilled foreign workers. Trade sometimes follows in the wake of skilled mobility; in fact, some level of tertiary migration appears to be integral to trade. Multinational corporations and the forces of globalisation necessarily require international mobility. In a few cases, developing countries choose to educate and export their highly skilled workers, either in bilateral contract programs or in free-agent emigration. The strategy is to improve the national balance sheet through return of earnings and the return of more-experienced workers, or through remittances, technology transfer and investment. Equally, skilled migration affects receiving or host countries. These effects are also both positive and negative.

2.5.3. Negative effects of skilled migration on receiving countries

When different people from different backgrounds meet in a location it results in diversity of cultures. Liberal views on issues such as gay rights, abortion, religious freedom, free speech, women's rights, free press and such like have the tendency to generate controversial issues which need to be managed very well for common collaboration between the diverse cultures. Where integration fails, it results often in xenophobic feelings towards the migrants by natives (Spencer, 2011).

2.5.4. Positive Effects on Skilled Migrant on receiving countries

2.5.4.1. Labour Force

Kandilige in Awumbila et al (2018) noted that when international immigrants migrate into a country, the country will have a supply of supplementary labour added to its workforce. Migrant labour has been estimated to earn about US\$ 20 trillion per annum which the host country benefits from. This lead to national development (Koser, 2007). Piore (1979), Dual Labour Market theory posits the primary market will usually attract skilled labour to take on well-paid permanent jobs which are protected by law.

Another benefit of immigrant labour is the ability for them to take up jobs which are neglected by the “native borns” or they take up for jobs in sectors where the “home – borns” are not qualified to hold (Koser, 2007). Furthermore, Skeldon (2005) postulates that some migrants take a form of a return migrant and move back to their country of origin when they reach old age. When this happens, the receiving countries are relieved of the cost of aged related illness, social care and pensions which are not portable from the receiving. This associated cost becomes surplus income for them. In addition, receiving countries are recorded as gaining from tax contributions of immigrants. They equally benefit from fees by the international students. Research has proven that countries such as the United Kingdom benefits largely from monies paid to their local universities in return for higher education. Kandilige in Awumbila (2018) cites Spencer (2011:17) who stated that that academic fees paid by students who come to school from outside the European Union, rose from 672 million pounds to 1.275 billion from 1999 to 2004.

2.5.4.2. Social and Cultural Infusion

Additionally, receiving countries are said to benefit from “social and cultural infusion”. These are take form of poetry, literature, belief systems, cuisine, drama, sports, music and lifestyles among others (Kandilige in Awumbila, 2018: 213).

2.5.4.3. Demographic Deficit

Finally, yet another positive effects of skilled migration is dealing with what is termed as demographic deficit in developed countries (Weeks, 2012; Koser, 2007). According to Schiller and Faist (2010) and Lewis (1986), young immigrants came in educated with a lot of zeal and ambitions to achieve and succeed in the destination country. This attitude could be infectious and affects others young people in the home country and pushes them to rise up to the challenge set by the immigrants.

2.6. Migration Policy of Canada

Immigration is the international movement of people into a destination country of which they are not natives or where they do not possess citizenship in order to settle or reside there, especially as permanent residents or naturalized citizens, or to take up employment as a migrant worker or temporarily as a foreign worker (Weeks, 2012). International Migration is determined largely by policies of government. They may be liberal or restrictive policies. In this section, we will examine the International Migration Policy of Canada.

Throughout history, Canada had relied on immigrants to fill her labour shortage gap. Mensah (2010) citing Stafford (1992) and Taylor (1991) in his book "Black Canadians" reported that Canada's immigration policy in the beginning was racist. Documented sources revealed that, historically, Canada engaged in different forms of immigration programmes to achieve and maintain a white society (Mensah, 2010; Sheldon (1998) and Yelaja and O'Neil, 1988). This was done by limiting access to non-whites through various regulations such as the Immigration Act of 1906 to automatically exclude people of colour as immigrants. This was because anyone considered "feeble-minded, destitute, paupers, beggars and persons considered to become a public charge" (of which blacks were included) were prevented from landing into Canada (Canada 1906: ch.93, s 26-30 as cited in Mensah, 2010). Bakan and Stasiulis (1994); Cohen (1994); Macklin (1994) and Daenzer (1993) made record of domestic workers from rural areas of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales who were recruited between 1890 and 1920 to work in Canada. These recruitment exercises continued till the Second World War. Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) attesting to the notion of Canada as noted by Sheldon (1998) and Yelaja and O'Neil (1988) also documented that the focus of Canadian immigration initially was based on nations of origin which were white inclined and obviously excluded people of colour. This stance of Canada was explained by Sheldon (1998) that, Canadians in that era, held a myth that blacks will not be able to endure Canada's severe weather conditions. He further cited that Canadians also saw black immigrants as not suitable for their nation building (Sheldon, 1998; Mensah, 2010).

Later on, record was made of Canada bringing in immigrants from East-European, the island of Barbados and other non-English speaking refugees from Asia to fill her labour gaps especially in the steel mills and coal mines of Sydney in Nova Scotia (Population Bulletin, 2008; Bakan and

Stasiulis, 1994, 1997; Calliste, 1993, 1994 quoted in Mensah, 2010). Yet again, Arat-Koc (1999), Bakan and Stasiulis (1997) and Hodge (2006) also cited that, Canada introduced a new scheme named West Indies Domestic Scheme around 1955. This scheme brought in the ‘non-preferred’ which were the non-white domestic workers from Jamaica and Barbados (Cohen, 1994). Arat-Koc (1999), Bakan and Stasiulis (1997) and Hodge (2006) also revealed that, to qualify under the West Indies Domestic Scheme, the immigrants were required to meet some set of criteria. They were required to have at least a grade eight education, should be unmarried between the ages of twenty–five (25) to forty (40) years of age and be fit. In addition they were made to work for a duration of one year as a domestic for a specific employer (Calliste, 1989).

Subsequently, a point system was established in 1967 as a part of new immigration regulations to liberalize the immigration policy. The aim of the point system was to open up immigration by permitting migrant’s entrance into Canada based on individual occupation, education and personal circumstances (Cohen, 1994; Danezer, 1993, Vineberg, 2011 Tannock, 2011). The Point system therefore eliminated the country of origin only as a criterion for residency (Boyd, 1987). Thus immigration did not depend on racial or ethnic background (Simmons and Plaza, 2006). For the first time, all applicants from all over the world were purportedly treated equal and on their own merits (Mensah, 2010; 71).

After that, the 1973 policy initiative that allowed into Canada, temporary workers on employment visa. This programme later on was incorporated into 1976 Immigration Act permitting foreign workers to take up employment in especially in the domestic activities and the agricultural field

on short term biases (Stafford, 1992; Bolaria and Li, 1988 as cited in Mensah, 2010). The 1976 act also instituted the inland refugee determination system for processing of claims submitted within the borders of Canada. This act covered United Nations convention refugees arriving in Canada without any prior evaluation. The Act also placed emphasis on the unification of families as well as the settlement of refugees (Creese, 1992; D'Costa, 1989 as cited in Mensah, 2010). Later on, in 1978, the 1967 points system was reviewed to place more emphasis on occupational rather than educational attainment and encouraging entrepreneurs to set up jobs by enhancing the business immigrant program (Mensah, 2010).

Subsequently, in 1992, the government of Canada overhauled its existing immigration legislation, the 1976 Immigration Act with the enactment of the Bill C-86 to enhance Canada's family unification programmes, to select more economically viable immigrants and to "streamline the nation's refugees determination process" (CIC, 1992 as cited in Mensah,2010:75). Nevertheless, the Canadian state's overriding goal of the selection system has always been to draft in workers who supposedly will make the greatest contribution to the labour market and have the best opportunities for economic establishment.

Yet another immigration legislation was passed known as Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IPRA) or C-11 and the accompanying regulations which came into effect in Canada on June 28, 2002 to revamp the criteria for the admission immigrants particularly of skilled worker as well as refugees and temporary workers in Canada (Mensah, 2010; Foster, 2006). This has made it possible for anyone who wants to migrate to Canada as skilled workers are now accepted for entry

on the basis of the number of points they score out of 100 in the following categories: education (25), age (10), language abilities (20), employment experience (21), arranged employment (10) and adaptability (10). These are some of the changes that have been made to the selection grid for skilled workers: Education increased from 16 to 25. More points have been allocated for applicants with a trade certificate or a second degree. More points have been allocated for language proficiency. The maximum number of points available for proficiency in both English and French combined has been increased from 20 to 24. Workers who are proficient in both languages will score more points. A new assessment level that recognizes “basic proficiency” has been added to the three existing levels (high, moderate and none). These changes are expected to result in more bilingual (English and French) workers being admitted to Canada (Foster, 2006).

The total number of points available for “experience” has been reduced to 21 from 25, and more points will be awarded for one to two years of work experience. This is expected to attract younger workers who may have higher levels of education but fewer years of experience. The “age factor” has been adjusted upwards, so that workers between the ages of 21 and 49 will score the maximum number of points (10 points). This is expected to make it easier for older workers to gain entry to Canada under the skilled worker class. Finally, the pass mark is currently set at 67 points from previous levels of 70 and 75, purported to respond to concerns raised by the provinces and territories and others that a higher pass would prevent many skilled immigrants from qualifying (Foster, 2006).

Today, Canada admits different categories of immigrants in various ways. Immigrants are admitted to the country as landed immigrants. The landed immigrant status entitles the migrant the right of permanent residency and occupational mobility (Arat-Koc, 1997; Daenzer, 1993).

The landed immigrant status is characterized broadly into three groups namely,

1. Immigration for social purposes - the family class
2. Immigration for humanitarian purposes, that is refugees and those in refugee-like situation (the protected persons class)
3. Immigration for economic purposes that is the economic class which is made up of the Skilled workers, Business immigrant and Provincial Nominees

(Statistics Canada, 2017, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2010, Library of Parliament, 2008 and OECD, 2001).

2.6.1. The Family Class

According to The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act objective 3(1) (d) act... “see (ing) that families are united in Canada.” In view of this Canada aids the reunion and allows spouses and dependent children (nuclear family) to migrate together with the principal applicants.

It also allows entry of members of the class. The members as noted by the Library of Parliament 2008: 9 include:

- spouses, common – law partners and conjugal partners (same – sex partners are formally recognised),
- dependent children, children intended for adoption
- parent, grandparents and their dependent children

- brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces or grandchildren if they are orphaned

Any relative if the sponsor is alone in Canada and has none of the above family members to sponsor
(Library of Parliament 2008: 9)

2.6.2. The Humanitarian Class

The Humanitarian Component on the other hand seeks the interest of “protected persons.” These includes refugees, asylum seekers and the like. This is because Canada is a signatory to the convention relating to the status of Refugees and Convention against Torture.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act objective 3(2) (b) and (d) act states that

(b) “to fulfil Canada’s international legal obligations with respect to refugees and affirm Canada’s commitment to international efforts to provide assistance to those in need of resettlement;”

(d) “to offer safe haven to persons with well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group, as well as those at risk of torture or cruel and unusual treatment or punishment” (Library of Parliament 2008: 9).

2.6.3. The Economic Class

This is the third of the categories of admissions into Canada each year. This particular category is required to contribute economically to the Canadian economy. The admissions include the skilled workers (including live-in caregivers, and the Canadian Experience Class, Temporary Foreign Workers), the business people and tradesmen and the provincial nominees. The skilled workers are expected to contribute through their education, skills and training or experience whilst the business immigrant are to come with entrepreneurial skills to start their own businesses or come

on as investors or may fall into the self-employed category to contribute significantly to “cultural, artistic or athletic life of Canada” (Library of Parliament 2008:18).

The last of the economic class is the Provincial Nominees. This class is targeted at immigrants with specific skills to fill in specific labour gap in specific individual provinces with exception of Quebec which has its own accord for immigrants (Library of Parliament 2008:18).

In 2002, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act was introduced in addition to the FSWP to guarantee obtainability of long-term labour force and to advance the economic outcomes of immigrants which the FSWP was be saddled with. It consequently improved the economic growth of the immigrant and Canada as a whole.

Shortly after, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act was introduced 2002, the Canadian Experience Class was also introduced in 2009. This gave licence to the permanent immigrants with similar goals to overcome occupational shortages and enjoy more economic improvement in their lives (Picot and Sweetman, 2012).

The most recent variation in the immigration policy of Canada is the institution of Express Entry in January 2015. This is a new electronic system for choosing skilled immigrants for permanent residence under certain economic immigration programmes and to reduce the long processing time of applications. The candidates who apply through this system are assessed on the basis of language skills, education and work experience and are ranked against others in the pool of applicants through the point system. Points are given for prearranged job offers, a nomination from

a province or territory with labour needs, skills and experience. The candidates who come up with high scores are in turn invited to apply for permanent residency (CIC, 2015).

However, it has been noted that some critics such as Trumper and Wong (2007); Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) and Jakubowski (1997) have grave misgivings about the claimed objectivity of these laws especially when it has to deal with issues of women, blacks and other visible minorities. They cite that the programmes have in them racial undertones in the ways they draw most of its highly skilled workers from Europe and the United States of America than from visible minority areas of the world (Mensah, 2010).

2.7. The Federal Skilled Worker Program

2.7.1. Introduction

The migration experiences of these highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants who through the FSWP migrated to Canada would be better understood with an insight into the Canadian Federal Skilled Worker Program. The overview of the Federal Skilled Worker Program of Canada draws on secondary data such as data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2011). Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001), The 2008 Bill C-50, and other scholarly literature.

2.7.2. An Overview of The Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP)

The Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) falls under the economic component of the Immigration Policy of Canada which was established in 1967 with the point system.

It was primarily implemented to select permanent residents to Canada based on education, skills and training - an ability to become economically established in Canada. The Library of Parliament (2008) and Rai (2013) outlined that the goal was for the skilled immigrants to fill the gap in Canada's growing labour force with the following objectives as captured in the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001):

- a) Permit Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration;
- b) Support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy, in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada;
- c) Support, by means of consistent standards and prompt processing, the attainment of immigration goals established by the Government of Canada in consultation with the provinces.
- d) Enrich and strengthen the cultural and social fabric of Canadian society, while respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada.

The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001) (respecting immigration to Canada and the granting of refugee protection to persons who are displaced, persecuted or in danger) objective 3(1) (c) states with respect to immigration as...

“to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy, in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada”.

Skilled workers are “independent immigrants selected to contribute to the economy of Canada through their education, skills and training” (Parliamentary and Information Research Service (PIRS), 2008: 16).

Initially, selection had some pitfalls as the skilled workers were faced with challenges of securing corresponding jobs based on their education, skills and training. Later on the IPRA Federal Skilled Worker Program was introduced.

2.7.3 Assessment of Skilled Worker applications under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)

Applications submitted under IRPA FSWP are first assessed to determine whether the applicants meet the minimum requirements for further processing. Pursuant to the minimum requirements in R75(2), the applicant must have at least one year of continuous full-time paid work experience, or the continuous part-time equivalent, in the category of Skill Type 0, or Skill Level A or B, according to the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC). The work experience must have occurred within the 10 years preceding the date of application and the applicant must have performed a substantial number of the main duties, including all of the essential duties of the occupation as set out in the occupational description of the NOC.

Furthermore, applicants are required to have arranged for employment in Canada prior to submitting their applications. Applicants without arranged employment must show that they have sufficient funds available for settlement in Canada.

Applicants who meet these minimum requirements are then assessed against six selection factors as outlined in Table 2.1. To be eligible for a permanent resident visa under the FSWP, applicants must meet the minimum number of points required of a skilled worker. The pass mark was last set on September 18, 2003 at 67 points. If applicants fail to meet the pass mark but the officer considers that the applicant may become economically established in Canada, the officer may recommend a positive substituted evaluation. Positive substituted evaluation is rarely used, and negative substituted evaluation is almost never used. Table 2.1 outlines the selection criteria including the number allocated for each criterion.

TABLE 2. 1 SELECTION FACTORS FOR IRPA FSWP

Education	25	<p>Selection points are awarded for the degrees or diplomas and the number of years spent in full-time or full-time equivalent study.</p> <p>The points are awarded based on the standards that exist in the country of study (the <i>Regulations</i> do not provide for comparisons to Canadian educational standards) and are based on the years of study in addition to the degree or diploma.</p>
Experience	21	<p>To be eligible for points, the applicant’s work experience must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Have occurred during the 10 years immediately preceding the date of application submission; <input type="checkbox"/> Be in occupations listed in the National Occupational Classification (NOC) under Skill Type 0 or Skill Level A and B; <input type="checkbox"/> Not be in an occupation that has been designated by the Minister as a restricted occupation. <p>Fifteen points are awarded for at least one 1 year of experience; 17, 19 and 21 points are awarded for at least 2, 3 and 4 and over years of experience respectively.</p>
Age	10	<p>Maximum of 10 points are awarded to an applicant who is at least 21 and less than 50 years of age at the time the application is made. Two points are subtracted for each year the applicant is less than 21 or over the age of 49.</p>

Arranged Employment	10	<p>Points are awarded if the applicant:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Has submitted all the necessary documentation including a positive opinion issued by HRSDC. <input type="checkbox"/> Is able to perform and is likely to accept and carry out the employment. <p>Officers may take into account the applicant’s education and training, background, and prior work experience to determine if the applicant meets this requirement. If they have any concerns about the applicant’s ability or likelihood to accept and carry out the employment, they will communicate these to the applicant and provide him/her the opportunity to respond.</p>
Adaptability	10	<p>Adaptability points are awarded on five dimensions to a maximum of 10 points. The five adaptability factors include,</p> <p>Spouse’s or common-law partner’s education (3-5 pts), minimum one year full-time authorized work in Canada (5 pts), minimum 2 years full-time authorized post-secondary study in Canada (5 pts), Arranged Employment in Canada (5 pts), and family relations in Canada (5 points)</p>

Source: *Statistics Canada, 2016*

2.8. Ghanaians in Canada

2.8.1 Introduction

Ghanaians, like most nationals of developing countries migrated to other countries in search of greener pastures (Adepoju, 2010; Awumbilla, et al, 2011). Quartey (2009) recorded Ghana as a country with the highest emigration rates of its skilled labour in the West Africa Region. Many of the Ghanaian immigrants found their destinations in European countries, with the majority settling in Great Britain, Ghana’s colonial master. However, stiffer migration policies by Britain over time, pushed Ghanaian migrants to seek other doors of convenient opportunities elsewhere. The declining political and economic environment prevailing in 1970s was mostly the push factor for Ghanaians to migrate. Even though some economic stability has been attained in more recent times, Ghanaians continue to migrate to several countries.

2.8.2. Ghanaian Immigration to Canada

Immigration of Ghanaians to Canada is quite a recent phenomenon compared to the movement of others as far back as 1665 (Naidoo, 1985 as cited in Owusu 2000).

They started arriving in Canada in noticeable numbers after 1967 when the point system opened up immigration into Canada based on individual occupation, education and personal circumstances (Cohen, 1994; Danezer, 1993, Vineberg, 2011 Tannock, 2011) and not on country of origin as it was previously.

Conversely, deteriorating economic and political conditions in Ghana, immigration restrictions over time in the European countries especially Great Britain, induced the first wave of migration of Ghanaians to Canada (Mensah, 2010). It can therefore be concluded that these push factors in Ghana and the pull factors in Canada (in terms of favourable immigration policies) were associated with the immigration (Ravenstein, 1885, 1889).

As noted by Mensah (2010) and Owusu (2000), the first wave of Ghanaians who migrated to Canada in the 1960s were in small numbers even less than 100 people in a year. The crop of the migrants were made up of mostly students awarded with scholarships, professionals who worked mainly in the education, health, and social services sectors and some political asylum seekers intending to escape being persecuted by the government of the day. The number of new Ghanaian arrivals remained very small throughout the 1970s, averaging less than 150 per year, but it began

to increase substantially in the early 1980s. Record of several hundreds of Ghanaian migrants trooping to Canada was reported by Mensah (2010). Researchers such as Owusu (2000) and Mensah (2010) believed that the upsurge of Ghanaians into Canada could be perpetuated by the 1976 *Immigration Act*, which incorporated the U.N. Convention's definition of a refugee into the Canadian law, enabling more Ghanaian political refugees to flee to Canada, (Mensah, 2002). Out of a total of 11,070 Ghanaian immigrants living in Canada in 1991, over 80 percent arrived between 1981 and 1991 (Statistics Canada 2002 as cited in Owusu, 2000).

Mensah (2010) in his book "Black Canadians" noted that Ghanaian immigration to Canada is divided into two broad periods: (1) from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, and (2) from the 1990s to the present. A transitional period occurred between 1982 and 1984 which saw a decline in the number of Ghanaians coming to Canada (Mensah, 2010).

Ornstein (2000) reported that the first Ghanaian migrants settled mainly in Toronto, the capital of Ontario and the largest metropolitan city in Canada. Statistic Canada (2003) like Ornstein (2000) indicated that the most populous province in Canada is Ontario which receives the largest intake of immigrants. Record is made of Toronto having about two-thirds of Ontario's immigrant population (Statistic Canada, 2016). Manuh (2004) had described Toronto to epitomise Ghana in Canada.

To date, Ghanaians are migrating to Canada as economic immigrants, immigrants sponsored by families and refugees among others. Mensah (2010) indicates a total of 23,230 Ghanaians living in Canada. Owusu (1998) reported that 17,470 “Diasporic Ghanaians” are living in the older and newer Toronto areas such as North York, Etobicoke, Mississauga and now Brampton and other suburbs in the Ontario Region (Mensah 2010:127). Records of the remaining Ghanaians have settled in Montreal (2,350) and British Columbia (1345) typically in Vancouver (Mensah 2010 as cited by Statistics Canada 2009). Statistics Canada (2016) gave an update of Ghanaian immigrants in Canada as 39,885.

2.9. The Canadian Experience of Immigrants

Recent views argue that some people who migrated under the FSWP have not been successful economically as they have expected. The selection criteria that gave the immigrants the edge to be selected are rejected in the labour market (Mensah, 2010; Picot, 2004).

Salaff et al. (2002) recalled how Canada’s human resources programmes, for instance, generally lacked mechanisms to integrate skilled immigrants into good jobs. Danso (2002) also equally, recounted that Canada’s labour market fails to recognise the foreign credentials of the immigrants.

This to him, constituted a major barrier to the integration of skilled immigrants, especially in the case of ‘people of colour’- which includes Ghanaians. To Danso (2002) people who, in their homelands, held decent positions and worked in jobs which reflect their training or skills are now

'doing odd jobs' in Canada or are forced to depend on the welfare system for support in the event they are denied access to their desired jobs. Salaff et al (2002) and Man (2004) in support of Danso's (2002) observation recounted how many of the skilled migrants are working as cleaners, taxi drivers, security guards, factory workers and pizza or newspaper deliverers in Canada.

Again, Danso (2002) stipulates that the labour market has denied the immigrants access to employment not because of their inability to perform in the job industry but because they intend to be discriminatory and oppressive. This, in his view, was to reinforce a sense of worthlessness and low self-esteem and also perpetuated the vicious cycle of poverty for the skilled immigrants and their families.

In support of the assertion by Salaff et al. (2002) and Man (2004), Donkor (2005) also alleged that, to get a job corresponding to your profession or skills implied that Ghanaians must pursue educational programs in Canada. For this they had to sponsor themselves. The programmes most often are expensive and cannot be easily afforded by the immigrants.

Labonte et al. (2006) also recorded that the doctors from sub-Saharan Africa who migrated to Canada are usually specialists but they can only find work in family medicine and in rural Canada and that is subject to their passing their examinations and having been licensed by The Medical Council of Canada. Applications for the New Delhi Centre is on first-come basis subject to space availability. This implies the doctor can only be licensed only if there is space available. This was

a situation that turned to waste the brains of migrants from Ghana and other sub-Saharan African countries. Adepoju (2010) in his view argued that such skilled workers were not easily replaceable in their home country.

Triadafilo-Poulos (2013) and Picot (2004) recount how skilled migrants continue to experience deteriorating economic conditions related to employment and earnings. Aycan and Berry (1996, 2009) reported how devaluation and deskilling of foreign credentials impact and negatively affect highly skilled immigrants and leading to “acculturative stress, negative self-concept, alienation from the society and adaptation difficulties”. Bauder (2003) buttresses the above by stressing on the emotional trauma faced by the new migrants and their families because of the effect of the devaluation of labour of the professional migrants. Meraj (2015) describes how international migration will usually result in career damage.

Finally, Xu (2008) found out that skilled immigrants to Canada arrive with a sense of adventure and optimism, only to be beaten down by sometimes insurmountable barriers to meaningful employment which lead to frustration which can build to the point of depression. She further describes migration to Canada as a “potentially disruptive and stressful experience”, where she records that most new migrants begin to suffer mental illness from the disappointment.

2.9.1 Race and Discrimination

The effects of race, racism or racial discrimination on immigrants' labour market experiences in Canada has been well documented in literature (Nkrumah, 2015; Mensah, 2010, Statewatch, 2007; Elabor-Idemudia 2005 Li, 2000). Mensah (2010:15) defines race as “a human population distinguished on the basis of socially perceived physical traits such as skin pigmentation, hair texture, facial features and the like” and racism in his book black Canadians as “a philosophy of racial antipathy that asserts the superiority of one human group over another based on real or perceived genetically transmitted differences” (Mensah, 2010:16). This, he further explained by indicating that racism happens when a superior group tends to exploit another group seen as inferior based on characteristics such as skin pigmentation, hair colour or type, the colour of one's eyes among others.

Mensah (2010) noted different forms of racism embedded in the Canadian system. These are individual racism which are perpetrated by individuals while systemic racism stems from structural requirements at the societal level. He further noted that the racism perpetuated is normally covert subtle and sometimes unintentional (though in some cases, it may be blatant bigotry), yet powerful in its consequences” (Mensah, 2010:17). Many researchers have argued that some of the experiences of immigrants in Canada are due to racism. Studies have revealed that most immigrants are faced with various forms of covert racial discrimination participating in the Canadian labour market (Nkrumah, 2015; Mensah, 2010; Zaman, 2010). For example, Bauder (2002) recorded that the credentialing process in Canada is laced with racial discrimination. Mensah (2010:175) reported an experiment undertaken by Esses et al (2007) on South Africans

revealing that a black South African immigrant with similar qualifications bears a greater risk of having his or her qualifications discounted than that of a white South African.

This gives more credence to the allegations of Canadian “credentialism as racism” (Mensah, 2010:175). Others also argued that the immigration policies in Canada are underlined with racial undertones (Nkrumah, 2015; Mensah, 2010; Zaman, 2010).

Recently, Canada substituted the term “visible minority” in the place of the term ‘race’. The term “visible minority” have been defined by Statistics Canada (2017) as a person or a group of people who are visibly not part of the majority race (Mensah, 2010),

Finally, another aspect of racial discrimination noted in literature is accent discrimination. Munro (2003) as cited in Nkrumah (2015) documents three forms of accent discrimination in Canada. He reported that these play a part in hiring decisions in the labour market. Phillipson (1992) also used the term “Linguicism” to refer to all forms of linguistically related racism. Similarly, Creese (2011) has also reported the challenges that some blacks face as they attempt to integrate in into the labour market in a study of African migrants in Vancouver. He reported that the obstacles Africans face, is because of the accented manner in which they speak the English language.

2.10. Theoretical Framework

2.10.1. Introduction

The theoretical framework provides the conceptual grounding of every study (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). Merriam (1998:45) defines a theoretical framework as the “lens through which the researcher views the world”. In sum, a theoretical framework is a structure that is intended as a guide for thinking about the research subject and as an interpretative lens through which to view data.

Since the focus of this study is on the migration experience of the highly skilled Ghanaians to Canada, and thus connected with the migration of people over space and time. It is therefore necessary to review the international theories of migration, to enable us to understand the causal processes behind international migration (Massey et al., 1994). The forms of Capital by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) were also be reviewed.

2.10.2. Migration Frameworks and Concepts

International migration cannot be explained by only one theory (Massey et al., 1997). There are a number of competing theories that explain why people migrate from one place to another. Researchers often borrow from fragmented set of theories. In the words of Massey and Hugo, 1997: 258, “there is no single, coherent theory of international migration”. The theory of migration as propounded by Ravenstien (1885, 1889) formed the basis of most migration theories.

The theory stated that people are forced to leave their place of origin because of challenges and unfavourable conditions. These conditions are repulsive. Alternatively, the destination countries

have all the set up and conditions that are favourable for human existence and naturally attract people to move in.

Lee (1966) revised and expounded Ravenstein's theory and further explained that though human beings may be pushed out of their country of origin and pulled in by the receiving country as stated by Ravenstein (1885, 1889), other intervening factors or obstacles and personal factors may or may not influence migration. To Lee (1966) despite the unfavourable conditions at places of origin, a person would migrate if only he is able to overcome the intervening obstacles. He, in explaining the intervening factors, cited examples such as not having enough money to purchase an air ticket. He also highlighted the fact that no matter the attraction of the receiving country, the intervening obstacle of one's inability to secure a travelling visa may curtail migration to the attractive destination. He also stressed that personal factors such as either one's ability to become accustomed to the place of origin or perceived unfavourable harsh weather conditions at intended destination may prevent a person from migrating. To Lee (1966), such obstacles which he referred to as intervening factors, determine migration in the long run. He further argued that migration tends to take place within well defined "streams". That is to say, people from specific places of origin move to specific destinations because of the network of other migrants. These networks give them access to information flow (Lee 1966: 54-55; Massey et al. 1997; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989).

The international migration theories are categorized as macro and micro theories. The theories are referred to as macro theories when the decisions of migration are propelled by the broader societal

context rather than individual decisions. These decisions more often deal with large scale migration (Massey et al., 1997). On the contrary, micro theories lay emphasizes on people's rational decision to move from one place to another based on information gathered from their network systems. That is "the thought processes that goes into the decision to migrate (Richmond, 1994:48). Furthermore, Massey et al. (1997) classified the theories of international migration into two broad categories namely international migration initiation models and the international migration perpetration models (Figure 2.1). The migration initiation models consist of the Neoclassical Economic theory, the New Household Economics of Labour Migration, the Dual Labour Market theory and the World Systems theory.

2.10.2.1. The Migration Initiation Models

The neoclassical economic theory which is the oldest and best-known international migration theory explains migration on the basis of wage differentials among nations. It postulates that workers of places with low wages tend to migrate to places of high wages (Massey et al., 1997). This theory shares the principle that underpins the concept of the pull and push factors in laws of migration postulated by Ravenstein (1885, 1889). These push factors could be explained as the low wages of the country of origin among others whilst the pull factors are the high wages and other favourable conditions at the host or destination countries (Massey et al., 1997).

The New Household Economics of Labour Migration, unlike the neoclassical theory, places the individual's rational decision to migrate at the household level (Stark & Bloom, 1985). The theory propounds that migration decisions are made by households in an attempt to "maximize expected

income and minimize risks” (Massey et al, 1993:436). That is, the decision to migrate is weighed in favour of the entire family or household. When family members have to travel from home abroad, the rest of the household pull together resources to facilitate the migration process with the intention of subsequent rewards from the migrant especially in terms of remittances to those left behind. The monies sent in return (sending country) are expected to serve as forms of insurance for the household, help to alleviate poverty for the unemployed relations and to generate some form of economic wellbeing for the family members (Massey et al, 1997; Vertovec, 2004, 2009; Quartey, 2006).

The World Systems theory as propounded by Wallerstein (1974) explains international migration in terms of how the capitalist market’s penetration into the peripheral regions of the world in search of land, raw materials, labour and new consumer markets inevitably causes the poor to migrate abroad (Massey,1989). To him, migration is a natural response to disruptions and dislocations which occur with the capitalist development. The theory focuses on the “emerging opportunity structure for migration in the contemporary world” (Massey et al., 1997:280). It argues differently from the other migration theories, explaining that migrations do not just occur.

The countries referred to as peripheral countries because they depend on core countries, are more likely to be sending countries to the core countries. The people they send include refugees and asylum seekers among others. These core countries are countries with capital and huge forms of material wealth. This dependence on the core countries are the consequences of these core countries taking over land, raw material, and labour and subsequently controlling the markets by the introduction of new consumer goods. This disruption automatically sets in motion, migration

flows from peripheral regions (areas where the rich and powerful have penetrated) to the core regions.

The Dual Labour Market theory by Piore (1979) is also referred to as the Segmented Labour Market theory (Hiebert, 1999; Gordon, Edwards, Reich, 1982; Edwards, 1972 and Reich et al, 1973). Unlike the micro-theories such as the Neo-Classical theory and New Household Economics of Labour Migration, the Dual Labour Market theory shifts the migration decisions from the individual (the micro-level) to the broader societal level (macro level). It offers a reason for the creation of the job opportunity markets in the developed world.

Piore (1979) emphasizes that international migration results from “intrinsic labour demands of modern industrial societies”. He focuses on immigration as a “natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across national boundaries” (Massey, et al., 1993: 432). The theory further emphasizes on what ‘pulls’ people to migrate as a collective group and not on what ‘pushes’ them out. These pull factors, he explained as the “chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers” (Massey et al, 1993:440). He explained that developed countries experience labour shortages because of their diminished birth rates resulting in lack of population momentum and an inability to replace themselves (Weeks, 2012). The theory argues that international migration is perpetuated from the labour demands of the advanced world.

The theory further makes a distinction between two forms of labour markets namely the primary sector and the secondary sector. The primary sector is characterized by the employment of the

educated with high wages, job security and fringe benefits in contrast to the secondary sector where employment is on short-term relationships, with little or no prospect of internal promotion and the determination of wages primarily by market forces. In terms of occupations, the secondary sector consists primarily of low or unskilled jobs - blue-collar (manual labour) and white-collar (e.g. filing clerks), or service industry (e.g. waiters). These jobs are linked by the fact that they are characterized by "low skill levels, low earnings, easy entry, job impermanence, and low returns to education or experience" (Reich et al, 1973; Massey et al, 1993).

2.10.2.2 Migration Perpetration Models

The second set of useful classification of the international migration theories is referred to by Massey et al. (1997) as the migration perpetration models. This comprises of the three main international theories namely, the Network theory, the Institutional theory and the Cumulative Causation theory.

The network theory explains that international migrations are aided by the interpersonal ties between migrants and those at home. The information flow from receiving countries give insights for subsequent migrants from home countries and those ties form social capital on which they draw on to migrate (Massey et al., 1997). The theory postulates that migrants create and even maintain social ties with other migrants and families back home and this leads to the emergence of social migrant networks which facilitate further migration. The network theory further posits that once migration is started, it sets in motion chain migration reaction. Chain migration is perceived to mitigate the risks associated with migration. This is explained that it involves migrants in an

“established flow from a common origin to a predetermined destination where earlier migrants have already scoped out the situation and laid the groundwork for the new arrivals” (Massey et al, 1997:245). Thus, the theory is based on the idea that migration is a path dependent process in which the first migrants shape the later migrant flows through their interpersonal relations.

Castles (2014) substantiates the network theory by also arguing that migrant networks tend to decrease the economic, social and psychological costs of migration. Migration can therefore be conceptualized as a diffuse process, in which expanding networks cause the costs of movement to fall and the probability of migration to rise: these trends feed off one another, and over time migration spreads outward to encompass all segments of society.

The formation of a migrant community at one destination therefore increases the likelihood of more migration to the same place.

Yet, another perspective of the Network theory by Harzig & Hoerder (2013, 2009) referred to the theory as the ‘family economics’ theory. They argued that family members sought the best for themselves and the society at large by pulling themselves together emotionally and spending quality time to make the migration decisions. Thus migrants’ decisions are based on a network hierarchy in which the members try to achieve the best possible results internally for their family and externally for the best place in a community.

Other theorists, Martinez-Brawley, Emilia and Zorita, Paz M-B (2014) have attested that network theory tries to explain the migration flows that cannot be explained by other already existing

migration theories. To them, it answers the question why migration continues even when there are higher wages elsewhere other than the destination country. It also explains the migratory flow to receiving regions with no pull factors or policies to attract immigrants. The theories therefore stress on diaspora relations which influence decision of migrants when they are choosing their destination. In a nutshell, the Network theory tries to explain why migration flows and patterns are not always evenly distributed over countries.

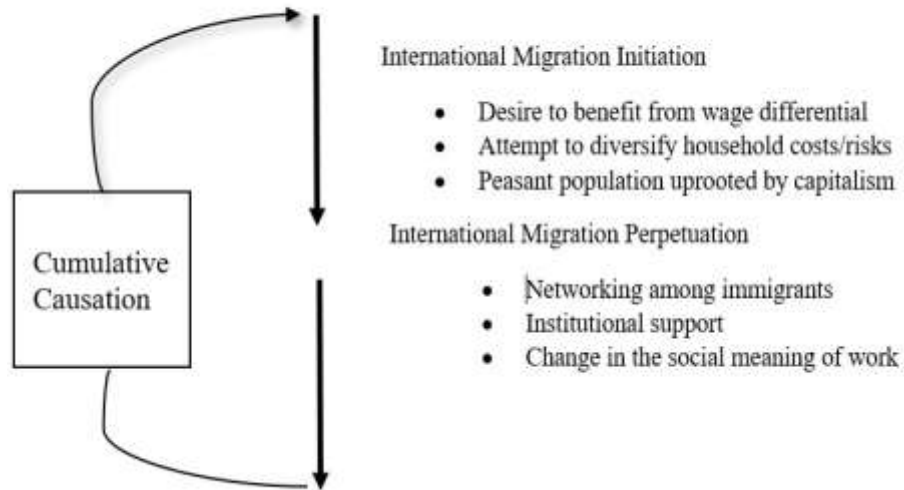
Contrary to the network theory, the institutional theory posits that voluntary organisations and institutions emerge once international migration is set in motion. These institutions sought to erect barriers such as the introduction of visas, among others, to control the number of migrants seeking to enter into capital rich countries (Massey et al.1993). This they do to “satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of immigrants seeking to enter capital-rich countries” (Massey et al.1997:265). In addition, these voluntary organisations help to perpetuate migration where governments try to curtail migration flows in the receiving country. They further tend to be useful for the settlement of irregular migrants and for offering humanitarian services among many others.

The last of these theories as developed by Myrdal (1957) is the cumulative causation theory which complements both the network and institutional theories. The theory posits that migration is a lot easier and less costly for subsequent immigrants. This could be further explained that households which receive remittances from relations abroad tend to afford to move easily because of the financial support they receive. Again, they are motivated by the remittances received, thereby being able to help more family members to migrate.

In Myrdal (1957) views, causation is cumulative in that “each act of migration varies the social environments and the economic context within which subsequent migration decisions are made” (Massey et al.1993:451). This means that the impact of these changes is positive making it easier and less expensive for other people to migrate. This especially generates more migration movements because the migrants themselves continue to move as they develop the culture of migration (Massey et al.1997:248). Furthermore, cumulative causation is perpetuated even more when the jobs labelled as “immigrant jobs” become unattractive to the host countries. More immigrants move to take up those jobs.

Despite the classification of the international migration theories broadly into two, scholars such as Mensah (2010) points out that the dynamics of the international migration of initiation and perpetuation theories (figure 2.1) are not mutually exclusive as it seems but they are rather interdependent “supported and inseparably connected to the process of cumulative causation from the outset to the outcome” (Mensah, 2010:63).

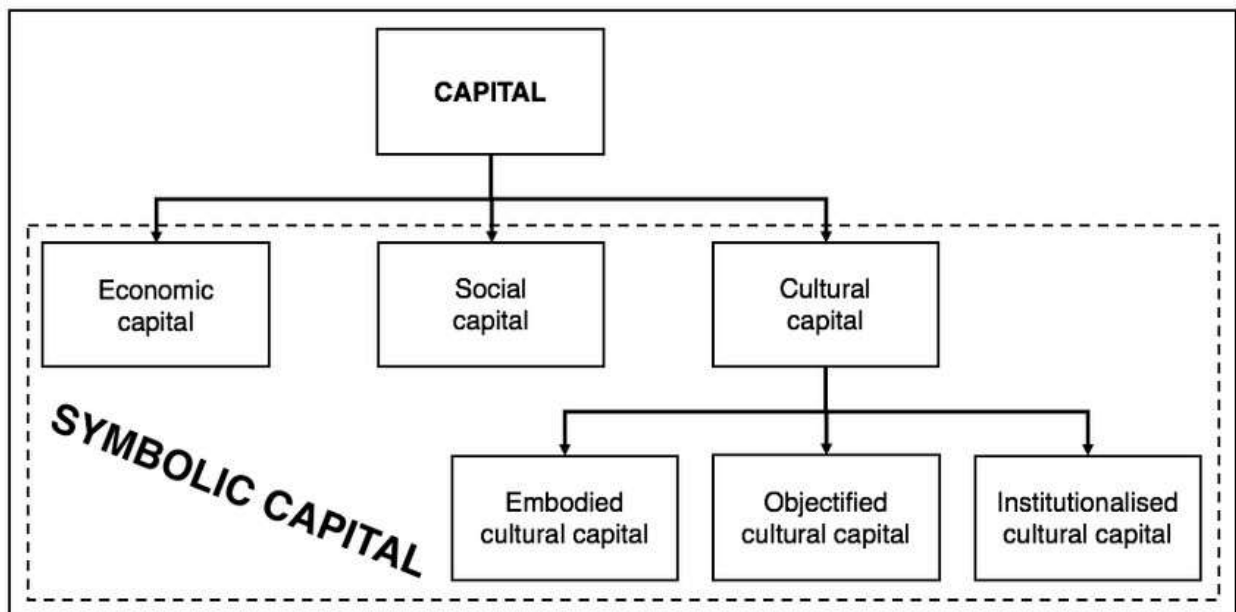
Figure 2. 1 MODEL OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION



Source: Mensah, 2010.

2.10.3. The Forms of Capital by Pierre Bourdieu (1986)

Figure 2. 2: The Forms of Capital by Pierre Bourdieu



Bourdieu (1986) defines capital as the currency that buys you a higher position in the society. It is the foundation of social life and it is what decides your role in the social world. Capital is the result of labour and over time, the amount of capital you can accumulate increases. However, not all forms of Capital are equal. The more time you spend accumulating a form of capital the more valuable the capital is. Bourdieu distinguishes between two main types of capital namely cultural capital and social capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), Cultural capital is what you have and what you know and Social Capital is defined as who you know.

2.10.3.1. Cultural capital

To Bourdieu (1986), Cultural capital exists in three forms. The embodied, objectified and institutionalized cultural capital. He further explained that, the embodied cultural capital comprises of the qualities of your mind or body. These include things like the skills that you have, dialects, accents, posture and mannerisms. It also includes your tastes such as your tastes in music, art and literature (Richardson, 1986). The embodied cultural capital is important because more powerful social classes tend to differentiate from others by how they look and behave, therefore you essentially need to buy membership into these classes with embodied social capital.

Next, Bourdieu explains objectified capital as the material belongings that have cultural significance. This is what Richardson (1986) referred to as cultural goods. For example, luxurious cars such as Rolls Royce usually give you a lot of objectified capital in society. However, in some societies such as Tehran, the wearing of rugged clothes, eating of cheap foods and driving cheap

cars rather give you higher social prestige because poverty is associated with the revolutionists who are considered heroes (Richardson, 1986).

Lastly, Bourdieu (1986) explains cultural capital in the Institutionalized state as symbols of cultural competence and authority. These refer to things like credentials and qualifications. Evenly, small things like the title, doctor can give you a large amount of institutionalized cultural capital. University degrees are powerful forms of institutionalized cultural capital. Going to university gives you skills which are a type of embodied cultural capital. Admittedly, he further argued that, a university degree in itself does add to your capital no matter what, how you went and where you got your degree. Conversely, he emphasized, the more prestigious university you went to or will go to in future, the likelihood that you will receive more institutionalized cultural capital. In the assertion of Bourdieu (1986), people have a feeling of collective identities with those they share cultural capital with. These happen among alumni groups, professional association that is people you have the same educational qualifications, religious groups (people who share the same beliefs) and even those who share the same family names. That is, your relations and family members (Richardson, 1986). This then leads to social capital.

2.10.3.2. Social Capital

According the Bourdieu (1986) Social Capital is who you know, obviously draws on your social network. You could gain social capital in two ways. Firstly, by being connected to a lot of people or by having connections to a few people who have a lot of capital. This means you could be

connected to a smaller group of people who have more power. Basically, it is your social relationships that form your social capital (Richardson, 1986).

Bourdieu further postulates that social capital occurs in two ways. First and foremost, Social capital is gained by relationships you make in your life. These relationships are enacted, maintained and reinforced through exchanges such as gifts, words and women, etc. These exchanges are transformed into recognition and the recognition of group membership in turn reproduce the group (Richardson, 1986:21).

Secondly, you gain social capital through relationships you inherit; for example, the family you are born into. Or through schooling; for example, you gain a relationship with someone who attended the same university with you.

2.10.3.3 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the last set of capital. It is less essential to the social world than social, cultural, and economic capital. It is basically the amount of prestige you have. Prestige can be defined as a reputation for competence and an image for respectability and honourability (Bourdieu, 1984, 291). It does not exist on the same level as economic, cultural and social capital. Instead it is the value that indicates the recognition and therefore the legitimization of your other forms of capital. This is important because capital only truly elevates social status only if it is recognised and recognition comes in the form of symbolic capital. For example, more economic capital does tend to lead to more symbolic capital.

Generally speaking, being wealthier usually tends to make one more prestigious. However, spending money may lead to less symbolic capital. Nevertheless, if one who is wealthy flaunts the wealth negatively, his respectability goes down. In the same vein, when one uses his/her money with humility, they gain respectability therefore gains higher symbolic capital.

In conclusion, Bourdieu argues that, Social Capital is important because groups share their capital so you become part of the collective capital. By joining a group, you gain access to that collective capital. This means you have more overall capital, therefore, are more powerful in general (Richardson, 1986). When you have more social capital, people would want to associate with you the more because if they had you in their social network, then their own social capital will increase because of their willingness to have a connection with you, they will also make it easier for you to connect with them by lowering their standard. Therefore, you do not need to spend much effort in creating and maintaining that social connection with them. That makes it easy for you to grow and maintain your social network and social capital. Alternatively, if you have less social capital it will be more difficult to start or maintain, or to build on that social capital (Richardson, 1986).

2.11. Theoretical Framework for the Study

2.11.1. Introduction

The theoretical framework draws on some migration theories previously discussed under section 2.10.2 to lay a foundation and to guide the study. These models shift the focuses on macrostructural and micro-social processes of international migration. Three of theories stand

out which will be relied upon. The study will also rely on Bourdieu's Forms of Capital theory.

The theories which inform the study are

1. The Dual Labour Market Theory
2. The Neo-Classical Theory
3. The Network Theory
4. The Forms of Capital Theory

The Dual Labour market as discussed under section 2.10.2.1 view migration on a macro level.

The theory posits that migration occurs as a result of "structural requirements of modern industrial economies" (Massey, 1997: 279).

It further argues that international migration stems fundamentally from labour demands of modern industrialized societies. Piore (1979) also postulates that certain factors such as chronic and avoidable need for workers in receiving countries act as pull factors luring and setting in motion international migration flows to regions of demand irrespective of any push factors within source nations.

This theory not only provides a framework to understand the causes behind international migration, but also the principles that shape immigration and integration policies in immigrant receiving countries. Within the context of Dual Labour Market theory, many developed countries, including Canada, have instituted selective immigration policies in recent years to attract a migrant population with desirable human capital attributes screening out those deemed not to be useful to national interests. This theory therefore puts into perspective this research explaining why Canada

has put in place immigration policies such as the “Federal Skilled Worker Program” to enable her fill the shortage gap in its labour market which will in no wise be occupied by Canadians (Piore, 1979). The FSWP was instituted to attract and pull people from the developing world such as Ghana (Massey et al., 1997).

Yet another structural factor of this theory is the distinction between two forms of labour markets - the primary sector and the secondary sector. The highly skilled immigrants from Ghana come into Canada with the hope of being engaged in the primary sector which is characterized by the employment of the educated with high wages, job security and fringe benefits in contrast to the secondary sector where employment is on short-term relationships, with little or no prospect of internal promotion and the determination of wages primarily by market forces.

However, due to the structural factor of disjoint between the labour market and Canada’s immigrant policy many find themselves occupying rather occupations, in the secondary sector, working low or unskilled jobs; blue-collar (manual labour), white-collar (e.g. filing clerks), or service industry (e.g. waiters). These jobs are linked by the fact that they are characterized by “low skill levels, low earnings, easy entry, job impermanence, and low returns to education or experience” (Reich et al, 1973; Massey et al, 1993). This happens because of the structural reality of credentialing of the immigrants qualification and subsequent devaluation of it. These structural requirements more often than not exclude immigrants and deny them a place in the primary sectors in Canada (Bauder, 2003).

Critics of the Dual Labour Market theory have postulated that sending countries have been projected as being trapped by their disadvantaged position in the geopolitical structure (de Hass, 2008 as cited in by Kandilige 2018:230). The implication is that migrants from the less developed regions have no free will when it comes to migrating but rather they are compelled by the external structural constraints of the developed world or the capitalist system.

The Neoclassical theory on the contrary places the decision to migrate at the level of the migrant. The theory on the other hand theorizes that migration decisions are based on the migrant's rational thinking. People migrate to areas of greater opportunities especially where the individual perceives in the medium to long term his skills which include education, experience and training as well as language capabilities will earn him the greatest income (Massey et al, 1997:279).

The neoclassical theory explains why not all highly educated and skilled Ghanaian professional migrate to Canada. In spite of Lee's (1966) intervening factors (such as the point system of the selection grid of the Federal Skilled Worker Program) which hampers individuals' movements from one country to another, it is safe to conclude that based on some personal considerations, an individual will decide on leaving his home country for an adopted country.

Complementing the Neoclassical theory, the network theory explains why and how highly skilled professionals move from their country of residence to their receiving countries. The ties of previous migrants to Canada offer a social capital upon which they launch on because of the

information flow and the perceived help they offer in receiving and helping them settle in their new environment.

Furthermore, the Network theory could be used in explaining the links of the former immigrants to the newer ones. The highly skilled Professionals draw on the kinship and friendship ties to lower their risks and cost of movement to migrate also into Canada. The points system for example which affords the highly skilled migrant the channel to legally migrate has factored into it, an arranged employment option as well as having a relative residing in Canada. It encourages new migrants to dwell on their social capital.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory (1986) of Social Capital complements the Network theory. It defines social capital as the people you know or a person you know who is connected to others who are influential and can added value to your life, (Bourdieu, 1980 1983, 1986, 1990; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Massey et al (1997) also defines Social Capital as those resources inherent in social relations which facilitate collective action. That is, those resources such as trust, norms, and networks of association representing any group which gathers consistently for a common purpose (Massey et al). The framework focuses on relationships and social networks. The theory therefore could help explain what makes some highly skilled immigrant move from Ghana to Canada and not to any other country like Australia, Germany, and New Zealand among others which also have in place migration programmes and policies. It could be argued that social capital provides mechanisms and resources that could facilitate easy migration.

Mitchell (2005) argues that social networks such as extended family, friends, neighbours and communities, which constitute the core of bonding networks can provide visible minority families with some useful resources (e.g., cultural, information and support). This same idea was reiterated by Lin (1999), individuals engage in interactions and networking in order to produce profits. These interactions facilitate the flow of information for some individuals in that they are better informed on market needs and demands or about opportunities and choices. (Lin & Bian, 1991; Lin & Dumin, 1986; Lin, Ensel & Vaughn, 1981).

With the skilled worker program, one needs to be informed about jobs that are easily accessible. Jobs such as medicine are very difficult to get into because of the issue of licensure for instance. Bourdieu's capital could further be used to explain the qualifying criteria for the highly skilled Ghanaians. The time they spend educating themselves, the experience they have over the years resulting in their skills set (embodied cultural capital) give them valuable capital. The embodied cultural capital is important because more powerful social classes tend to differentiate from others by how they look and behave, therefore you essentially need to buy membership into these classes (Bourdieu, 1980, 1990).

Objectified capital referred to as cultural goods because they are material belongings of cultural significance (Richardson, 1986). Individuals rational decision to a place of higher wage differentials have encapsulated in it, the mind to be able to afford some luxury as being able to afford a car of one's choice or residence in a preferred location. Thus when the Ghanaian skilled

migrants to Canada do not get to realize these dreams it tends to produce stress, anxiety and depression (Bauder, 2003).

Lastly, Bourdieu's (1986) institutionalized capital referring to things like credentials and qualifications explain the state of the Ghanaians as highly skilled. The title doctor can give you a large amount of institutionalized cultural capital. University degrees are powerful forms of institutionalized cultural capital. Going to university gives you skills which are a type of embodied cultural capital. The highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants to Canada were hoping to draw on their institutionalized capital for easy integration and settlement.

Thus from the above discussed, this theoretical framework, shades light into the federal worker program as being a structural requirement of developed to attract people (the Dual Labour Market theory) with institutionalized capital to fill her labour shortage gaps. The immigrants on the others hand drawing on their rational decision (Neoclassical theory) based on information flow from their networks (social capital) ended up migrating from Ghana to Canada.

2.12. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed existing literature organized under the following areas: Overview of migration, causes of migration, costs and benefits of migration, skilled migration, the migration policy of Canada, overview of The Federal Skilled Worker Program, historical background of Ghanaians in Canada and the Canadian experience of immigrants in Canada.

The theoretical framework which guided the study was also discussed. Theories discussed include the Dual Labour Market theory, Neo-Classical theory, the Network theory of migration and the forms of capital theory by Bourdieu (1986). These theories provided a theoretical foundation for the understanding of the migratory process, general settlement and integration process of the immigrants in Canada. However, though the migration theories have tried to explain why individuals migrate from different perspectives, they are not without criticism.

Different schools of thought such as the macro theories deal with large-scale migration focusing on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrants in collective terms. Since their focus is mainly on broader societal causes, consequences and complications of international migration they fail to take cognizance of the migrant's individual rational decision in migrating to a particular destination. On the other hand, the micro theories are heavily weighted towards the thought processes of migrants and their families as opposed to and structural requirements on the societal levels. The assumption that an immigrant makes an informed decision when moving because of the available information flow mainly from previous immigrants. Also, the basic assumptions of the migration theories in terms of Ravenstein's "Push and Pull theory is subjective and does not explain all migratory flows.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's "Forms of Capital theory" cannot fully answer all of the migratory thought and processes of the highly skilled Ghanaians. This is especially when some of them, have

attained various forms of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital through high tertiary education, occupation and professional statuses in their home country.

Finally, literature on Ghanaians migrants reviewed are on women and Ghanaians in general, blacks or Africans but not quite pointed to highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated to Canada through specifically the Federal Skilled Worker Program. This classification is yet to be adequately theorized.

Given the gap in the literature, a study that examines the migration experiences of the highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated to Canada under the Federal Skilled Worker Program will offer insight into the experiences of this peculiar group of immigrants and fill the gap adding to the existing growing literature on migration.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the methodological choices and approaches that this research employed. The nature of the research problem and the research objectives of this study calls for “choosing”, that is, “a process of examining available options and making a decision about the best amongst them, given a particular set of circumstances” (Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013:35).

Qualitative research is defined by Holloway (1997) as “a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live...to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures”(Holloway, 1997 as cited in Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013:11). According to Holloway (1997), researchers use qualitative approaches to explore the behaviour, perspectives and experiences of the people they study” (Holloway, 1997 as cited in Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013: 11). Furthermore, Savin-Baiden & Major (2013: 11) again define qualitative research simply as “the social science that is aimed at investigating the way in which people make sense of their ideas and experiences.

3.2. The Qualitative Research Method Approach and Study Design

There are different approaches within a qualitative research though most aim at studying a social phenomenon. The researcher’s interest in this study is to investigate human experience of several individuals. She therefore leans toward the phenomenological approach to the study seeking the consciousness of the participant as an important concept for the research (Husserl, 1907,

1964). This approach is critical for gaining understanding of the lived experience of the participants. The phenomenology research approach will “uncover what several participants who experience a phenomenon have in common” (Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013:214).

The qualitative methods are most appropriate for this study (Patton, 1990; Malterud, 2001 as cited in Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013; Savin-Baiden & Major, 2013:214) because:

- i. They afford diverse ways for revealing and understanding the fundamental processes underlying the migration experience by engaging with the daily lives and activities of participants.
- ii. They are flexible in adjusting to the sociocultural setting of changing research environments. They collect extensive and rich data that provide invaluable insights.
- iii. Qualitative methods also permit essential ways for gaining access to potential research participants from closed groups, and for establishing credibility and trust with them (Patton, 1990).

Given that the researcher is seeking to understand the interpretive approach of the lived experiences of the Ghanaian immigrants who through the Federal Skilled Worker Program migrated to Canada, the case study approach was chosen for this case study. This is a study approach which is particularly appropriate for individual researchers because it gives an opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be studied in some depth within a limited time (Bell, 1999).

3.2.1. The Research Site

The study was conducted mainly in Canada. However, some data were also collected from Accra, Ghana from some returnees. In order to ensure diversity in the sample in Canada, the researcher ensured that the respondents were selected from three different geographical locations. Data was collected mainly from Ontario, British Columbia Provinces and from the Alberta Province.

Mensah (2010) records the geographical distribution of Ghanaians in Canada. He cited the statistics of 2006 national census of a total of 23,200 Ghanaians living in Canada with the majority of 17,470 in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2006 as noted by Mensah, 2010). Montreal though predominantly French had a substantial number of Ghanaians residing there. He also revealed that a significant number of Ghanaians lived also in Alberta (1,295) and British Columbia (1,345) Provinces. Mensah (2010); Owusu (1999); Wong (2002) further noted that most Ghanaians resided in Toronto, Ontario. In addition, Mensah (2010) reported that there were also quite a number of secondary migrations within Canada (which is the movement of immigrants from other provinces within the country).

Updates from the Statistics Canada (2017) give the population of Ghanaians as of 2016 as 22,915 with the majority of 15,910 Ghanaian immigrants residing in the Ontario Province. Toronto's population is recorded as 13,465 immigrants reflecting a drop in figures from that of Mensah (2010). Ghanaians living in British Columbia also experienced a drop in figures from 1,345 in 2010 to 885 in 2016. On the country Ghanaians in the Alberta provinces increased in population

from 1,295 into 2010 to 3,170 and provinces (Statistics Canada 2017). These differences could be the result of secondary migration (Mensah, 2010).

The above statistics note that Ghanaian immigrants tend to settle more in the British Columbia and Ontario provinces. They are often found residing in older and newer suburban districts such as North Surrey, North Vancouver, Burnaby (British Columbia) North York, Etobicoke, Mississauga (Ontario), among others is fast becoming contrasting as the recent statistics from Statistics Canada (2017) is revealing. Previous literature has also noted that the spatial distribution stems from their desire to live closer to their own race (other Ghanaians). They also tend to find affordable public and private rental accommodations there (Mensah, 2002; Opoku - Dapaah, 1993, 2006; Owusu, 1999). However, most recent findings have noted that Ghanaians are stepwise migrating to the Alberta Provinces because of oil boom (Shrivastava and Stefanick, 2015). The statistics above set Ontario apart as a suitable laboratory to be investigated. Thus, this is the researcher's choice. In addition, the Alberta and British Colombia provinces were selected.

Initially, the researcher decided on the three gateway cities as the study area basing the selection on the population of the Ghanaian immigrants residing there. However, given time, financial constraints and the fact that qualitative research is phenomenological and that it was not intended to generalize findings, it was more it was interesting to vary experiences from other less Ghanaian populated cities to compare experiences, thus the choice of interviewees from the Alberta province. The interviewer did not source from other regions such as Prince Edward Island, Nunavut, the Yukon and Northwest Territories because the Ghanaian presence in these provinces is almost non-existent.

3.2.2. The Sampling and Selection Methods

Savin-Baden & Major (2013) define methods as “the particular steps or processes taken during a study”. The researcher did not resort to theoretical sampling because she did not have any intention to generate a theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) or to assess the representativeness of these characteristics quantitatively, or to generalize the experiences to the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in Canada. She rather sought to capture and articulate their realities, and to understand these realities from the perspectives of the immigrants themselves. She was interested in gaining in-depth knowledge of the participants’ experience which is not amenable to quantitative analysis (Patton 1999).

The sampling technique used was purposive, a non-probability sampling technique that allows for picking of interview objects that fit the particular focus of the study. This meant a careful selection of participants was made. Participants were selected based on their ability to provide the best information needed for the study (Patton, 1999; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

The purposive sampling method was chosen for this research over the probabilistic sampling. This was done because probability sampling allows for selecting participants based on a population where every member has an equal chance of being randomly selected. A combination of purposive sampling strategies such as criterion based and the unique-case sampling strategies were employed. The criteria-based strategy was critical for the selection of participants who were highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants only whilst the unique - case sampling strategy selected highly skilled

Ghanaian immigrant who reside in Canada through the FSWP (Creswell, 1998; McMillian and Schumacher, 1997; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The selection of participants was done using the snowballing technique as opposed to using the convenience sampling. Convenience sampling selects objects of study based on their availability to compromise the research findings. Snowball sampling was used to expand the sample by asking a participant to refer the researcher to others in the like category and was “deemed fit” for interviewing (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013:315; Groenewald, 2004). This method was chosen because the researcher is not an insider. She is neither a highly skilled Ghanaian immigrant nor does she live in Canada. It was also chosen because the target population (individuals who best represent and are suited for the purpose of the research topic) could not be easily located in any particular location.

3.2.3. Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria and Sample Size

The researcher seeking in-depth responses, targeted an initial sample of 25 Ghanaians who migrated to Canada through the Federal Skill Worker Program living in the British Columbia (Vancouver), Ontario (mostly Toronto and its environs) and Alberta (Calgary and Lethbridge) provinces of Canada to be interviewed. However, the interviews were discontinued on the nineteen interviewees because the researcher reached saturation point, as no new information was being accessed (Savin-Baden & Major 2013). The interviews merely confirmed the previous findings and did not seem to bring any new insights. In Accra, Ghana, two people who migrated to Canada through the programme and had relocated back to Ghana were also interviewed.

The sample size of twenty-one (21) concurs with Creswell's (2007) recommendation that qualitative researchers interview from 5 to 25 individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon under study. Rubin and Rubin (1995) also posited that the aim for sample size in qualitative studies should not be generalisations, but completeness; where you choose people, who are knowledgeable about the subject to interview until what you hear provides an overall sense of the meaning of the concepts, themes, or process, and saturation, which implies the point at which no additional information is being learned

The inclusion criteria were open in terms of age though most of the participants interviewed were aged between 38 and 57 years mainly because of the snowballing approach. Snowball sampling is exclusively noted for being a respondent-driven sampling. This means that the first interviewees provide leads for further recruitments (Heckathorn, 1997; Morgan, 2008). The target group of this study was first generation Ghanaian immigrants in Canada, that is, persons of Ghanaian parentage who were born and raised in Ghana, who immigrated to Canada as adults either directly from Ghana or another country, and who have been resident in Canada at least a year, have the right of permanent residence or citizenship and willingness to participate in the interview.

The initial interaction with Ghanaians enabled me to identify and exclude some of the interviewees I was introduced to. I was able to collect information that helped me to determine those Ghanaians who I believed could be more useful in providing the various perspectives and understanding to inform the study. For example, there were people I encountered who had very good insights about

the FSWP and were married to Ghanaians but were of other African heritage. Others also migrated through the FSWP but were not highly educated but had qualified through various tradesmanship programs. These categories were not very useful to the study beyond providing some theoretical perspectives so they were excluded in the sample.

One important decision was whether to interview both the principal applicant and the secondary (spouse) in each family, or just the principal applicant or just the secondary applicant. It was almost impossible to get both of them to be physically present at the same time. Interviewing both principal and spouse at separate times was also not a viable alternative because of time and resource constraint. It was therefore decided to interview any of the applicants who was willing to participate in the interview but at the same time, to interview both if available to validate the interviews.

3.2.4. Negotiating an Entry into the Research Field, Canada

The study required the researcher to identify potential participants. The ability to connect to the Ghanaian community in Canada was, therefore, a top priority for the success of the interviews. In negotiating an entry into the Ghanaian community, the researcher used the ‘gatekeeper’ system to access the research site successfully.

Multiple gatekeepers who were personally known to the researcher were used. This was instrumental for the recruitment of participants to be interviewed and to diversifying the sample. One of the gatekeepers was a fellow church member. She was a Ghanaian who had also migrated to Canada through the FSWP. The initial gatekeeper controlled the invitations to potential

participants in varying degrees (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The second gatekeeper was an old high school mate who happened to be the president of the researcher's alma mater in Toronto. In Toronto, the researcher was fortunate to be around at the time of the end of year party of her alma mater (old high school association in Toronto). During the party, the second gatekeeper, a senior old girl introduced the researcher to some of the attendees. This she did as a way of making in-roads for the researcher by making the initial contact arrangements. This made the subsequent follow up easier. Furthermore, the gatekeeper system made the selected participants more open and more willing to share their stories as they were assured of trustworthiness and confidentiality.

3.3. Data Collection

Researchers face a series of choices in relation to fieldwork. These choices set the parameters and ultimately frame what they discover. The process of collecting raw data from a natural setting is critical for study. Since the study seeks to have first-hand information on the migration experiences of participants, it resorts to use in-depth interviews for the gathering of data. An interview in qualitative research can simply be defined as “a conversation between two individuals in which the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee responds” (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013:357).

3.3.1. Data Collection in the Ontario and British Columbia Provinces

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as the primary qualitative technique to elicit a range of information that was vital for the understanding of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants' experiences and the meanings they ascribed to them. Interviewees were eleven highly 'skilled Ghanaians in Toronto, Scarborough, Ajax, and Waterloo (Ontario Province) and five

participants in Vancouver (British Columbia Province) between 12th October 2016 and 21st December 2016.

The interview guide was to serve as a checklist during the interview to ensure that all relevant issues the researcher was interested in had been covered. The interview guide also gave the interviewer some flexibility to adapt or change both the wording and sequence of questions to specific interviewees depending on the flow of discussions (Patton, 1980:198). For instance, initially my interview guide did not focus on race and discrimination issues as part of their migration experiences in Canada however, during some of my first interviews, I noticed these issues were often described as significant barrier to the labour market challenges of the participants. Consequently, I decided to incorporate question on this topic as a new probe into my interview schedule.

At both Provinces, a gatekeeper arranged the interviews at a location that best suited the interviewees. Recruiting interview participants was relatively uncomplicated, largely, because the gatekeepers were influential. In Toronto, one of the gatekeepers was the president of the old school association and a lecturer and was well respected. The others were pastors of predominant charismatic churches. Since some of the gatekeepers were pastors, it seemed their networks were primarily Christians even if they did not attend their churches. Most of my interviewees were charismatics from the pastors' churches, some who were of the Catholic faith and some were from other orthodox churches such as the Methodist Church. The role of the gatekeepers was instrumental in dispelling any reservations potential participants had about the research project.

Since the interviews were prearranged by the gatekeepers, my only assignment was to confirm the date, time and venue by telephone call to the interviewees. My challenge was with a few of the participants outside the church network. A suitable time for the interview was not easy to arrange. It took some effort to arrange an appropriate meeting due to of some of the participant's work schedules and personal commitments. Some of the interviews had to be rescheduled on a few occasions.

Two telephone interviews were conducted for participants residing in Ajax and Waterloo because their work schedules did not allow for us to meet. This coupled with the distance from where the interviewer was lodging in Toronto, made it impossible to have an in-depth face to face interview with them. The telephone interviews did not always yield very satisfactory results. For instance, some of the interviewees often sounded distracted or rushed. Some of the telephone calls were not clear and the interviewer had to repeat questions more than once for the interviewees. Other times, it was the interviewer asking the participant to speak up. This in turn inhibited the exchange of information. With most of the telephone interviews, the background setting was noisy affecting the quality of the recording.

The interviews began by the interviewer explaining the nature and purpose of the research study and requesting formally their willingness to participate in the study. A clear indication was given to the interviewee about his or her choice to opt out of the interview at any point if they so desire without any explanation. Where face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted, an Interview Statement and Consent Agreement were presented to them prior to each interview. The participants

were assured of confidentiality that their identity will be protected by the use of pseudonyms in the study. Furthermore, they were guaranteed their stories will not be shared either in part or whole with anyone else other than for the purpose of this research. However, they were cautioned that, the supervisors who oversaw the research could be given access. This was to be done only when necessary. It was also noted that it is binding on such persons involved in the study to treat all research data confidentially as well.

The in-depth face to face interviews took place mostly in the homes of the interviewees. In some cases, the interviewees preferred to come to where the interviewer was lodging. One interview occurred in a car as the interviewee offered to pick the researcher home from the library because the interviewee worked close by. The interviews usually lasted for approximately forty- five (45) minutes but for the majority, the interviews lasted about sixty (60) minutes with a few lasting about ninety (90) minutes. This, in the interviewer's view, was because the participants felt comfortable with the researcher and were carried away during the interviews. Others also, particularly those who were enthusiastic strayed a bit into areas outside the scope and some were more detailed in their responses. The interviewer notwithstanding, ensured the interviewees were stirred back on track and that the research issues were duly covered.

The interview itself was basically on a one-on-one basis although a third party was on a few occasions present. This was either my host, when the interview was conducted where I was lodging or the interviewee's spouse or a friend who drove me around since I was unfamiliar with the terrain. This was found to be disruptive at times and helpful at others, especially that of the spouses

depending on the relationship between the couple. As noted by Bradburn and Sudman (1983), response effects are more likely to occur when the third party knows the respondent. Thus, the researcher was careful not to interview both husband and wife together in the same setting in order to avoid these situations where one would interrupt the other to correct a statement or provide more information. This may hamper the flow of the interview.

All the interviews were conducted basically in the English language since all the participants were well read. However, some occasional code-switching injections in some Ghanaian languages (like Twi and Ga) was employed as and when a participant wanted to describe a deep inner feeling where interviewee found the English language was limiting.

With the consent of all the participants, the interviews were audio recorded to ensure that important information was not missed, for the purposes of accuracy and, transcription. Each participant had one interview session though two of the participants had informal repeated sessions. This was done to ensure validity and reliability of the data assessed. The researcher was attentive and adopted a non-judgmental listening technique during the interviews.

The researcher noted some body languages and gestures which conveyed other messages other than what the interviewee was verbalizing. The researcher watched for signs of boredom, anxiety and impatience to determine the length of the interview. During a particular interview, the interviewer noticed some signs of boredom and impatience and thus rounded up the interview.

In another, the posture of the interviewee revealed he was withholding some information and he was giving information to look good in the eyes of the researcher as noted by Yin (2009), as a disadvantage of qualitative interviews. To ensure, credibility, the researcher then decided to interview the wife on another occasion in a different setting and more information was gathered.

On the consent form, permission was sought from the interviewees to record the interviews, as well as given the option to indicate if they were interested in receiving a summary of research results. All participants agreed to the recording of the interview and almost all of them responded that they would like to receive a summary of the study results.

The social setting of the interviews also varied and required different levels of negotiation, as interviews were often interspersed with cooking, eating, watching TV and childcare. Some of the women participants were very warm towards me and treated me more of a visitor to their home than a researcher. They offered me a drink of my choice even before the interview whilst others, waited until the end of the interview and served me a proper meal. My acceptance and willingness to join them in sharing the meal created a rapport between us and some of the relationships built have continued to date.

3.3.2. Data Collection in Alberta Provinces

Unlike Ontario and British Columbia Provinces, where data for the research was mainly sourced through in-depth face-to-face interviews, the interviews in Calgary and Lethbridge were conducted

with three participants through telephone calls only. This method was adopted considering the limited time constraint of the interviewer and the limited budget to operate (Opdenakker, 2006).

The interviews also began as with the other provinces, by the interviewer explaining the nature and purpose of the research study and requesting formally their willingness to participate in the study. Participants were also given the freedom to discontinue the interview at any point if they wish to without any explanation. All the participants in this province were willing to be interviewed and gave verbal consent. In addition, the consent agreement forms were emailed to them which they signed and emailed back to the interviewer after the interviews.

The interviews like that of the Ontario and British Columbia Provinces, were conducted mainly in English with occasional code switching into Twi. The duration of the interviews were comparatively less. Ranging between 30 to 40 minutes. Though the approaches are different, the information gathered was rich and exhaustive, similar to those conducted through face-to-face interviews. The only limitations were that there were no visibility and no visual cues between the interviewer and the interviewees as such thus denying the researcher of observing the nonverbal cues of the participants such as the body language of the interviewees.

Furthermore, in some cases, the interviewees got distracted as children and spouses came to speak with the interviewees oblivious of the interviewing on going. With such interruptions, the interviews were paused as well as the recording and resumed when the interviewees was free to continue.

3.3.3. Data Collection in Accra, Ghana

Although originally not part of the research design to collect data outside Canada, two of the in-depth interviews were conducted with participants living currently in Ghana. These were participants who went to Canada through the FSWP but have made a choice to resettle in Ghana. The researcher's interest to conduct interviews in Ghana was kindled during the data collection in Vancouver. The researcher came across a spouse whose husband was residing in Ghana.

The researcher was also made aware of some others who had returned by some interviewees in Toronto. As such the researcher asked to be linked to them. This was easy to do because they still maintained some relationship with them. Upon my return to Ghana, I made initial contact through telephone calls and scheduled appointments to interview them. The interviews however were different from those in Canada. In contrast to Canada, where I was accompanied for my all my interview appointments, in Ghana, I went to conducted the interviews by myself. The semi structured interview guide was revised for the interviews. This was because, the structure of the questions used to gather data in Canada fitted that context but not for Ghana. The main interest of the interviewer was to hear them tell their stories first hand especially the reasons for their return. Therefore, I engaged them in a more informal, conversational dialogue. These interviews gave another insight to the study and to establish a sense of trustworthiness.

Similar to what was done in Canada, I explained to the participants in Ghana the details of my research, my goals and objectives, and my reasons for wanting to hear their experiences.

One of the interviewees in Ghana was single when he was in Canada. Now he is married and lives in Accra with his wife. Both interviews were conducted at their respective offices, which was very different from the home setting in Canada. Occasional interruptions of work-related calls came through at crucial times of the interviews and that made the interviewee lose his train of thoughts but quickly we tried to recap and completed the interview successfully. In the case of another, the office was noisy because his colleague at work had his radio on. This made it difficult for us to hear ourselves when we spoke. The recording was also muffled as our voices were drowned by the background music of the radio playing in the office.

3.4. Reflexivity

A study that seeks to understand the migration experience of immigrant group requires attention to issues of personal stance, reflexivity and positionality. Savin-Baden and Major, (2013) noted that, a researcher ought to choose how he will position himself to “the research, the researched and the researched context” (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013:38). England, (1994) states that a researcher is both integral and integrated into the research (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013:76). This implies that it is virtually impossible for a researcher to stay aloof of the research process. Reflexivity as used here is the identification of the researcher’s position and influence whilst undertaking the research that may result in him/her giving their own meanings on the research and the findings (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

The researcher was born and raised in Ghana. Based on my background as a Ghanaian, I felt more at home to the Ghanaian community in Canada. These attributes gave me some advantages and

disadvantages for me as a researcher, with both an insider and outsider perspectives. For instance, as an insider, I foresaw an easy access to the community. By virtue of pursuing a doctoral program in one of Ghana's prestigious universities, I was much appreciated by the highly skilled Ghanaian community in Canada.

Notwithstanding, I was faced with some disadvantages of being an insider. The interviewees who had to change jobs (not working in with their professions) and were not in their dream jobs were reluctant to disclose certain information about their experiences especially their initial experiences when they first arrived in Canada in terms of having done "starter jobs" etc. (Starter jobs are more or less survival work. These include working in factories, driving cabs or any menial work that one can find to do to earn a living). They were conscious to present themselves in a "good" light (Yin (2009). According to Yin (2009) a disadvantage of an interview is when interviewees sought to provide answers to questions so as to make them look good in the eyes of the interviewer thereby compromising the truth of their narrations.

Clearly from the above, one can glean that, the insider and outsider perspective were not static; it kept changing, depending on who was being interviewed, where and when the interviews occurred. When the interviews took place with people, I did not know but in the same church, trust was easily built though one or two still remained under cover. As an outsider to the fieldwork, the researcher enjoyed some advantages as well. Some of the participants took time to explain the FSWP to her and were quick to introduce to her another who could fit into the sampling criterion.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

The researcher's main interest was to hear from the participants themselves, and to make meaning out of their own 'assessment' of their experiences and realities, some of the issues the researcher discussed were personal. Recruitment and participation in the study was voluntary and the participants were given the options to discontinue interviews at any point if they so desire even after signing the consent form or mid-way or after the interviews or that could skip answering any question which they do not wish to answer without fear of facing any penalty.

The recruitment strategy ensured that all the participants had clear understanding of the study, the purpose of study, the objectives, and what to expect during the interview session as well as costs and benefits of the study before the interviews would be conducted. Permission was also sought to record the interviews and confidentiality was also assured. The participants were also thanked for accepting to participate in the study and for their time. The participants were informed that they were not going to have any direct benefits from the study. However, the researcher will be willing to share findings of the research electronically with participants. Each participant was given a small token of appreciation such as local delicacies- "kuba cake" and "nkatie cake" from Ghana to express the researcher's gratitude.

The research instrument (interview guide) was structured to begin with questions on the participants' socio-demographic background in order to build a rapport before more detailed questions were asked. The location of the interviews were chosen by the interviewee and was mainly in the comfort of their own homes where privacy was guaranteed.

Finally, the method of data collection was considerate of the participant. Telephone interviews were conducted for participants in the Ontario Provinces when they were unable to have face-to-face interviews because of the limitation of their schedules. The times of the interviews were agreed on together with participants, scheduled beforehand and both parties were ready for interviews. However, for two telephone interviews the researcher had to schedule more than once for the interviews to be done.

3.6. Limitations of the Study

Though the data gathered from the field gave detailed information because the researcher was able to probe further and ask the interviewees follow up questions than other methods like the use of questionnaires in the case of quantitative research would have allowed, the study was fraught with some challenges.

Firstly, the interviews were time consuming and resource intensive in that the researcher had to be in a specific location with the interviewees. This had a great impact on choosing the participant. The researcher had to be careful not to resort to convenient sampling. Secondly, a younger bracket of participants would have been preferred for the in-depth interviews, but neither the gatekeepers nor the participants could readily refer to some in that category. This is one of the noted pitfalls of snowballing. As purported by Heckathorn (1997) and Morgan (2008), snowball sampling is exclusively noted for being a respondent-driven sampling. This means that the first interviewees provide leads for further recruitments thus limiting the control the researcher has in selecting the

samples to be interviewed. This explains why this method of data collection has been noted for providing a convenient method to recruit participants who meet the study criteria (Goodman, 2011).

Another limitation of study is the dependence on the honesty of the participant. During the interviews, conscious efforts were made by some participants to present good images of themselves. The researcher overcame this limitation by interviewing both spouses as a way of cross checking. She had to do some member checking by asking some of the participants for feedback on the findings. This was done to give the study some credibility.

Furthermore, another limitation of the study is with employing telephone interviews for data collection. This denies the interviewer of observing the visual cues of the interviewee such as body language and gestures which add to the messages the interviewee is verbalizing.

Finally, another noteworthy challenge was to get participants who have not had much success to tell their stories. They were not willing to participate in the interviews limiting the scope of the data collected and depriving this work of a rich source of information and stories.

Despite the above-mentioned limitations, the researcher ensured that the data collected and findings were credible by giving a dense description of findings. This she did by presenting a sufficient number of strings of data in the form of providing quotations from them. Confirmability was ensured as the researcher remained neutral during the data analysis and interpretation.

3.7. Data Handling and Data Analysis

During the interview process, saturation point was reached, in that the subsequent interviews merely confirmed the previous findings and did not seem to bring any new insights. At this realization, the interviews were finalized and the process of analysis began. The analysis involved an explicit interpretation of data gathered from the interviews conducted with the interviewees. It began by transcribing the audio-recordings verbatim. Data was then cut into meaningful segments, after which various codes were assigned by simply summarising each response to a question asked, after coding of data was completed, the data analysis began.

Data analysis in a qualitative research involves breaking up the data gathered from the field into meaningful parts for the purposes of examining. The purpose of this process is to make meaning of the data so as to answer the objectives of the study. As noted by Hatch (2002: 148) “Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learnt can be communicated to others. Analysis means organising, and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques or generate theories.

Thematic analysis of the data was employed. Reoccurring patterns were analysed manually and themes were generated, reviewed, defined and named to answer the research objectives. During the process of transcribing the audio-recorded in-depth interviewees, occasional calls and WhatsApp messages were sent to the interviewees for further clarification of ideas, narratives, discussions and facts which seemed ambiguous, contradictory or confusing in order to avoid any

misrepresentation of interviewees' discussions. This process of cross checking elicited more perspectives from the participants and provided more credibility and validity towards production of the final work.

While there are many and overlapping themes, I finally developed a set of broad themes after grouping and regrouping, that characterized the ways the interviewees made sense of their experiences and my understanding of these experiences. The significant themes included legalization of stay outside Ghana, better education for the children, better life, better job opportunities, financial constraints, Lack of Canadian Experience, Racism and Discrimination, Success stories, Ways of Survival, devaluation of credentials, credentialing process, volunteering, further education, downgrading qualification, career change, overcoming Psychological Difficulties. These themes, then, are my constructions based on the participants' responses and words, and on my interpretation of their words and of the interview context from a particular subject position.

Throughout the thesis, I offer space for the voices of the participants by using direct quotes from interview transcripts. Verbatim quotations preserve the language of the interviewees. The selection of particular quotes were the interviewer's preserve, selecting which will aid meaningful discussion on findings and address the research objectives equally. Each quote that was selected was presented in the in the thesis by the pseudonym assigned to the participant, the location of the interviewees and the profession/occupation as transcribed from the interviews.

I presented quotations in varied forms. First, I presented the quotes from the interviewees in the same font as the main text, single-spaced, italicized and indented. On other occasions, I used extensive sections of a transcript involving a dialogue between the participant and I, noting verbal tic such as “hmmm, uh” , emotional responses, code-switching and physical gestures and pacing of the conversation which all provides clues to meaning (Savin-Baden and Major,2013).

I introduced ellipses [...] into the quotes, particularly those removed from their full context, to caution the reader that the quote has been selective. Words presented in square brackets within the quotes are indicative of the interviewer’s substituted words or phrases for clarification, to make sentence meaningful or when some form of translation has been done from local dialect to English

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents research methodology for the study. The philosophical underpinnings is phenomenology which is critical for gaining understanding of the lived experience of participants (Savin-Badin & Major, 2013). The study design is a case study. The choice for the research site has also been presented as well as the sampling and selection methods employed. The data collection processes have been extensively described. Reflexivity and steps taken to ensure ethical consideration have also been followed, the limitation of the methodology has also been clearly stated.

Specifically, some of the concerns and principles of doing a qualitative research have been emphasized focusing on how my personal stance is a fundamental of the data collection, data handling and data analysis process concerned. My discussion of the migration experiences of highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants who through the Federal Skilled Worker Program migrated to

Canada cannot be generalized because of the representatives of the sample used in the study and the element of subjectivity associated with conducting a qualitative research. The subsequent chapters present the analysis of the research data along the broad themes identified in relation to the objectives of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF GHANAIAI HIGHLY SKILLED IMMIGRANTS

This section is on the characteristics of the interviewees and it provides the background and the context in which they discuss their views and perceptions regarding their migration experience. The socio-demographic characteristics of the study is to be analyzed in two phases. The first is the analysis on the current socio-demographic characteristics of the participants and the second is socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants before migrating to Canada.

The highly skilled Ghanaians interviewed in this study comprises of 14 principal applicants, 4 secondary applicants and two sets of couple totaling 21 participants in all. The participants have been in Canada ranging from three (3) years to twenty-three (23) years as indicated in table 4.1. Table 4.1 below summarizes information about the current socio-demographic characteristics of the participants.

Data from the in-depth interviews provide more insights into socio-demographic characteristics, their motives for migration based on their current situation or conditions before emigrating to Canada. The analysis begins with age, sex, and marital status, place of residence in Canada and duration of stay.

TABLE 4. 1 CURRENT SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Marital status	Country of residence before emigrating	Residence in Canada	Duration of stay in Canada (years)
1	Nana Akousa	38	F	Married	UK	Toronto, Ontario	10
2	Kofi Kese	57	M	Married	Ghana	Calgary, Alberta	23
3	Egya Akuffo	48	M	Married	Ghana	Toronto, Ontario	12
4	Ayeley	48	F	Married	Ghana	Toronto, Ontario	14
5	Mr. Nkunim	45	M	Married	Ghana	Returnee	7
6	Mrs. Nkunim	45	F	Married	Ghana	Vancouver, BC	9
7	Anyankwabea	45	F	Married	UK	Vancouver, BC	15
8	Nana Esi	49	F	Married	U.K	Toronto, Ontario	18
9	Naa Ashaley	42	F	Married	U.K	Toronto, Ontario	7
10	Ntiamoah	40	M	Married	U.K	Vancouver, BC	9
11	Oye	48	F	Divorced	Ghana	Waterloo, Ontario	12
12	Dr. Badu	50	M	Married	Japan	Ajax, Ontario	13
13	Yaw Oppong	48	M	Married	U.K	Vancouver, BC	16
14	Abena	46	F	Married	U.S.A	Calgary, Alberta	3
15	Kwesi Atta	50	M	Married	U.S.A	Lethbridge, Alberta	6
16	Kwadwo	44	M	Married	U.K	Toronto, Ontario	7
17	Esinam	46	F	Married	U.K	Vancouver, BC	9
18	Mr. Patapaa	48	M	Married	Ghana	Toronto, Ontario	17
19	Mrs. Patapaa	48	F	Married	Ghana	Toronto, Ontario	17
20	Kyeiwaa	48	F	Married	Ghana	Toronto, Ontario	11
21	Kwamina	49	M	Married	UK	Returnee	9

Source: Fieldwork 2016, Returnee: Participant who has returned to Ghana

4.1. Current Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

4.1.1. Age

In terms of age, the interviewees were between 38 - 57 years at the time of the interviews. Two of the interviewees were between the ages of 30 and 40 years, one was above 50 years. The majority of participants (18) were between the ages of 41 and 50 years

4.1.2. Sex

The interviewees included a fair number of women, even though the gender balance favoured men. Eleven (11) males and ten (10) females were interviewed. This confirms literature (Mensah, 2010) that, the sex ratio of Ghanaians immigrating to Canada in most years is skewed in favour of men. This is attributed to the fact that, while men have greater socio economic and political power than women across the globe, this power imbalance is far more entrenched in Africa. Consequently, in African countries such as Ghana, it is mainly men who have the resources and the power to embark on such a long-distance, life-altering migration process (Mensah, 2010; Anarfi et al 2010; Anarfi, 1982).

However, there were no observable differences between male and female with respect to who was the principal applicant. The choice of who applies for the programme was essentially instigated by who was likely to gain the more points to score high marks in accordance with the FSWP grid.

One of the interviewee explained that she was the principal applicant because her husband's application was not selected at their first try so she put hers in and was successful (Statistics Canada, 2016).

4.1.3. Marital Status

All the interviewees except one were married at the time of the interview. The one who was not in any marital union had been divorced from her husband. Additionally, all but one had at least one child.

4.1.4. Educational Status

All of the participants had high educational tertiary education from Ghana. The minimal academic qualifications obtained by all the participants is a first degree. In addition, some had second degrees and other ancillary professional certificates from universities in Ghana or abroad, either in the UK, USA or Japan. A few (3) were Ph.D. holders or pursuing doctorate programmes. With these high levels of academic and professional qualifications, these participants were able to navigate and integrate into the Canadian labour market.

4.1.5. Duration of Stay and Immigration Status

The interviewees have been in Canada ranging from a minimum of three (3) years to twenty-three (23) years. Obviously, it will impact on their migration experiences. The newer immigrants are more likely to experience more obstacles and challenges than the older immigrants because of the essence of time. Time allows for an opportunity to navigate initial obstacles and challenges and integrate in a system. Immigration status afford one certain rights and privileges which informs settlement and integration in Canada (Mensah, 2010).

Again, in contrast to their initial immigration status when they arrived in Canada as landed immigrants or permanent residents all of them except one are Canadian citizens. The high proportion of Canadian citizens among the participants is a reflection of their initial status as landed immigrants which the FSWP affords them as soon as they land in Canada, and the fact that Canadian immigration policy allows immigrants to naturalize three years after attaining landed immigrant (permanent resident) status. The participant who is yet to become a Canadian is because of his duration of stay (statistics Canada, 2016).

4.2. Socio- demographic characteristics of the study participants before emigrating to Canada

Table 4.2 provides data on age, marital status and educational status before participants migrated to Canada.

TABLE 4. 2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS BEFORE EMIGRATION

	Pseudonym	Age	Marital status	Education level upon arrival
1	Nana Akosua	26	Married	Accounting CIMA, on-going certification
2	Kofi Kese	34	Married	MSC, Forestry
3	Egya Akuffo	36	Married	MBA, Human Resource
4	Ayeley	34	Married	Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy
5	Mr. Nkunim	36	Married	MBA, Finance
6	Mrs.Nkunim	36	Married	MBA, Finance
7	Anyankwabea	30	Married	IPS/ACCA
8	Nana Esi	31	Married	BA Linguistics, Masters ongoing
9	Naa Ashaley	35	Single	Certification in Dental Hygiene
10	Ntiamoah	31	Single	MSc, Psychiatric Nursing
11	Oye	36	Married	LLB, LLM
12	Dr. Badu	37	Married	Ph.D
13	Yaw Oppong	32	Married	ACCA
14	Abena	43	Married	Masters in Psychology
15	Kwesi Atta	44	Married	BA Economics &Swahili
16	Kwadwo	37	Married	ACCA/MBA
17	Esinam	37	Married	BSc, Health Science
18	Mr. Patapaa	31	Married	BSc, Designing, Post Degree, Architecture
19	Mrs. Patapaa	31	Married	BSc, Graphic Designing
20	Kyeiwaa	37	Married	MBA, Finance
21	Kwamina	32	Single	BA, Marketing

Source: Field (2016)

4.2.1. Age at immigration

Research has shown that settlements vary systematically according to age at immigration. In terms of age, the majority of the interviewees were within the middle age of 38 – 57 years at the time of the interviews. The researcher, however, further sought to find out the age of the interviewee upon immigration.

It was found out that most of the interviewees arrived first in Canada when they were in their mid-thirties to early forties (Table 4.2). At this age, it is normally assumed that most people should have completed at least a bachelor's degree, chosen their career paths and more or less settled in employment and should be at or getting to the “peak” of their career (Davis 1949; Foner, 1975; Riley, 1976 and Weeks, 2012).

In confirmation of the above, reference can be made to Schaafsma and Sweetman (2001) when they noted the age at immigration is crucial to the immigrant's integration. They explained this assertion by citing examples of the 1986 to 1996 census data which revealed that immigrants arriving in Canada in their 30's or older more often than not receive low or zero returns for their foreign education they bring into the foreign labour market even though the FSWP grid has rated them highly and has accorded them high scores. Supporting the notion of Schaafsma and Sweetman (2001), Green & Worswick (2002) and Frenette and Morissette (2003) as well as Ayedemir and Skuterud (2008) recounted how foreign work experiences were heavily discounted in the labour industry for older immigrants arriving in Canada. Based on the age at which most of the participants arrived in Canada, it may not be surprising at some of the challenges they faced

entering the job market. Findings recounted how some had to take comparatively low salaries in order to gain admission into the labour market.

4.2.2. Marital status before emigration

With the exception of three (3), all of the participants were married at the time of emigrating. The finding that majority of the immigrants were in a marital union contradicts the migration literature which indicates that persons who are not in a marital union find it easier to migrate from their country of origin than persons in any marital union. This notion is often explained that persons who are not in a marital union are the sole decision makers with respect to choices about migration (see for example, Konadu, 1999; Mensah 2008). In Africa and other developing countries, persons in any marital union, particularly women have to consult their partners on migration decisions.

These findings may be explained by the age at which the applicant applied for the FSW program and the time that might be needed for the processing of the application. Most of the immigrants are in their thirties, a period of life during which people are usually married already or do so later. Others factors that come into play here are the fact that applicants receive more marks for higher education, experience in employment as well as a financial standing to prove their ability to sustain themselves before they can be gainfully employed in Canada. All these factors can only be attained naturally by some years. Thus, the migrant is more likely to have reached marriageable age by the time of immigration. Marks are also awarded for spouse's adaptability (refer to Table 2:1 on page 44).

Another striking feature is that the immigrants secure the landing status for the whole family in the process of migrating as opposed to other forms of migration which usually involves some of the family members taking the lead to the destination with the “hope” of the rest joining later. It also confirms the data where some of the interviewees migrated for a better education of their children. The skilled labour migration is therefore different from the migration of labour that may not be with the whole family.

4.2.3. Educational status before emigration

Table 4.2 also provide level of education of the highly Skilled Ghanaian immigrants at the time of migrating to Canada. Usually, people with formal education and higher level of educational qualification are more likely to obtain better jobs, earn more income, and hence more likely to experience a better livelihood in Canada. The findings suggest that Ghanaians immigrants to Canada were not educationally disadvantaged, and the level of their educational attainment, if not better, at least parallels that of the other immigrants’ groups and the native Canadians.

4.3. Religious Affiliations

All the participants claimed an affiliation to a religion. This simply confirms the assertion that Ghanaians are noted for being highly religious (Abotchie, 1997; Nukunya, 1992; Assimeng, 1981 /1989; Busia, 1950). In his book, “Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi”, Busia (1950) has referred to Christianity which is practiced by majority of Ghanaians as “a thin veneer”.

This he implied that in times of crisis, some Ghanaians of little faith tend to fall back to worship multiple gods in spite of the fact that Christianity ascribes to monotheism. Some of the interviewees revealed that they were not mere ‘church goers’ but their Christian affiliations informed even their migration processes:

I was advised by my pastor to move here. He told me about the programme. Initially, I was living in the United States with no hope of regularising my immigrant status (Abena, Calgary)

Another interviewee (Kwesi Atta, Lethbridge) indicated that he was a pastor and had started a branch of his church in Canada. That to him, was the most fulfilling aspect of his life than even his job. It was obvious that religious affiliation gave the immigrants a form of social capital to draw upon. Though the weather conditions in the Alberta Provinces were harsher in comparison to the other provinces, Kwesi Atta was prepared to continue to live in Lethbridge in spite of his preference for another location. He will rather remain loyal to the church there and was prepared to sacrifice.

4.4. Summary of Participants’ Profile

Participant 1: Nana Akosua (Principal Applicant)

Nana Akosua is a female aged 38 from the Akan ethnicity of Ghana. She is married with three children aged 14 years, 10 years, and 7 years. At the time of the interview, she held a degree and certification in the Accounting field. She resides in Toronto.

Participant 2: Kofi Kese (Principal Applicant)

Kofi Kese is a male aged 57, a Fante from the Akan tribe of Ghana. He is married with two boys aged 27 and 21 years. At the time of the interview, he held a degree in MSC, Forestry, Aberdeen, Masters in Business Administration, Masters in Information Security, and ongoing PhD in Project Management. He resides in Calgary.

Participant 3: Egya Akuffo (Principal Applicant)

Egya Akuffo is a male aged 48, an Akwapem, Guan from the Akan tribe of Ghana. He is married with two boys aged 9 years and 4years. At the time of the interview, he held a Master's in Business Administration degree. He resides in Toronto.

Participant 4: Ayeley (Non-Principal Applicant)

Ayeley is 48years and resides in Toronto. She is married with three boys aged 19, 17 and 10years. She currently holds a post diploma in Clinical pharmacy. She belongs to the Ga/Adangbe ethnic group.

Participant 5 & 6: The Nkunims

Mr. and Mrs. Nkunim and their children migrated from Ghana to Vancouver, Canada. Mr. Nkunim has returned to Ghana where he currently resides. Mrs. Nkunim, aged 45 on the other hand, still lives in Vancouver with their four children aged 19, 18, 16 and 14. She migrated into Canada with an MBA in Finance but holds a degree in counselling and psychology at the time of interview.

Participant 7: Anyankwabea (Principal Applicant)

Anyankwabea is a 45 years old Christian wife with two boys aged 11 and 8 years of age. She holds various degrees - IPS/ACCA/CPA/CGA in the field of Accounting at the time of interview. She resides in Vancouver with her family. She is an Akwapem from the Akan tribe of Ghana.

Participant 8: Nana Esi (Non-Principal Applicant)

Nana Esi is a 49-year old lady living in Toronto with her husband and three children 20 years, 17 years and 15 years old. She is an Akan by tribe and holds a degree in Social work at the time of the interview.

Participant 9: Naa Ashaley (Principal Applicant)

Naa Ashaley is a female aged 42 years who resides in Toronto with her husband. They are yet to raise any children. She is a Ga by tribe and a dental hygienist by profession.

Participant 10: Ntiamoah (Principal Applicant)

Ntiamoah aged 40 years is a male hailing from the Akan tribe of Ghana. He is married with three children aged 9, 7 and 4 years. At the time of the interview, he holds an MSc Nursing and he was also an on-going doctoral candidate. He resides in Vancouver.

Participant 11: Oye (Principal Applicant)

Oye is a 48-year old divorcee residing in Ontario with her two children aged 19 and 17 years. She is a Guan. At the time of the interview, she was holding a Bachelors in Law (LLB), Masters in Law (LLM), and Masters in Development Studies. She was also a doctoral student in Social Work.

Participant 12: Dr. Badu (Principal Applicant)

Dr. Badu is a Fante, Akan. He is 50 years and lives in Ajax, Ontario with his wife and a child aged 18 years. At the time of the interview, he was holding a Ph.D. degree in Bio Science.

Participant 13: Yaw Opong (Principal Applicant)

Yaw Opong is an Ashanti, Akan. He is 48 years and lives in Vancouver, British Columbia with his wife and five children aged 14, 12, 11, 8 and 6 years. At the time of the interview, he was holding a Master's in Business Administration (MBA), Corporate Strategy and Finance and he is a Chartered Accountant (ACCA).

Participant 14: Abena (Principal Applicant)

Abena is an Akan, 46 years and lives in Calgary with her husband and three children aged 15, 12 and 8 years. At the time of the interview, she was holding a bachelors (BA) and Masters Psychology (MSc), Masters in Business Administration (MBA), Bachelors and Masters in Nursing.

Participant 15: Kwesi Atta (Principal Applicant)

Kwesi Atta is a Fante, Akan. He is 50 years and lives in Lethbridge in the Alberta region of Canada with his wife and children aged 16 and 14 years. At the time of the interview, he was holding a bachelors (BA) in Economics and Swahili and a Bachelors (BA) in Social work. He was also a registered certified Social Worker.

Participant 16: Kwadwo (Principal Applicant)

Kwadwo is a male aged 43 from the Ashanti tribe of Ghana. He was married with three girls aged 7 years, 5 and 2 years. At the time of the interview, he was holding a bachelors (BA) degree in Geography, ACCA, and C.P.A. He resides in Toronto.

Participant 17: Esinam (Principal Applicant)

Esinam aged 46 is a lady residing in Vancouver, British Columbia with her husband and their two children aged 20 and 18 years. She is a Ewe. At the time of the interview she was holding a bachelors (BSc) in Health Sciences from the United Kingdom.

Participant 18 & 19: The Patapaas

Mr. and Mrs. Patapaa are both 48 years of age and they live together with their two sons aged 19 and 17 in Toronto. Mr. Patapaa holds a BSc in Designing and Post degree in Architecture and a degree in Project Management whilst his wife holds a BSc in Graphic Designing, a Bachelors and a Masters in Social Work.

Participant 20: Kyeiwaa (Non-Principal Applicant)

Kyeiwaa and her husband live in Scarborough in Ontario with their four children aged 24, 20, 17 and 15. She is from the Akan ethnic tribe. She holds a Masters in Business Administration (MBA) in Finance and certification in Mutual Funds in the banking industry.

Participant 21: Kwamina (Principal)

Kwamina migrated to Canada unmarried with a bachelors degree in Marketing for nine years but has since 1999 returned to Ghana. However, he is still a Canadian citizen with a Canadian passport for himself, his wife and children born in Ghana.

4.5. Reasons for Migration and Migration Routes:

The responses to the questions “what informed your decision to migrate” and “in which country did you emigrate from” have been tabulated in Tables 4.3 below. Four distinct themes emerged.

TABLE 4. 3 REASONS FOR MIGRATION AND THE MIGRATION PROCESS

no	Reasons for Migration
4	For better education for the children
9	To legalise my stay outside Ghana
5	For a better life
3	For better job opportunities
	Migration Routes
<i>No</i>	Country of residence before migration
09	Ghana
09	United Kingdom
02	United States of America
01	Japan

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

4.5.1. Reasons for Migration

When respondents were asked what informed their decision to migrate to Canada” varied responses were generated. The response which topped the list “*was to be able to legalise stay abroad*”. This gave an indication that most migrants had a desire to live outside their home country confirming the findings of Asare (2002).

This was further substantiated by the findings which show most (twelve out of the twenty-one immigrants) of the highly skilled migrants at the time of migrating to Canada, were already living

outside their home country (Table 4.3). The migration route or country of residence at the time of migrating to Canada ascertains this assumption. The motivation of choosing Canada was promoted by chain migration – the kind of migration whereby immigrants rely on contacts of family members and friends in the intended destination for information and support that assist them to migrate or facilitate their migration (Konadu-Agyeman, 2000). For some of the Ghanaian immigrants, the process of migrating to Canada began with family and friends who had been successful in getting permanent status through the Federal Skilled Worker Program.

Almost all the interviewees got to know about the program either through friends or family who had used the channel or knew others who had. Only two of the interviewees chanced on the programme in the newspapers. Many had the privilege of staying with someone before arranging for their own accommodation.

Even the jobs they took up upon arrival were more because of their social or networking support that were already in that job. Mrs. Patapaa was convinced that her first job was available because she was recommended by a friend who took her through an informal induction before she applied for the job. This explains why the immigrants were not keen on using any of the social services made available in Canada for them.

The presence of Ghanaian associations is a further indication of the social capital and networks available in Canada for the Ghanaian immigrants. For example, there are old school associations and Ghanaian churches which had a substantial pool of Ghanaians.

The FSWP alone does not offer opportunities for the Ghanaian immigrants. Their adjustment and integration are facilitated by the Ghanaian community in Canada. As Bourdieu (1986) stated, people draw on the social capital they have. The more people they know who have influence gives them leverage to succeed. These findings corroborate his assertion.

Other respondents indicated that the desire for a better education for their children was their motivation whilst the decision to emigrate for better economic opportunities or new opportunities was the third factor. Only one applicant migrated because she felt the practice of nursing which was her profession was too stressful in the United Kingdom. She said: *“It looks like I am underperforming here. Almost as if I am not using my brains”* (Esinam, Nurse, Vancouver).

The migration routes as indicated in Table 4.3 reflects a stepwise migration taken by most of the interviewees. This is what Konadu-Agyeman (1999:18) noted when he narrated that migration sometimes took a form of a “series of stepwise moves”. The stepwise migration process is where immigrants do not arrive at their destination country directly from their country of origin. Some of the interviewees were residing in the United Kingdom or The United States of America where tighter immigration policies made it impossible to legally reside there as a permanent resident.

I enjoyed life in the USA. I worked with the American Red Cross. It was difficult for me to get my papers there and that’s why I decided to apply to Canada (Kwesi Atta, Social Worker, Lethbridge).

4.6. Conclusion

The different data sources socio-demographic characteristics suggest that most of highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated to Canada through the FSWP were residing in other countries abroad before emigration thus majority step-migrated to Canada from United Kingdom, United States of America and Japan though a significant number came directly from Ghana. The characteristics indicates that the participants wanted to leave outside their home countries and took advantage offered them through the FSWP to legalize their stay abroad.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPECTATIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE HIGHLY SKILLED GHANAIAN MIGRANTS UNDER FSWP

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses participants' narratives, views and opinions expressed in the in-depth face-to-face interviews. The chapter covers the views and opinions of the participants regarding initial expectations before emigration in terms of their labour market access and their experiences immediately after emigration and the current situation. The participants talked extensively about their labour market experiences. They narrated how they navigated the Canadian system into their jobs. Essentially, the discussions highlighted the successes, challenges and obstacles faced by these highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants as they attempt to participate in the sectors for which they had gained admission into Canada through the Skilled Worker Program.

The discussions began with the researcher finding out the participants' understanding of the Federal Skilled Worker Program. The objective was to determine the level of preparation of the participants needed in order to meaningfully participate in the sessions. The researcher probed by asking them questions about the FSWP and how it works. The responses of the interviewees revealed that they have a clear understanding of the FSWP. Those who were not the principal applicants were much involved in the application process as the principal applicants. Almost all of them did some further research on their own before migrating. Others knew someone who had earlier migrated through the program and who gave them much information to make informed

choices. By and large, it can be concluded that, the participants pool were well informed about the dynamics of the program and the labour market in Canada at the time of emigration.

5.2. Expectations in Canada

International migration like all other forms of movements reflect a series of changes in people's lives each affecting people's needs and preferences, expectations and experiences. This section opens with a discussion on the participants' expectations before immigrating to Canada. To fully understand the expectations of the highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated to Canada through FSWP, the following specific questions were explored:

- What was your employment status and work experience before you came to Canada?
- What were your career aspirations and expectations before coming to Canada?

The responses to these questions and other narratives are analysed in this chapter.

The participants, though they had anticipated some challenges in their new world prior to migrating, did not perceive their actual experiences. Most of them indicated that, having had previous work experience prior to migrating, they expected to find similar jobs in areas of their occupations with some orientation. This is because they knew that though they were skilled and qualified, some orientation was definitely necessary to usher them into a different work environment.

The participants also identified many structural barriers such as a disjoint between the FSW program and the labour market realities, these include strongly held perceptions about the subtle labour market discrimination which these immigrants tend to face, based on their Ghanaian

educational credentials and work experiences. These, among others hindered their employment chances in Canada. However, almost all the participants interviewed were employed and had progressed in the labour market at the time of the interview in spite of the initial pitfalls.

5.2.1. The employment Status of highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants before emigration to Canada

The employment status of immigrants in the country of residence before emigration can have pronounce influence on their expectations in their destination country. For instance, their quality of life in terms of their skills, occupation, expertise and experiences at the sending country can influence immigrants' labour market expectations, preferences, and choices in the destination country.

Table 5.1 provides information on the occupational status of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in their country of residence at the time of migrating to Canada. The table indicates that all the participants were gainfully employed and in high level occupations and professions at the time of emigrating. They therefore could be described as skilled professionals.

This could explain their eligibility and success through the point system. A careful look at the skilled program grid (Table 2.1) revealed that based on their educational attainment they are most likely to be awarded the high marks of 25 for education. Every one of them has a first degree with others, a second degree or even doctorate. Again, it could be gleaned from the table that all of them were gainfully employed and were professional. This accorded them additional marks for experience and required skills set in Canada.

TABLE 5. 1 THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS BEFORE EMIGRATION AND IMMEDIATELY AFTER ARRIVING IN CANADA

	Pseudonym	Occupation before immigration	Initial occupation in Canada
1	Nana Akosua	Accountant	Volunteer (in an Accounting firm)
2	Kofi Kese	District Manager	Shop attendant
3	Egya Akuffo	Human Resource Manager	Human Resource Generalist
4	Ayeley	Pharmacist (owns a pharmacy shop)	Factory hand (warehouse)
5	Mr. Nkunim	Banker	Banker
6	Mrs. Nkunim	Banker	Stay at home mum
7	Anyankwabea	Accountant	Accounting clerk
8	Nana Esi	Nursing aid, Master's student	Stay at home mum
9	Naa Ashaley	Dental Therapist	Receptionist
10	Ntiamoah	Psychiatric Nurse	Nurse
11	Oye	Lawyer	Teaching Assistant
12	Dr. Badu	Consultant	Student
13	Yaw Oppong	Accountant	Student
14	Abena	Long-term care administrator /Registered Nurse	Registered Nurse
15	Kwesi Atta	Biomedical instructor (IT)	Support worker
16	Kwadwo	Assistant Director, HR/Accountant	Factory hand/security office
17	Esinam	Registered Nurse	Nurse
18	Mr. Patapaa	Architect	Student
19	Mrs Patapaa	Graphic Designer	Front Desk
20	Kyeiwaa	Banker	Banker
21	Kwamina	Sales Marketing Manager	Unemployed*

Source: Fieldwork 2016

**Kwamina refused to engage in a low skilled job so he stayed unemployed for over a year*

5.2.2. Occupational status before emigration

The level of education of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants shows why majority of them were in managerial and professional positions. They have educational statuses that qualified them for those positions.

One would naturally expect, given their high level of education and occupational qualifications before migrating to Canada, that these highly educated skilled workers would attain successful labour market participation leading to progression in their established careers. Thus, they could not be faulted for their career aspirations and their expectations especially in the event where their aspirations were to participate in the sectors for which they gained admission into Canada through the Skilled Worker Program.

5.3. Expectations among Highly Skilled Ghanaians before Coming to Canada

All of the participants had multiple expectations of life in Canada. The first and foremost reason of migrating to Canada for the majority of those who were living outside Ghana was to be able to legitimately stay abroad (outside their home country). This expectation had been fulfilled for them. All the participants, with the exception of one, had attained the status of Canadian citizens after residing in Canada for at least three years as landed immigrants. This is the status (landed immigrant status) you acquire by virtue of the FSWP immediately you arrive at any entry point in Canada. This is explained by the Canadian immigration policy which allowed immigrants back

then to naturalize after three years after attaining the landed immigrant status but lately five years for the most recent landed immigrants (CIC 2010, 2015).

This is what some of the interviewees said:

I enjoyed life in the USA. I worked with the American Red Cross. It was difficult for me to get my papers there and that's why I decided to apply to Canada...personally, I am very grateful that Canada gave me that opportunity which US didn't give me. For that, I have my loyalty for Canada (Kwesi Atta, Social Worker, Lethbridge).

The programme to me is rewarding. I have my family here, they are all Canadians and are able to travel around the US and UK. In UK, I was under pressure, serious pressure to work legally. (Yaw Oppong, Accountant, Vancouver).

The acquisition of a Canadian passport allowed them to travel to other OECD countries without any stress of acquiring visas as in the case if they were to travel on their previously owned Ghanaian passports. Most importantly to them, they are able to visit countries in which they were formally irregularly resident. The participant who did not own a Canadian passport explained that he landed about three years earlier and needed to have been resident in Canada for a minimum of five years to qualify to apply.

These findings confirmed that of Manuh (1998) which indicated that most Ghanaians in Canada viewed their citizenship in “instrumental terms” since possessing a Canadian passport allowed them entry into other OECD countries with no harassment or limitation. Owning a status as a Canadian accords them equal rights and privileges of a Canadian born. Some of these rights are among others the power to vote and to the right to enjoy every benefit that is associated with being a Canadian.

Others also, especially for those who migrated directly from Ghana, did so for better education for their children. This aspiration also in their view, has been fulfilled either partially for older children or fully for parents of younger children. Ayeley indicated:

“We migrated to get better and cheaper (especially university) education for our children. That expectation has been partially met because we still have to pay for our ward’s university education though cheaper than what would have been if they were not citizens...”

Parents with younger children in school up to elementary level, did not have to pay for the tuition of their wards. The only exception was the children of Yaw Opong who attended a private Christian elementary school by choice. Even for him, he claimed there is some advantage in there for him. Firstly, he is assured of the Christian values instilled in his wards and secondly, he is able to claim a third of their school fees at the end of the year on his tax returns when he files his taxes.

Others also stated that they migrated to Canada to experience a better life there. For interviewees who were expecting a better life in Canada had an all-encompassing view of the place

[Um... Hmm] ... I just liked the order and structure in a developed country and I had been here before as a... [Um] ... as a... what [po]? I’d been here before as an international student, so I just loved Canada and I decided to come (Oye, Lawyer, Ontario).

Canada appealed to my senses. It looked like a good place to be says Ntiamoah (Psychiatric Nurse, Vancouver).

Three of the interviewees migrated solely because of job opportunities as the narratives below shows:

Anyankwabea reported *that*

“My husband and I felt it was an opportunity to easily fit into a top level executive job”.

Naa Ashaley also responded

“I thought it would be easier for me to work as a full blown dental therapist”.

“I migrated to continue in my nursing profession” said Esinam.

Mrs. Pataapa similarly, before migrating, had the intention of continuing to work as a graphic designer, a profession she has been in for eight years in Ghana working for the Ghana National Petroleum Company (GNPC).

Though, some migrated in order to legitimize their stay abroad, they also, in spite of their initial motivation for migrating to Canada, together with all the rest of the participants were expecting to find work in their field of work or in closely related fields and in similar roles as much as possible.

When inquired what informed this mindset Mrs. Nkunim (Counsellor, Vancouver) had this to say:

It's the impression of the program. Even with the use of the word 'skilled' you expect that with your skill, you come in and fit in where you belong.

Those in occupations with a regulated body needed to get a license to operate in Canada. This, they were aware of and were prepared to fulfill all the necessary obligations. They had clear understanding that in every country, you needed their license to practise your profession.

Abena who had attained a Bachelors and Masters degrees in nursing in the USA and was also a registered nurse in the United States shared her story:

“...before the board exams you have to write English exams (TOFEL). If you don't pass the English, your credentials are not assessed for you to even write the board exams. The process for writing the board exams was frustrating - the process is just ridiculous. It begins with having to get every certificate to be evaluated and then you are given the graduate nurse permit. You will be given a permit to work for 200hrs whilst you write the board exams. The exams were paper – based (pen and pencil) whilst in the States it was computer based. It was tedious...” (Abena - Calgary, Nurse).

She could not believe she had to write a paper in English to be allowed to write the licensure exams after she had submitted all her certificates to the board. She had even done a Master's degree in Psychology some years back in Canada.

Their story of Abena confirmed the views of Danso (2002) in stipulating that the labour market denies the immigrants access to employment not because of their inability to perform in the job industry. Abena for instance was given a permit which entitled her to work for a certain number of hours in the nursing field whilst she writes and passes her examinations. This shows that her skills were accepted. Furthermore, though Abena had schooled earlier in the Canadian system, she was still made to write and to pass English as a second language. This is what Danso (2002) describes as a discriminatory and oppressive system used to reinforce a sense of worthlessness and low self-esteem in the immigrant.

The Ghanaian highly skilled immigrants also reported that the only examination which they found demeaning is the English examinations especially for those who had schooled in the United Kingdom and United States of America. Some also spoke about the financial burden involved:

“I had to pay nearly 600 dollars for my exams before I could qualify to work in Canada” (Esinam, a nurse, Vancouver).

A female participant reported that she had to pay about a hundred Canadian dollars to get her credentials evaluated:

...there are a lot of challenges. Like if you um come in with a profession, for example, I came in as a lawyer, and being called to the bar here is such a long process even though I had a Master's degree. It's still a long process; a long and expensive process (Oye Lawyer, Ontario).

Abena, Esinam and Ayeley unlike Oye were able to write their examinations and pass within two years of emigration and are eventually working with their initial profession they came to Canada with. However, they could not enter the labour market in the role and level they were at, at the time of emigrating.

This is what migration scholars such as Bauder (2015) cited in his work as brain waste. He noted that most immigrants in the likes of Oye suffer from de-skilling. That is to lose access to the occupations you previously held. The non-recognition of foreign credentials as in the experiences of most of the participants generally excluded them from the upper sectors of the labour market (Brint and Karabel 1989). To join the professional workforce, it is required that a college diploma or other institutional certification is attained from Canada (Bauder, 2015).

Before migrating, Naa Adjeley had worked in Ghana for ten years, the latter six years were at Ridge hospital (1998 to 2003) as a clinical pharmacist in charge of training new pharmacy graduates during their internship. She and her husband also own their own pharmacy shop at Osu, a suburb in Accra, Ghana which generated additional income for them. All her years of experience were not taken into account. She began her profession in Canada as an intern pharmacist.

“It was like we were starting from zero” she retorted. It was because *“I did not have a Canadian experience”*.

Equally, all the participants that were interviewed in the accounting profession came in with expectations of continuing along their career lines. Their experiences were similar. The case of Yaw Opong is an example:

He came in from the United Kingdom where he had been on a student visa and had qualified as a Chartered Accountant after finishing his ACCA examinations. He aspired to move into finance in the Chief Finance Officer (CFO) role in the banking industry. Yaw Opong said he knew it would be challenging to enter into the Canadian labour market as an immigrant because of the need for Canadian experience. He said to get by this barrier he decided to go back immediately to school. He got admission to do an MBA programme at the McGill University which ranked 1st in Canada among medical-doctoral universities (Maclean’s) and 33rd in the world (QS World University Rankings) and ranked among Montreal’s Top Employers. He however finished his degree at the time of 9/11 and therefore came out of school unemployed. He finally got a job after some months of searching. Yaw Opong narrated his experience:

“I finally took a step back to get into the job market. Let’s say when my friends I did MBA [with] from McGill who had worked in Canada before (though some were Mexicans) were at 100 CAD, I started at 55CAD just to get in. It was that low but when I got in I realised that it was a world full of opportunities. They couldn’t stop me. Every year I got promoted”.

He further indicated,

“My MBA from McGill got me to the door but I still needed the Canadian experience to work”.

In the same vein, Kofi Kese recounted his expectations before migration as follows:

“I was in forestry and that is what I thought it was going to be until I came here”.

One of the participants in stating her expectation said,

“... but if you say you want skilled labour...I know that whatever skills I have when I come in, I can use them here....the fact that the word ‘skilled’ has been used, if I have an MBA, whatever that it’s for, when I bring those skills, and the experience and the knowledge, I should fit where I belong” (Mrs. Nkumim, Counsellor, Vancouver).

These were some of the perceptions held by the Ghanaians under the FSWP which was echoed by Mrs. Nkumin. These perceptions informed their career aspirations and expectations upon emigrating.

5.4. Labour market experiences of the highly skilled Ghanaians in Canada

This section discusses the experiences of the participants in the labour market. Some open ended questions were asked to uncover the participants' experiences as they tried to participate in the sectors into which they gained admission into Canada through the Skilled Worker Program.

The discussions focused on the successes encountered by some as well as some barriers they faced to their employment access. Some participants interviewed experienced some form of culture shocks. They were faced with a wide gap between their expectations and the realities at the destination. While participants had varied labour market trajectories and experiences, their views and concerns about the opportunities, challenges and treatment were similar.

An analysis of table 5:1 reveals that most of the highly skilled Ghanaians ended up in jobs which were far below what they held at the time of emigration. Their status contrasted with the situation in Ghana, where the participants worked as managers, professionals and administrators in the public and private sectors. It is generally assumed that higher educational status will normally translate into high occupational status. Also, high education should lead to higher labour force participation, higher occupational status, better job opportunities, and high income (Bourdeau, 1930; Bruederl et al. 1992; Rauch and Frese, 2000). However, the scenario presented here indicates that the labour market is not just a mechanism that converts educational credentials into better job opportunities and higher income.

It is therefore evident that the positions of these highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants who migrated to Canada through the FSWP, have highly unpredictable situations. Their cases confirm the previous researches showing that highly skilled persons and highly educated visible minorities, of which Ghanaians in Canada are included, face difficulties when they seek to re-enter their professions and integrate into their host countries (McCoy and Masuch, 2007; Abella, 1984).

(Bauder (2003) also noted that highly skilled professionals often experience a drop in employment status after emigration. Some find themselves unemployed or permanently underemployed in low-skill jobs or low-paid careers. Research has further revealed that these reasons tend to make immigrants return to their home countries. The main reasons include having unrecognized or non-transferable credentials, lacking linguistic proficiency, not having access to a local network and lacking local experience (Grenier and Xue, 2011).

Table 5.1 confirmed the literature by Danso (2002) when she noted that people who, in their homelands, held decent positions and worked in jobs which commensurate with their training or skills are now ‘doing odd jobs’ in Canada.

5.4.1. Initial challenging experiences

Kwadwo, a Chartered Accountant residing in the United Kingdom before emigration recounted his experience as follows:

“When my wife and I arrived in Toronto, I had to get my credentials evaluated. After the evaluation, it was revealed I needed a CPA certification which took me three years. In order to survive in Canada

I had to work as a factory hand in the first three months and eight months as a security personnel upon arrival in Canada. At a point, I was doing two jobs, a factory hand in the morning and security officer at night”.

He went further to narrate his wife’s experience:

My wife’s UK qualifications were evaluated by Ontario College of Teachers (OCT). She holds a post graduate degree in teaching from the United Kingdom (UK). She taught in a secondary school but here she teaches elementary school. Although they acknowledged she could teach as a teacher, she needed to get onto the OCT board. This was because Teaching is a regulated profession. To do that, she needed a Canadian experience. That was very challenging – “she needed to volunteer but no one will take her because she doesn’t know anyone. To get by she applied to the University of Toronto to school... so that as part of the course she would be required to do field teaching so she could volunteer”. He explained that it took her 2 years to get a post graduate degree in teaching which she already had from the UK. She did a course also for special needs. She had to take evening classes which was very difficult for her because I was working and the kids needed to be taken care off...

The evaluation of credentials was echoed by Anyankwabea. She, likewise was working in the United Kingdom as a Chartered Accountant for two (2) years after completion of schooling.

She narrated:

When I came, they had to evaluate my Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA) certificates from London and I was asked to write four exam papers again which I did. I did that in less than two years to obtain my Certified Public Accountant (CPA) and Certified General Accountant (CGA) certifications.

These experiences about finding employment discussed above were not limited to those in the Accounting occupations only. Other participants also shared their experiences. For example,

Mrs. Patapaa who started out as an administrative assistant in a social welfare office also narrated her experience:

Coming to Canada I thought I was coming straight into graphic designing. My first interview in trying to get into that field made me rethink. The interview lasted for about 2 minutes. I was asked “what mac were you using?” I expected to be tried to see the level of skill. I wasn’t given any opportunity to prove myself. He just dismissed me because I had knowledge of a lower version. The make of the mac was unnecessary to the job. It did not matter at all. This was unfair and smacks a sense of racism. My second interview was after 6 months on arrival. I was given an exercise to do. I hadn’t used the mac for a while so obviously I was rusty on it. The interviewer wanted to see how well I could use the mac but not interested in what I could design. I was using it alright, a bit slow though but he could tell I was familiar with the programme. I knew the short cuts... When I was leaving the interview, I could tell they were giggling. It made me feel like an outsider.

Interviewer: *How was that for you?*

Mrs. Pataapa: *That’s the painful, very disheartening. We went through a period of thick famine. When you come in at the beginning you go through depression and all kinds of things... It’s expensive to school. I had wanted to go to school - to do graphic designing because it is assumed, I didn’t have Canadian Experience. The school was virtually next door. It was 6000 [CAD] but I did not have the money.*

Interviewer: *Did you have to use a settlement agency?*

Mrs. Pataapa: *The settlement services were teaching how to volunteer and volunteer and I needed a job and not volunteer. It was challenging for me. I am sure I had some depression...just that at that time I didn’t know what depression was to identify with. Very challenging transition. Settlement takes too long.*

It took me ten years to navigate the system. I felt like an outsider. I eventually had to change jobs from a graphic designer to a social worker. I had to do ten (10) good years of schooling again (Mrs. Patapaa).

In a similar vein, the story of Mr. Pataapa was not too different from his wife's. He got through the FSWP as an architect who had been in practice over 10 years with a mind to continue in the field. Upon arriving in Canada, he realized he could not use his skills. To practise architecture implied not less than 6 years of schooling again.

His wife narrated how he almost sunk into depression. For some time, they were unable to engage in any transnational activities like visiting relations back home or remitting relatives in Ghana. They had to occupy a friend's basement with their two sons. According to Mrs. Pataapa, her husband refused to take a low skill job like her. Today, they have many success stories. They live in their own home in Brampton and he works as a consultant in Project Management. He however maintains that "*Architecture will forever remain his passion*". This meant that although he is currently not working as an architect, he still loves the profession and would be willing to return to the field at any opportunity offered him.

The stories of Mr. and Mrs. Patapaa have some elements of brain waste embedded in them. They had to shelve their professions and work experiences which scored them high marks into Canada from Ghana. Their expectations of coming in to work as a Graphic designer (Mrs. Patapaa) and an Architect (Mr. Patapaa) were not realised because of the obstacles they faced trying to enter into the job market. These narratives corroborate a report by Adepoju (2010:14) where he noted that rich countries have contributed to the "brain drain crises by creating a fatal flow" of professionals from the region of Africa. It also corroborates Bauder (2015) where he noted that most immigrants

suffer deskilling by losing occupations previously held at country of origin because their foreign education and foreign work experiences are not recognised in host country. Naa Ashaley equally narrated her experience getting into the labour market:

I worked as a receptionist in the dental field as I wrote my exams to help me practise in the field. I had to change my resume to get the job as a receptionist. “Psychologically, it affects you when as a receptionist, you see the hygienist do something wrong and you can’t exactly say much.

At the time of the interview, she still worked as a dental hygienist. Her dream of becoming a “*full blown dental*” therapist had to be shelved. She reports

“They told me because I wasn’t trained in Canada, I could not do certain jobs” – lack of the Canadian experience; discrimination is here although not done so clearly. There are discriminatory undertones.

The experiences of Kwadwo, Naa Ashaley and Mrs. Patapaa confirm the literature that lack of Canadian work experience can impact negatively on immigrants trying to get into the labour market (see Anisef and Kilbride, 2003; Reitz, 2005) and also the study by Mensah (2010) and Reitz (2005) stating that qualification of the foreign-trained coming into Canada are usually discounted due to ethnic and racial stereotyping. This they further explained as discrimination.

In recounting her experience of discrimination, another female participant, Mrs. Nkunim (Vancouver) was even blunter when she pointed out:

The funny thing is that I did my MBA in Ghana with University of Ghana, my husband did his online with University of Leicester and that seemed to be an advantage. Because when we sent our credentials to be evaluated, mine was considered a one year Master’s degree and his was two years. But we both did the same first degree. Because when we did the first degree it was three years in Legon then. My one year of

Master's degree was counted as part of my first degree ...Yeah for me it was demoralizing because here was I, I was thinking I did far more as a full time student than [name withheld] as an online student and just because his has the UK. beside his..."

When asked why she migrated to Canada, Mrs. Nkunim, proudly stated that her

"kids will have a better education than they would have had in Ghana... is our desire to bring children whilst they were still young."

Mrs. Nkunim had been working as a supervisor at the Ghana Commercial Bank for thirteen (13) years in Ghana. Upon arrival in Canada, She chose rather to become a full-time mother for five years than plunging straight into the labour market. She explains:

I expected things will be different...I knew I would stay home for a while because the children were younger...I stayed home to help my kids adjust, as she succinctly put it.

Her husband, Mr. Nkunim (Banker) took a less remuneration than his colleagues with similar educational level and years of experience in Canada. He also accepted a lower position than what he held back in Ghana in his field (the banking sector). This he did in order to make ends meet for himself and family. He however has since relocated back to Ghana after he lost his job at HSBC due to restructuring. He could not find any appropriate professional job such as in his field so he had to take the tough decision of going back home as he narrated below:

HSBC said they were migrating those roles to India and I didn't want to take the children to India because for me it was about their education here in Canada so I left HSBC. So I tried looking for similar jobs and looking also to start an accounting practice which I started.

But because I didn't grow up in Canada, getting clients for the accounting practice was getting difficult. So that was for a period of six months and so I thought of it of coming back home. Back home, my skills will be put to better use.... So for me work brought me back to Accra (Mr. Nkunim, Banker, Returnee).

He continued to indicate that due to the above-mentioned situation, the family had to be apart for now. Mrs. Nkunim on the other hand is unsure if her husband will come back to settle in Canada.

The following excerpts are further discussions on the Nkunim family situation:

Interviewer: How is it with you?

Mrs. Nkunim: It's a difficult thing but we thank God for the internet. We get to speak to each other every day. It's not the best but it is better than what could be.

When asked whether she intends to move out of Canada, to go back home with her husband, she nonetheless replied that

...my kids are in school here. We've already disrupted their lives once so we will like to continue to make this place a home because of the children".

Interviewer: But because of the children you intend to maintain this arrangement?

Interviewee: Yeah maybe till they're old enough to be on their own

Interviewer: Then you move to Ghana?

Interviewee: Possibly

She however hopes to relocate to Ghana after the children are old enough to be on their own or after she retires. At the time of interview she has been working as a Counsellor Psychologist for multiple level prison and had been working with the inmates for six (6) months.

This means that, she makes sense of her situation through the idea of sacrifice for family. This notion supports literature which says immigrants sacrificed personal gains to provide their family a better future. They made sense of the difficulties they faced through the idea of sacrifices that they had to make, often for their children (Marsiglia, Kulis, Parsai, Villar and García, 2009; Bahr and Bahr, 2001; Fuligni, Tseng, Lam, 1999).

The concept of family sacrifices is what explains why individuals take seemingly difficult decisions, to go under in spite of obvious pain, weather whatever storm possible and adopt various coping mechanisms to ensure that the “intended” sacrifices suffice.

The notion of sacrifice for family was also held by Adjeley. She also expressed a similar view on raising children in Canada. They migrated to get better and cheaper (especially University) education for their children. That expectation had been partially met because even though they did not pay for their wards' early education, they still would have to pay for their university education. She noted that it would be cheaper than what would have been if they were not citizens. She narrated how upon arrival she had to take some starter jobs such as working in warehouses to package pens for survival as she took their examinations so she could continue in her profession as a pharmacist. She was faced with the barrier of lack of Canadian experience. Her ten years'

experience back in Ghana was not recognised at all. She had done clinical pharmacy in Scotland at the time of emigrating. She did not also qualify as an intern. (She trained interns back home in Ghana). To overcome the barrier, she took a four months course with the University of Toronto (UOT) after which she accepted a job outside Toronto and to work a few hours in a pharmacy.

I even had to accept a position as a pharmacist assistant in a pharmacy. It was a difficult time in my life but it kept me going because it was closest to my profession...It was quite a hectic, a hard time and I lost all my weight I came with, she recounted laughing. I think I have paid my dues when it comes to migration” (Adjeley, Pharmacist, Toronto).

A participant who migrated from the United Kingdom shared her perception which was similar to those of many. She reported that the FSWP had an element of brain waste and brain drain encapsulated in it.

She said:

People are established in their home country. There is a perception that life will be better. When you arrive, you start all over. Really and truly that is what it is. You have to definitely go back to school. You need Canadian experience to work in your field. “It’s all a shock to find your degree means nothing”. (Nana Esi, UK, Social Worker).

Kofi Kese coming in with the hope of continuing his profession in the forestry industry had to begin his career as a shop attendant. In sharing his experience, he recounted how he had to give up a luxurious lifestyle in Ghana:

Oye, the Nkunims and the Patapaas' experiences confirmed that of the literature reviewed above. Their experiences speak to the literature on the disjoint in Canada's immigration system and the labour market as purported by Donkor (2005), Man (2004), Salaff et al (2002) and Danso (2002).

As noted by Bauder (2003 in citing Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), the difficulties immigrants encounter in the recognition of their foreign credentials can be interpreted as a "systematic process of labour-market exclusion, facilitating the reproduction of a professional class" (Bauder (2003: 702).

Kofi Kese's story tells of how many immigrants migrate from a good life in their home because of a perception of a better world out at destination countries. This is the lure of the Dual Labour Market Theory where the need for skilled professionals makes Canada easily accessible. The network of friends and family as postulated by Bourdieu (1994) and the Network theory could possibly be the explanation of migrants in the category of Kofi Kese.

Oye further expounded that the authorities were mindful of the situation and hopefully coming out with a solution ...

...However, I think that over the years [um] the... maybe the law society, they've been trying to um reduce some of the obstacles in the system for professionals to become... and to make it easier for people to be called to the bar. Because once you get here as a professional, you'll realize there are a lot of obstacles and sometimes when you get here you have a family and you need to survive. So most people also just forget the

law altogether and let's say if they don't have any skills, they will go to the factory and work ...

Oye's narration corroborates assertions of theorists as to why immigrants usually fail to profit from their educational achievements and have lower returns on their education than Canadian-born (Reitz 2001 as cited in Bauder, 2003). In explaining the devaluation and segmentation of immigrant labour, Bauder (2003) capitalizes on Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital. He positions that the regulation of educational and professional credentials excludes many skilled foreign trained immigrants from high-status occupations in Canada while giving domestic-educated workers easier access to these occupations (Bauder, 2003). He maintains that many upper segment occupations in Canada are stringently regulated by professional organizations which function as the "gatekeepers of professionalism and which define entry qualifications according to their own cultural biases and agenda" (Zukin 1995 as cited in Bauder, 2003:703). These Canadian professional organizations are supported by federal and provincial legislation through rigorous certification systems favour individuals with Canadian education, training and experience, to the disadvantaged immigrants and to exclude newly arriving immigrants in the market, the devaluation of credentials obtained elsewhere outside Canada (Bauder, 2003).

5.4.2. Success stories of some participants

On the contrary, the situation was very different for Kyeiwaa. She was a banker with The Trust Bank in Ghana and she still works with a bank in Canada. She recounted...

I didn't get any barriers, it was a miracle. I came in, in June. July, August, and then I started applying for jobs um, towards the end of November. Within two to three weeks I got the job".

When asked if she had to do more schooling she replied:

... A little bit. I've done certification for [um], selling something called mutual funds in the banking industry. I had to do the licensing for mutual funds. It's like, a Canadian securities course so it allows you to sell mutual security funds and to work as a financial advisor. Yeah, so that's all I did. The licensing... So I have certification for, I have license for selling mutual funds and being a financial advisor ...

Takyiwaa's husband on the other hand as narrated by Takyiwaa had to do a course in what she termed as "SAP" to enable him become more marketable in the IT world. He did not get a job in Canada so he took a job in the United States. He came home every Friday evening and returned on Sunday evening or early Monday morning. *"It was tiring and draining"* she revealed.

According to her, after sometime, he finally had to resign because the commuting was too much. At the time of the interview, he was self-employed and was into Information Technology (IT) industry. In referencing CICIC (2002), Bauder (2003) observed that in Canada, information technology occupations are not yet regulated by government or professional organizations. This supports the idea of Bourdieu when he reported that access to some new occupations is not determined by institutionalised cultural capital until the educational system catches up with the changes in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1984:150).

In the same vein as Takyiwa, Egya Akuffo who worked as a Human Resource Manager for Ashanti Gold Fields Company for twelve (12) years had a smooth entry into the labour market. He also did not have to do any of the starter jobs or do any schooling (starter jobs are low paying just to make a living). He started off in Canada in his career field because he had a good social capital to draw

upon. His relatives in Canada introduced him to the employment agencies and he had a job as an HR Generalist. Though it was below his status back home, the pay was good.

He said:

...but I didn't take long to proof myself and to rise...My expectations in Canada have been met until recently, the major part has been very good. For an immigrant it's about the pinnacle! Can't be better than this.

5.5. Conclusion

The experiences narrated revealed that these participants faced substantial barriers attempting to participate in the sectors for which they gained admission into Canada by way of the Skilled Worker Program. Their background characteristics in terms of their race as Blacks, their Ghanaian educational credentials and work experiences fostering among others, hinder their employment chances in Canada. Many were faced with challenges and barriers such as lack of Canadian experience, devaluation of credentials, racial and ethnic discrimination among others in spite of some success stories.

CHAPTER SIX

THE INTEGRATION OF GHANAIAN HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS IN CANADA

6.1. Introduction

The highly skilled Ghanaians who migrated through the FSWP fall under the economic migrants of Canada. The aim of Canada for them is basically to “flourish and prosper by being able to use education, skills and training” (Library of Parliamentary, 2008: 16) in their new destination. The selection grid of the programme cherry-picks them according to the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC). This gives the immigrants a perception of availability of jobs in Canada awaiting them upon emigration. These perceptions have turned out not being the reality on the ground leading to many unsettling outcomes for these immigrants. The chapter discusses how these highly skilled migrants have navigated their new world and eventually integrated into their adopted country.

An economic immigrant cannot be described as settled without some amount of incorporation into the labour market of the host country. Adaptation is the final stage of any settlement process. The stage at which immigrants actively take part in the institutional fabric of larger society is referred to by Breton (2005) and Li, (2003) as integration. The degree of integration of these highly skilled Ghanaians under the FSWP can be measured by their participation in the Canadian labour market. A successful participation in the labour market is an indication of successful settlement and integration.

Critically, reviewing their occupations/professions upon emigrating and comparing with their jobs at their initial settlement (ref table 5.1 in chapter five) and the current situation of the immigrants (table 6.1) showed that they have to a large extent integrated into the Canadian system. Many of them were satisfied with their settlement and their current occupation. They have navigated the system in different methods. Some of them took lower paying jobs initially, while others had to re-educate themselves all over again or changed their professions altogether. They however admitted that their initial settlement processes were not easy. Those who were not prepared to take a cut had to return to Ghana. Nonetheless, they do not see it as a losing game altogether. They boast of their Canadian citizenship and the privileges it accords them to date.

6.2. Occupations/professions in sending country versus Canada

Table 6:1 tells the story of how most of the highly skilled Ghanaian migrants have integrated into the Canadian labour market into upper segment employments. Two of the interviewees who could not integrate had returned back to Ghana. They are Mr. Nkunim and Kwamina and are therefore not included in the table.

TABLE 6. 1 CURRENT LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION.

	Pseudonym	Current educational status	Occupation/Profession
1	Nana Akosua	CIMA (UK)	Chartered Management Accountant
2	Kofi Kese	BSc, Forestry (GH), MSc in Forestry (UK), MBA (CA), Masters in Information System and Security Management (CA), Ph.D on going(CA)	Lecturer
3	Egya Akuffo	MBA ,Human Resource(GH)	Unemployed
4	Ayeley	Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy(GH), Post graduate Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy(CA)	Pharmacist
5	Mrs Nkunim	BA, Admin(GH),MBA(GH),MSC, Psychology(CA)	Psychologist Counsellor
6	Anyankwabea	IPS(GH),ACCA(UK),CPA,CGA(CA)	Accountant but unemployed
7	Nana Esi	BA Linguistics(GH), Masters ongoing (UK)Degree in social work(CA)	Social Worker
8	Naa Ashaley	Degree in Dental hygienist(UK) Course in Restorative Care (CA)	Dental Hygienist
9	Ntiamoah	MSc Nursing(UK); Doctoral candidate(CA)	Nurse
10	Oye	LLB,LLM,MA Development studies, Doctoral Candidate ,Social work	Ph.D. student
11	Dr. Badu	PhD bio science	Health Administrator
12	Yaw Oppong	BA, Admin(GH),ACCA(UK) MBA(UK), Corporate Strategy & Finance(CA)	Chartered Accountant
13	Abena	Bachelors in Psychology(GH) & Masters in Psychology(CA) ,MBA, Bachelors & Masters in Nursing(USA)	Registered Nurse
14	Kwesi Atta	BA Economics &Swahili (GH)BSC, Social Work(CA)	Certified Social worker
15	Kwadwo	BA, Geography(GH), ACCA(UK) C.P.A(CA)	Accountant
16	Esinam	BSc Health Sciences(UK)	Nurse
17	Mr. Patapaa	BSc, Designing, Post Grad. In Architecture(GH)	Consultant, Project Management
18	Mrs. Patapaa	BSC, Social Work, Masters in Social Work	Certified Social worker
19	Kyeiwaa	MBA Finance	Banker

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Table 6.1 reveals that the highly skilled Ghanaians have navigated the Canadian system duly and most of them are in upper segment occupations. This they have done with much effort and determination. They had to overcome various physical and psychological barriers to achieve that. The next sections discuss the various strategies they used in overcoming the barriers.

6.3. Strategies to overcome barriers in the labour market

The participants highlighted various barriers and challenges they had to overcome to arrive at their current situations. Some of these barriers they were confronted with in the Canadian labour market had been well documented in the literature. The main barriers they enumerated were the lack of Canadian experience, devaluation of credentials, non-recognition of foreign skills, racism, discrimination and psychological issues. Apart from the common barrier of the lack of Canadian experience that almost all interviewees faced, some had to navigate through all the barriers whilst others had to deal with one or two combinations of the barriers. Overcoming these barriers were crucial for getting into the labour market and hence their integration in the Canadian system at large. Many recounted various ways and strategies they adopted.

The lack of Canadian experience was a barrier faced by the majority of the interviewees. One participant had this to say:

It's very difficult to get a job that is [um] equivalent to whatever qualifications or experience that you have. One thing that is always trumpeted is that you don't have Canadian experience. And even after you've gotten experience the expectation is that you'll do something that is Canadian (Mrs. Nkunim, Counsellor, Vancouver).

The issue of Canadian experience is a catch-22 issue (Canadian Journal of Research, 2004). This is a situation when one finds himself, have difficulty in coming out. You do not get a job because you do not have a Canadian experience. Howbeit, you cannot get a Canadian experience without ever working in Canada. Thus, this is a “no way” out situation.

Despite the complicatedness of this barrier, the highly skilled immigrants managed to overcome it by volunteering, furthering their education and downgrading their qualifications.

6.3.1. Volunteering

Lack of experience required that these immigrants have a means of getting some working experience. Volunteering was one of the strategies the interviewees adopted in overcoming the issue of Canadian experience. Kwadwo (Accountant, Toronto) expounded.

“Volunteering in this country is a big thing. It helps to gain Canadian experience. At a point, I joined Costi Mentorship Program as a volunteer, I was not being paid. That was the only way to gain my Canadian experience to get back into my field as an accountant. Even in the accounting field, I had to start out doing book keeping”.

In a similar vein, Kwadwo’s wife had to navigate her circumstances to be able to volunteer. He recounted how she did it:

She needed to volunteer but no one will take her because she doesn’t know anyone. To get by, she applied to the University of Toronto to school... so that as part of the course she would be required to do field teaching so she could volunteer

The story of Kwadwo (Accountant, Toronto) and his wife was no different from that of many others.

Nana Akosua who worked as a Fee Revenue Manager at the Trust Bank and furthered her education in London shared a similar experience.

In Canada, it took a while before getting a job in my field. They always looked for Canadian work experience. So I volunteered as an Accountant somewhere to get the work experience without pay just to get Canadian experience.

Mrs. Pataapa described it in this manner:

Two years of volunteering here is more credible than ten years' experience outside Canada. That's painful... "eye din paa"[Akan language]. Very disheartening."

The Ghanaian immigrants may have weighed their options critically to accept to volunteering as an option. That to them, seemed the plausible way out of the catch-22 situation in which they found themselves.

6.3.2. Further education

Other participants navigated the lack of Canadian experience by going back to school. This was summed up in the words of Nana Esi (Social Worker, Toronto)

"... really and truly that is what is it...you have to definitely go back to school".

Naa Ashaley also reported same as follows:

In Canada, you have to start from somewhere again if you are prepared to climb the ladder. You have to sacrifice and go back to school.

Dr. Badu who holds a Ph.D. and was a Consultant in Information Systems in Japan upon immigrating to Canada had to further educate himself. He stated that he had carefully researched into the program and the Canadian system and was aware that he needed to overcome the barrier by schooling. He therefore decided to retrain and to broaden his scope so he went immediately back to school for two (2) years and attained certification in Information Management. He is currently working in the healthcare profession. His current role does not require a PhD, he attested.

Likewise, Adjeley (Pharmacist, Toronto), also took a four-month intensive course at the University of Toronto, when she was faced with the barrier of Canadian experience.

Yaw Oppong (Accountant, Vancouver):

... It is challenging to enter into Canadian's labour market as an immigrant. To get by, I did two years full time schooling in MBA, Finance and Corporate Strategy in addition to my ACCA from the UK that opened a lot of doors for me afterwards.

The strategy of further education is recommended because of its perceived benefits of knowledge acquisition. However, the type of schooling needs to be taken into consideration. In the situation where an immigrant who holds a Master's or a Doctorate degree has to retrain in another field whilst putting his education and years of experience on hold, then a situation of brain waste comes also into play.

6.3.3. Downgrading qualification

Accepting to enter the labour market on a lower level grade was the strategy all the participants used in getting employed. This was no exception to participants who maintained their professions like Takyiwaa (Banker, Toronto) and Egya Akuffo (Human Resource Manager, Toronto).

Adjeley who had attained a Post Graduate Diploma in Clinical Pharmacy before emigrating also narrated how she had to accept a position as a pharmacy assistant in a pharmacy. She says it was a difficult time in her life but it kept her going because it was the closest to her profession. She further recounted how some of her supervisors acknowledged her expertise and even some of their customers would ask her to attend to them. This she found comforting and reassuring.

Egya Akuffo (Human Resource Manager, Toronto) also though retained his profession in the Human Resource field, accepted the position of the 'HR generalist' before climbing to the position of a manager, a role he held back home in Ghana working with Ashanti Goldfields before migrating.

Kwesi Atta also recounted how his wife who practiced nursing in the United States as a registered nurse accepted to work in the same nursing field but at a lower designation as a Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN). She did this to circumvent the frustration in the system. This substantiates Basran and Zong's (1998) findings when they reported that studies have shown that, less than half of the immigrants in regulated occupations manage to obtain Canadian accreditation. Similarly, Bauder

(2003: 702) also noted specifically that, The Registered Nurses Association of some provinces requires a passing grade on the Canadian Nurse Registration Examination to practice. He went further to explain that, the Association also evaluates applicants on the basis of education, competence and evidence of “good character” and “fitness to practice”. He also noted that most mid-level and lower-level occupations are non-regulated as such it is easy to get into those employments (Bauder, 2003).

Kwadwo (Accountant, Toronto), who was in the accounting field, shared similar experiences, He related how he had to take a lower grade and salary in order to get into his profession.

...my colleagues who trained here from the beginning are earning 30 to 40 thousand more than what I earn because of their Canadian experience....the market range for a designated Accountant is anywhere between 70 -120 thousand Canadian dollars based on experience. Your experience and qualification give the basic platform to build on. It gives you the entry. As you build on, your colleagues are already going... (Kwadwo, Accountant, Toronto).

Mr. Nkunim (Banker, Returnee) likewise narrated a similar experience of how he entered the labour market in Canada.

The role was not an executive role. It was a role I had done before [referring to a position is has held in previous jobs]. I started as a senior manager and transitioned into an assistant vice president role.

The strategy of downgrading to enter the labour market can also be described as brain waste. This is because though they end up finding jobs, the fact still remains that, the immigrants are underemployed in their receiving country.

This thus poses a little economic threat to emigration. Another barrier, some of highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants to Canada encountered was the non-recognition of their foreign skills. The strategy they used to navigate this barrier was to change careers.

6.3.4. Career change

Some of the participants cited how their background characteristics, their Ghanaian educational credentials and work experiences in Ghana especially hindered their employment chances in Canada. This was because the labour market neither recognized their education nor skills they had before immigrating to Canada. Sweetman (2003) supports the notion that immigrants from newer source regions such as Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa have lower school quality of education by using test scores in international literacy and numeracy surveys to determine the quality of education in some of these countries.

Another reason for the failure to non-recognition of foreign education and skills is discrimination in the form of skin colour of visible minorities which include Ghanaians and “linguicism” which refers to all forms of linguistically related racism (Phillipson, 1992). Discrimination because of the accent of Ghanaians is mostly equated to an inability to read and write English and thus migrants’ inability to work in the English language when performing complex tasks (Picot, 2004).

Furthermore, the emerging technological divide has been yet another reason why Canada has discounted the skills of Ghanaians. The Ghanaian experience of technology is far outmoded and less applicable to the Canadian world where technology changes rapidly (Picot, 2004).

To overcome these barriers, some of the participants changed their professions and moved into areas that they are more likely to get employment. One of such fields is social work and nursing among others:

There are certain jobs noted for employment such as social work and nursing especially for immigrants". (Mrs. Pataapa, Social Worker, Toronto).

The notion was also confirmed by Kwesi Atta who lives in Lethbridge and works as a registered social worker (RSW):

I had no career aspirations...I wanted to see what is happening... what was on the ground. I didn't want to deceive myself. When I left London for the US, I had aspirations, I had plans but it is not the same when you get on the ground. It was quite frustrating. I wanted a job that had market already because I didn't want to be disappointed again.

Mrs. Pataapa (Social Worker, Toronto) also narrated:

... Initially, I went to do early childhood education to be a teacher. All of us in the course were immigrants. This could be explained by the notion that you get to teach by this course. After the course, I was sure the classroom was not me. I preferred one on one, so I had to look elsewhere.

The work of Meraj (2015) described how international migration would usually result in career damage, confirmed the cases of Kofi Kese, Mr. and Mrs. Pataapa and Kwesi Atta. They all had to do a career switch to be able to integrate into the Canadian system.

My 'forestry' is on the burner now. Forestry was my passion... It took three years to finally decide to change careers (Kofi Kесе, Lecturer, Calgary).

As indicated above by Kofi Kесе. He had to give up his profession as a forester. He works now as a lecturer in a college in Calgary.

The story of Mr. Patapaa who is a Consultant living in Toronto was similar to that of Kofi Kесе, Mrs. Pataapa and Kwesi Atta. He was working as an architect back in Ghana and had been in practice for over ten years. He migrated to Canada with a mind to continue in the field. Upon arriving in Canada, he realized he could not use his skills. To practice architecture implied not less than 6 years of schooling again. To go back to school, he will have to be credentialed for which he has to pay Can \$1,000 for the assessment of his professional credentials because he is a foreign graduate as against only Can \$300, the amount that The Canadian Architectural Accreditation Board blatantly charges graduates from Canadian schools (CACB 2003 as cited in Bauder, 2015).

This will be very expensive for an immigrant to bear soon after landing considering the amount spent on relocating.

6.3.5. Moving into unregulated sectors

Another way of navigating the barrier of non-recognition of foreign skills is to enter into unregulated sectors such as the information technology world which is a high-status occupation. According, to CICIC (2002) as cited Bauder (2015), this is a sector which is too new to be formally regulated.

Mr. Pataapa (Architect, Toronto) had to change careers and work in the Information Technology field. He says *I needed IT to eat but architecture will forever remain my passion.*

Takyiwa's husband like Mr. Pataapa also moved into the IT world because it was an unregulated sector where immigrants could maintain high-status occupations.

Furthermore, Bauder (2015) reports that immigrants are affected by de-skilling in that, they lose access to the occupations they previously held when their foreign education and credentials are not acknowledged in Canada.

6.3.6. Credentialing and evaluating processes

Devaluation of foreign credentials also hindered the participants' ready access into the labour market. This was a barrier for regulated professions and occupations that required licensure or accreditation. Professions such as nursing, pharmacy and accountancy fall into that category.

Anyankwabea (Accountant, Vancouver) in recounting her experiences in Canada mentioned how she had to go through credentialing. The board evaluated her ACCA certificates from London and she was asked to write four papers again. She managed to do this within two years of arrival and was accredited as a Certified Public Accountant (CPA). This got her into her first job which was a public practice accounting job with a Chinese firm.

Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto) who migrated from UK with the intention of continuing as a dental therapist likewise shared similar sentiments as Anyankwabea (Accountant, Vancouver).

...My certificate was challenged and I was asked to write two papers which I did within a year.... I am licensed to do the restorative but I could not get a job. I had to settle as a hygienist.

Abena (Nurse, Calgary) criticized the nursing board when she recounted her experience as she attempted to participate in the sector for which she had gained admission into Canada through the Skilled Worker Program.

... I had to get every certificate to be evaluated and given the graduate nurse permit. You will be given a permit to work for 200hrs whilst you write the board exams...If you don't pass the English, your credentials are not assessed for you to write the board exams. Or you do at least two years schooling or you take a downgrade from a RN to LPN.

The narratives of Anyankwabea, Naa Ashaley and Abena can be identified with the work of Zukin (1995) in Bauder (2003:703) in which was noted that Canadian professional associations which are supported by the state and corporate management act “as the gatekeepers of professionalism” defining entry qualifications according to their own cultural biases and agendas. These professional associations he further argued intentionally outline the entry requirements in such a manner to disqualify newly arriving immigrants. The aim is to protect the credentials obtained in Canada by devaluing credentials obtained elsewhere.

6.3.7. Overcoming psychological barriers

Navigating the Canadian terrain in order to achieve labour market goals was not without psychological difficulties. The participants revealed that many Ghanaians under the FSWP experienced emotional distress and anxiety as they work to achieve in their new statuses in Canada.

The feeling of emotional distress experienced by the highly skilled Ghanaians was mainly due to unperceived reality on the ground. The disjoint between the immigration process and the labour market realities essentially. Some of the interviewees spoke about an element of deception of the FSW Program.

6.3.7.1. Dealing with feelings of emotional distress and anxiety

Majority of interviewees during the discussions could not hide their emotional sentiments. Their perceived expectations and experiences have not been as expected. This has led to various psychosocial experiences that could have influenced the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in the initial and later stages of their settlement process. There were occasional usage of adjectives such as frustration, pain, demeaning, deception, difficult and hard in recounting their stories.

Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto)

It is so demeaning, hard and difficult to come to a country and start all over again..... You have to have a full strong head and determination in what you want to do. That is the only way you can excel. It is very, very difficult.

She further reported that:

...the dental therapy board will not accept me because was not trained in Canada...I used to be frustrated but now I am ok.

Kwesi Atta (Social Worker, Lethbridge)

...Come in having plan A and plan B. Come in with an open mind otherwise your self-esteem will be gone, you will be miserable. You can set yourself up to death.

Kofi Kese (Lecturer, Calgary)

...you start off doing stuff which you never dream of doing in Ghana which was challenging because you wouldn't ever thought you would be doing...Hard is an understatement.

Nana Esi

It's all a shock to find your degree means nothing...

Mrs. Nkunim

*And my Masters was considered part of my first degree (undergraduate) and (**name withheld**) was accepted maybe because they saw UK. We were mates. We did the same number of hours and credits. It was very demoralizing.*

Where are the jobs we are all scrambling for the jobs... they need human beings to do menial jobs and occupy the place but not skilled labour... It is demeaning to find yourselves in menial jobs, remarked Mrs. Nkunim in another vein.

6.3.7.2 Stress related to lack of finances

These are stories shared concerning lack of finances. Mr. Nkunim (Banker, Returnee) had this to say:

It is voluntary [referring to the FSWP] they don't compel anybody to get in. You do so at your own cost. Just that it is expensive. For instance, if you have my type of family, you are talking about buying tickets for six people so it is not everybody who can afford it.... You need money, because my wife stayed home when we got in for more than the year, her reason is that she needed to take care of the children and other things. So, it is like if you want to have enough to cover their running around – their food, fuel, school. Education for children is free but if you want quality education you might have to think about private schools. You pay a little to get what you are looking out for...

Naa Ashaley (Dental hygienist Toronto) similarly had this to say:

Here, the money just goes. Within six weeks [after arriving], then I had to find my way - how to live, how to rent a place and all that, because I realized that the money that you have just goes like that – so I had to find a job. So I had to contact Costi, they helped with my resume and interview skills. I started out as a receptionist in a dental office.

The lack of finances as in the case of Naa Ashaley's pushed majority of the interviewees into their 'starter jobs (jobs to survive and pay the bills) as they navigate the system. Participants who had their credentials evaluated had to also pay various sums of money. The lowest amount being a hundred dollars.

6.3.7.3. Disruption of the family system

Another psychological issue the participants had to deal with was the disruption of the family. Some made sense of their situation using the notion of self-sacrifice. The husbands especially who were not ready to navigate the system relocated back to Ghana. Some have eventually led to divorce. A case in point is Oye. Her husband, a lawyer left Canada when he realized his prospects of continuing cooperate law was almost impossible. His wife equally a lawyer with a Master's degree decided to put her profession on hold and switched careers so she could remain in Canada. This resulted in a separation and finally led to a divorce.

Again, Mr. Nkunin is back in Ghana working in a financial institution. He has no intention of settling in Canada, though his family (wife and four children) reside there. He is able to go for his medicals and he is happy with their current transnational arrangements. He says technology aids to make this arrangement work. He speaks on phone or skype everyday with his family. When I

asked him, whether he does not miss the physical contact of the family, he tried to make light of it. He made it clear that there was an understanding. For him and his spouse, Mrs. Nkunim, the children's education was paramount in their decision to migrate. For them, it is an investment.

*For me, it was education and when I went I saw it. My son for instance, when he was in[**school's name withheld**] it was like he was very docile person, always scared something was going to happen, afraid of the environment but here he is now very assertive, he can do presentation, he can talk and engage people so I say if for no reason at all, I see a transformation. For me that is a plus and that is what I am speaking for (Mr. Nkunim, Accountant, Returnee)*

My kids are in school here. We've already disrupted their lives once. So, we will like to continue to make this place a home because of the children (Mrs. Nkunim, Counsellor, Vancouver).

Mr. Nkunin said the children may never come back to live in Ghana. In fact, he narrated how the children disliked Ghana on their last visit because they developed some allergies and the wife was frustrated at how stressful it was to get official things in place. As to why he had to return to Ghana, Mr. Nkunim explained:

HSBC said they were migrating those roles [the role he was working in] to India and I didn't want to take the children to India because for me it was about their education here in Canada so I left HSBC. So I tried looking for similar jobs and looking also to start an accounting practice which I started. But because I didn't grow up in Canada, getting clients for the accounting practice was getting difficult...so that was for a period of six months and so I thought of it ... of coming back home. Back home my skills will be put to better use.... So for me work brought me back to Accra.

Similarly, Kyeiwaa also narrated how his husband had to work in the United States when they first migrated. To avoid being separated from the family. “*He was coming here [Canada] every Friday and going back every Sunday or Monday*”. Asked whether he enjoyed doing that she responded

Uh, not really. Which is why he has stopped because the commuting was too much. He had um, church and all that, right? So it was very tiring.

Many of the narratives in this study for example by The Nkunims, Takyiwa and Oye share this same idea when speaking on the issue of the family. They made sense of their difficulties through the idea of sacrifices that they had made, often for their children.

6.3.8. Dealing with racial discrimination

Another psychological barrier faced by the highly skilled Ghanaians was that of racial discrimination. The interviewees acknowledged these issues are not overt because of laws governing them. However, their effects are felt from time to time especially at the workplace.

Yaw Opong (Accountant, Vancouver), narrated his experience when he applied for a higher position as a director.

I had faced a case of clear discrimination when I applied to the position of the Director of Finance. I was invited for an interview, the interview went well. In fact one of the people on the panel (the Executive Director) met me and congratulated me. However, after about two days, I got a call from HR that they found a more suitable candidate for the job. This is clear discrimination

Egya Akuffo who was out of employment at the time of the interview also shared his experience as stated below:

Interviewer. *So you stopped your job?*

Egya Akuffo:

There was restructuring and I didn't like the way it was going, there was a lot of racism and discrimination there.

Interviewer: *Why?*

Egya Akuffo:

It's about institutional unconscious bias. For example, not to say this in a derogatory way but in Ghana when you see people coming from a certain region, you tend to look at them in a certain way. I guess it is the same here... not conscious though. A lot of people in here haven't travelled before. Their whole world view is very different...it's about North America. the people on the ground don't like immigrants. There is a big disconnect...When you are working they are even surprised at the things you could do...

When asked why he still has not found work, he replied

...there are a lot of HR positions on the market that I am qualified for ... but they look at your name and it is not a "John Smith" or whatever... you don't get the job. The unconscious bias. They are not open minded.

The narratives of Yaw Opong and Egya Akuffo substantiate literature that most visible minorities face different forms of subtle racism (Nkrumah, 2015). In answering how they overcome their situation, Yaw Opong replied:

It was painful but now my priorities have changed, I am focusing more on my family and church work. Not much on career aspiration.

Egya Akuffo mentioned that if he finds a suitable work outside Canada he will migrate again.

It could be said that the interviewees made meaning of their circumstances through religion and family.

6.4. Conclusion

The integration of immigrants, particularly minorities, in Canada is a very complex process and even more so in the labour market. Immigrants face obstacles when they attempt to settle in Canada especially in the labour market. They have to devise strategies to overcome these barriers. This chapter delve into the resettlement experience of immigrants, particularly how they navigated the obstacles and challenges to facilitate many aspects of their integration process. The narratives showed that not all immigrants are able to attain similar heights in their professions in the host country, Canada.

It can be noted the participants did not relent in the efforts because of the understanding and appreciation of cultural capital. They understood that additional schooling will afford them more institutional capital resulting in embodied cultural capital will eventually place give them valuable capital. The need for higher wage to afford some luxury in terms of cars or be able to afford a house in a preferred location can explain some of ways in which they navigated their circumstances.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OPINIONS FROM STUDY PARTICIPANTS ABOUT THE CANADIAN FEDERAL SKILLED WORKER PROGRAM

7.1. Introduction

This chapter is on the opinions and views of the participants about the FSWP of Canada. An opinion is a “consciously insufficient judgement, subjectively as well as objectively” (Stevenson, 2003). In general, an opinion is a belief about matters commonly considered to be subjective, that is, it is based on that which is less than absolutely certain, and is the result of emotion or interpretation of facts (Inwood, 1992).

An opinion may be supported by an argument, although people may draw opposing opinions from the same set of facts. In casual use, the term opinion may be the result of a person's perspective, understanding, particular feelings, beliefs, and desires. It may refer to unsubstantiated information, in contrast to knowledge and fact-based beliefs (Inwood, 1992).

The study was to capture the understanding of the programme by the participants vis a vis what had been stated in the literature. The perception that reflected the views of the majority was that, the program was laudable, in the sense that it legitimately afforded immigrants who came through the program, the opportunity to reside and work in Canada and to visit other OECD countries without the stress of acquiring a visa. The program also made one eligible to acquire a new citizenship with all the rights and privileges that come along with it.

The participants gave several opinions of similar and divergent views as to what the tenets of the program were and what it should have been. Two sets of probe questions were asked to portray

the participants' ideas about the FSW Program. Participants were asked to give their views about the Federal Skilled Worker Program and to indicate whether it can be seen in terms of brain drain for Ghana. The second set of questions was to find out their ideas about the immigration policy of Canada and the settlements services available that could easily integrate immigrants into the system. It was revealed that, almost all the interviewees were clear in their minds as to what the FSW program should have been.

7.2. Opinions about the FSWP

The general consensus among the highly skilled immigrants was that the programme was a good one but with a caution. The programme to them, provided other avenues for the participants for which they were appreciative. This was because many of the Ghanaian immigrants had multiple aspirations when emigrating. Another noteworthy factor was that most of the interviewees had lived in Canada for some years now, had successfully navigated the system, had integrated to a large extent and are now enjoying 'fulfilled lives'. Could it be that their reaction would be different had the interview been conducted at their initial settlement in Canada?

To this question, a female participant narrated that,

...and in terms of "do I think it's good?" Um I don't think it's a black and white answer. It depends on people... individuals and what their aspirations are. As far as I am concerned, I don't have any regrets for coming to Canada. This is what I wanted to do. I did it. And in life, you meet challenges, so um it's good for me. It's been good for me (Oye, lawyer, Ontario).

Also, Takyiwaa (Banker, Ontario) shared sentiments similar to Oye's by stating that,

... Ohh I think it's a great idea. Canada needs people like that. So I think it's a great idea and they should continue bringing in more people. Especially in the medical field, apparently they're still short.

Yaw Oppong (Accountant, Vancouver) who migrated from the United Kingdom also reiterated the minds of the majority. His opinion agreed with the others by indicating that,

The programme to me is rewarding. I have my family here, they are all Canadians and are able to travel around the US and UK. In UK, I was under pressure, serious pressure to work legally. It is a good program regardless of the frustrations and shocks.

Yaw Oppong's narration echoed the findings of Manuh (2006) that many immigrants viewed their foreign passports in instrumental terms in that it affords them to travel to other OECD countries with less stress as in the case when travelling on a Ghanaian passport.

Equally, another participant who resided in United Kingdom and was under pressure to renew her visa had a similar view as Yaw Oppong:

It was a worthwhile programme, in the sense that it is the path to becoming a citizen and being in the system was stress free. But for our careers, we would have progressed faster if we had moved back to Ghana (Nana Akosua, Accountant, Toronto).

Also, in the view of Adjeley (Pharmacist, Toronto), the programme could be beneficial with a good network;

... You have to meet the right type of people because when you come in initially it's a little frustrating and you don't have the right kind of advice or the right people who will give you guidance, you will easily be misled. A good network.

Likewise, Kwadwo also complemented the program. He summarized it as

“for emigrational purposes, it is a great program. It is not discriminatory at all”

Contrarily, others like Kofi Kese shared different thoughts about the FSWP. He felt the program needed to be more open. His opinion is supported by the following statement:

... They should be more transparent and explicit about what this whole programme is about. It is a programme that intentionally brings in professionals... making it worthwhile for the professionals to come in ...only to come and find out that the job market is not as easy as it is. What is the point of bringing people in, if they will eventually have to suffer and be unhappy? People with high aspirations... and come to find out that, to enter the job market, it is not as easy as they thought it will be. What is happening now is that, people learn about the facts when they come in, after being overly excited about the programme and end up being frustrated (Kofi Kese, Lecturer, Calgary).

Additionally, Mrs. Nkunim put forth her understanding of the FSWP as:

There's this invitation that Canada has open doors and that people should come. But then you get here and find out that it's not that easy. There are so many things that you have to get to know, different systems, you have to do taxes, and then it's very difficult to get a job that is un equivalent to whatever ... I think it's a lie that they need people, and the open doors make it look very rosy for people to come...

In probing further the interviewer wanted to find out what the interviewees had in mind:

Interviewer: Is that really the immigrants' impression or that is the impression of the program, that if you're coming in, you are coming in to work at your level?

Interviewee:

It's the impression of the program. Even with the use of the word 'skilled'. That with your skill you come in and fit in where you belong (Mrs. Nkunim, Counsellor, Vancouver).

In contrast to his wife Mr. Nkunim who has relocated to Ghana maintained a different stance. He stated:

“It is a good program. It's voluntary. Not compelling. Though expensive. It is a good one. It affords people the opportunity to expand their horizon in terms of work. It affords also families opportunity to start a new life altogether even though it has a downside of people struggling to find jobs for their qualifications from where they have come. That is where I see a difficulty”

Ntiamoah, a psychiatrist nurse who came in also from the United Kingdom equally shared his perceptions of the FSWP as follows: ***“It's a beautiful way to enslave skilled workers. It's the neo colonialism”***.

Dr. Badu also presented his opinion of the program as...

...the initial intention of program was to fill in gaps, it doesn't fulfil what it was intended to be. The program is a fallacy, immigration is federal but employment is at the provisional level... The idea of having to re-train is not clear during the migration process.

Correspondingly, Kwesi Atta who emigrated from the United States also shared a similar view:

The process will tell you, you are so good, come and when you get in you see a wall because when you are looking for a job, it is not straightforward, very frustrating.

However, he was quick to add that

...personally, I am very grateful that Canada gave me that opportunity which US didn't give me. For that, I have my loyalty for Canada.

Kwesi Atta may have echoed the sentiments of many especially immigrants who had step-wise migrated and needed to legitimise their stay outside Ghana.

The opinions of Kofi Kese, Kwesi Atta, Mrs. Nkunim and Dr. Badu echo what has been revealed in the literature. For instance, Bauder (2003) has captured in his work *“Brain Abuse”, or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada*, the mismatch between the immigrant-selection procedures and the recognition of foreign credentials, sharing the story of a South Asian community as follows:

Here’s the story.

You are in Iran or India.
And you want to migrate to Canada.
OK? So, on the basis of the fact that you’re a doctor,
You get x number of points.
So, I’m saying, “Hey, you’re a doctor, great!
Come to Canada!” But you can’t practice in Canada.
Now explain this to me [laughs]
(Bauder, 2003:708).

7.3. Opinions about the FSWP as a brain drain and a brain waste

Probing to ascertain views on the above concepts, in terms of issues of brain drain and brain waste relating to the FSWP, participants were asked to discuss the program in relation to the above. Similar as well as divergent and interesting discoveries were made. Almost all the participants agreed that the FSWP was fraught with an element of brain waste though examples they cited were people other than themselves. Others knew people in that category while others stated that they

have heard of people in such situations. The opinions on issues vary according to people and equally among the highly skilled Ghanaian migrants interviewed.

It could be a brain drain, responded Mrs. Nkunim (Counsellor, Vancouver).

It is. Because a lot of people that you will see from different countries will tell you that I was 'this' in my country and now I'm something else. Doctors who are now nurses, nurses who are care aids, engineers who are taxi drivers... Because why would a doctor come here and become a nurse or something before they get jobs?

Kwadwo (Accountant, Toronto) who had been successful at his accounting field, noted:

"It can be a source of brain waste because the programme is managed by the Federal Government. There is a disconnect from the employer. If you don't get a federal job you can easily not make much progress"

Another participant also shared his views in this manner:

"Not entirely a waste because it's the platform (referring to his education before emigrating) I used for further schooling..." (Kofi Kese, lecturer, Calgary)

As to his views on whether the program could be a source of brain drain, Kofi Kese disagreed by putting forth his argument in this manner:

Not totally, people go in and out of Ghana (for business or otherwise) to stay either short term or some may eventually return home.

Conversely, Nana Esi (Social Worker, Toronto) subscribed to the notion of the programme being both a brain drain and a brain waste. She captured her thoughts in this manner:

People established in their home country come with the perception that life will be better. Only to start all over.... You definitely need Canadian experience to work in your field.

Other participants such as Yaw Oppong and Oye simply agreed with the notion of the program being a source of brain waste.

Yaw Oppong in agreeing gave his experience as an example:

.... initially, when I started work I felt I was being wasted, I was doing very basic accounting work having schooled to MBA level.

Oye says

Uh I would... I would say it can be. Yes, because let's say, I mean I'm moving it away from myself ... because people come in here, they are highly skilled and then they... I hear that, for example, in Toronto you can easily take a taxi and it is being driven by a doctor.

Picking her thoughts on the issue of brain drain, Oye could not agree less but was quick to defend her position, citing her own example:

Uh brain-drain... Uh I guess... I guess it depends on how you look at it. Um yeah definitely because people... like, educated people could sit in Ghana and support the development process rather than coming here. But I guess again it boils down to people's um their reasons because I was here as a student, I went back to Ghana, I worked for ten years and then I came back to Canada.

Whilst there has been an ongoing debate among migration experts such as, Anarfi (1982), Dovlo (2005), Quartey (2007) and Anarfi, Quartey & Agyei (2010) regarding brain drain versus brain circulation, some of the participants such as Kofi Kese and Oye described the FSWP more in the light of brain circulation than a brain drain.

7.4. Opinions about settlement and integration into the Canadian system

This section shares the personal beliefs, judgment, impression, feeling or notion of the participants in relation to what they deemed would have helped with their settlement and integration processes in Canada. The perceptions were conceived through their first-hand experiences in that, they have gone through a process of integration and are familiar with the challenges characterizing the Canadian integration system.

The interviewer sourced for information by asking the following questions (1) What kind of settlement services you think that the Canadian government can put into place to solve the problem of integration. (2).What do you think about immigration policies and settlement services working for immigrants?

Mrs. Nkunim noted:

They should just be honest and say that we need to populate the country and so these are our conditions that we don't have that many jobs in the higher levels, so when you come be prepared to start from scratch.

Expressing her opinion further, she remarked that the program could settle the challenge by adopting the measure of connecting immigrants to jobs in their field and policy to link people to jobs:

If the situation were that, the program is such that there's a connection to actual jobs that's ok. We need doctors for instance, so if you come and you're not even employed as a full doctor at least you're working in the field and then you get the credentials, then the knowledge and experience that people are bringing will not be wasted because you know that these are the steps and I'm already here. Instead of coming and being a taxi driver while you try and get your credentials.

The notion held by Mrs. Nkunim is not any different from certain economic immigration programmes also in place in Canada. These are the Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP), Canadian Experience Class (CEC) and a portion of the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). These programs give permanent residency to immigrants based on pre-arranged job offers. For instance, to be eligible for the CEC, you need to have Canadian skilled work experience within three years of applying. According to the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC), skilled work experience means: Managerial jobs (NOC skill level 0) and The FSTP is for people who want to become permanent residents of Canada based on having an offer of full-time employment for a total of at least one year; or have a certificate of qualification in a skilled trade issued by a province or territory. The Provincial Nominee Program gives an additional point (CIC, 2017).

Could it be that the experience of the participants would have been different if they had qualified through the above specific programs?

Oye (lawyer, Ontario) believes that the issue of settlement and integration should be viewed as a two way thing: - the onus lies both with the host country and the immigrants. It should not be the sole responsibility of the destination country or the immigrant.

So um definitely they gave some information but I guess like moving on if they can give and even do workshops for immigrants and tell them about some of these things. And then the immigrants should also take responsibility and um do what they have to do because, for example, (name withheld), I remember when we were coming, he already knew... And it's because he took responsibility. He knew that he wanted to write the exam as soon as he came. So as soon as he came, he made arrangements to do his uh pharmacy things. So that was a good thing.

Besides the perceptions of other participants that Canada lack adequate settlement and integration programmes for the new immigrants, Yaw Opong attributed the challenge to lack of mentoring before migrating. He advised that there should be some forms of mentoring for new immigrants to guide them even before they apply. He further suggested that one should also have an element of patience and a mind to succeed to get through. He also advised that one should save enough money to “*weather the storm*” before migrating.

Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto) shared a similar perspective like Yaw Opong (Accountant, Vancouver) when she stated that:

...to maintain your profession you should have a full strong head and determination in what you want to do. That is the only way to excel.

She was, however, quick to add that, migration should be age related. She explained that persons who are over thirty-five years old and settled in their home countries should not migrate.

She further argued it is not worth migrating to Canada in particular after you are thirty five years of age because ...

You have to sacrifice and start all over... If you are old you can't you don't have any classmate here. There's no one to get in touch with or connect to and if you don't have the basic strong network before you come in, you are doomed. It is very, very difficult.

Similarly, Adjeley (Pharmacist, Toronto) sounded an advice

“You have to be purposeful, make up your mind and decide to work in your field”.

The thoughts of participants like Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto) and Adjeley (Pharmacist, Toronto) beg some questions especially since skilled workers are selected based on a rigorous assessment of education, skills and credentials.

Takyiwaa (Banker, Toronto) in substantiating the thoughts of Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto) estimated that settlement and integration will be easier for those who migrate at much younger age.

... they have to probably extend it to younger people who have not already finished doing courses in medicine and have to restart. So that they can get in and then start... So then what I'm saying is, if they can get the younger people in, who have not finished studying medicine and are starting from here then it won't become a waste cos they are actually starting the course from here.

Takyiwaa (Banker, Toronto), Egya Akuffo (Human Resource Manager, Toronto), Kwadwo (Accountant, Toronto) and Naa Ashaley (Dental Hygienist, Toronto) reported that some settlement

and integration could be through the agencies like COSTI Immigrant Services. All these participants had employment through them. Some participants like Takyiwaa who went into the banking sector likewise Egya Akuffo since their designations do not require regulated bodies as in the cases of Kwadwo. He had to start with volunteering and move on. Naa Ashaley commented that she may not have got into the job market without COSTI Immigrant Services.

These assumptions are in line with literature that Canada has settlement services for new immigrants. Record is made of information leaflets given to them upon arrival at the entry points. This was confirmed by Naa Ashaley and Egya Akuffo and had some help. Many of the participants claimed no knowledge of the services.

Is it a question of a recent way of settlement for newcomers or it is just a confirmation of the many do not often take note of information handed to them? Most of the participants interviewed stated that they navigated the system through informal sources, mainly through friends and family.

A visit to one of the settlement services, Mosaic in Surrey, Vancouver, revealed that Ghanaians had not been accessing their services. Could it be that, many of the participants ended up in some difficulty because they did not have adequate knowledge of settlement Services that could be of tremendous benefit to the integration?

Finally, Dr. Badu (Consultant/Lecturer, Ajax) and Nana Esi (Social Worker, Toronto) with similar opinions suggested immigration through the FSWP will transition smoothly if Canada adopted more of the abridged programmes and courses. This, they suggested with the understanding that the practices in every country have an element of difference. Accreditation and licensure of regulated professions cannot be done away with or scrubbed totally. It is needed. The frustrations associated with de-skilling, where the immigrants are made to feel that their degrees and experience comparatively do not measure up to the Canadian standard will be minimized.

7.5. Conclusion

The chapter sought to share the opinions of the participants regarding the programme through which they migrated to Canada. Their ideas about the programme revealed that by and large, the majority of the interviewees agreed that the FSWP is a good one with emphasis on granting them legal and alternate citizenship which has accorded them same rights and privileges as Canadian-born.

It was also noted that newer immigrants are more likely to view the programme with ambivalence because of the initial challenges as they integrate. Contrary, the older immigrants who have settled and because of the duration they have been in Canada views the programme more in the positive light.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

Canada as a country has been described having an ageing population due to the combination of a low birth rate and a higher life expectancy. This implies that she cannot replace herself naturally given the national demographic trends of increasingly ageing population and declining birth rate. Natural increase is the difference between the number of births and the number of deaths over a given time period. It is the way a population grows or declines when there is no migration (Statistics Canada, 2017; Weeks, 2012). Canada has been noted to have a shortfall of 0.6 because its total fertility rate (TFR) stands at 1.5 (PRB, 2018, CIA World Fact Book, 2017; HRSDC, 2014). It shows a shortfall of 0.6 of the fertility which is 2.1.

One of the strategies for dealing with this demographic shift and to adequately prepare for the greying population's changing needs, as well as salvaging the shrinking labour force was the introduction of the FSWP by Canada. This immigration policy which focuses on admission of highly skilled immigrants does not connect them to Canada's labour market. This, therefore, creates a disjoint and subsequently challenging experiences for some of the immigrants in terms of settlement and integration into the Canadian labour market and society.

The existing literature, indicates that little attention has so far been given specifically to highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants who, through the Federal Skilled Worker Program migrated into

Canada. Works by Wong (2006, 2002), Owusu (1999, 1998), (Manuh, 2001, 1999, 1998), Firang (2011) and Nkrumah (2015), among others have examined the experiences of Ghanaians in Toronto specifically, or Ghanaian women in Canada in general. Other works have also studied Ghanaians as a part of a visible minority group or as Africans lumped together (Opoku-Dapaah, 2006), or as Black Canadians (Mensah, 2010). Danso (2002) has studied experiences of Ethiopian and Somali refugees whilst Donkor (2012) work focuses on the Ghanaian diaspora.

For this study, the Dual Labour Market theory, the Neoclassical theory, the Network theory of migration and the Forms of Capital theory by Pierre Bourdieu provided a theoretical foundation for the understanding of the migratory process, general settlement and integration process of the immigrants in Canada based on the literature reviewed and the studies examined.

The study was approached with five objectives :(i) To examine the expectations of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants and to find out the extent to which these expectations have been met (ii) To ascertain if the highly skilled Ghanaian migrants face any obstacles as they attempt to participate in the sectors for which they gained admission into Canada through the Federal Skilled Worker Program (iii) To explore how their background characteristics (their race as Blacks, their Ghanaian educational credentials and work experiences, among others) facilitate or hinder their employment chances in Canada and (iv) To examine ways in which highly skilled Ghanaians could be more easily integrated into the Canadian system (v) To find out the opinions of the highly skilled Ghanaian emigrants about Canada's Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP).

Using a qualitative research method approach, the data for the study were collected through in - depth face to face interviews and telephone interviews from multiple sites in Canada - Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta Provinces, and in Accra, Ghana as well. Secondary (statistical) sources of data and information were also used in exploring the research objectives.

8.2. Summary

8.2.1. Background characteristics of participants

It was necessary to study the background characteristics of the immigrants in order to fully understand the challenges of highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants in their settlement process. Findings revealed that most of the immigrants migrated to Canada between the ages of 30 and 39 years whilst some after 40 years of age. Literature confirms that usually at this age, a person should be well established on his/her career path and not still be at the beginning stages of deciding on a profession (Davis 1949; Foner, 1975; Riley, 1976 and Weeks, 2012), as it was in some cases. Most of them had to retrain or further their education. Some had to abandon their previous professions and occupations for new ones in the host country.

Another characteristic was that of education and occupations. Many of the immigrants who arrived in Canada had high institutionalized capital such as high level education, good knowledge of English and years of experience in their field (Bourdieu, 1986). Some of the immigrants had been working for ten years and more in their country of origin. However, their credentials were non transferrable so they failed to obtain jobs that matched their skills and qualifications; the resultant effect being emotional distress, frustration and disappointment. It was also noted that most of

them ended up doing menial jobs to enable them meet their basic needs as they re-train, further their education or as they volunteer so as to gain some Canadian experience. Immigrants who found it too stressful to gain employment were compelled to return to their country of origin.

Another background characteristic was marriage. It was found that the barriers faced by the highly skilled immigrants affected their family life. One of the interviewees ended up in a divorce and another husband had to live apart from his spouse and children, who had to return to Ghana.

Religious affiliation was instrumental to the settlement and integration of the immigrants. Most of them were able to cope with their situation because of their church lives and the support they gained from church family. Some of the immigrants were pastors who were in charge of branches of their churches back home. As such, their interest was more on their church work, occupations were no longer a priority. In fact, some migrated to Canada because of the advice of their pastors. This could be said to be a form of social capital which helped to mediate and minimize the emotional and psychological pressures on immigrants.

8.2.2. Expectations of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants

The findings of the study indicate that the participants had multiple expectations prior to migrating. The first and foremost, is the expectation of being legally resident outside their home country, Ghana. All the participants arrived in Canada hoping to become permanent immigrants. Most of them have attained the status of a Canadian national and hold a Canadian passport. Being a

Canadian accords immigrant all the rights and privileges of a native-born in Canada. It also allows them to travel to other OECD countries without the difficulty of acquiring visas and being saddled with stringent immigration laws as it is sometimes the case when one travels on a Ghanaian passport for example. This expectation corroborates Manuh's (2006) findings which noted that most Ghanaian immigrants in Canada view their Canadian passports in instrumental terms.

Another expectation of the participants was to enter into their occupations/professions in the labour market. This expectation was not fulfilled for the majority of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants. This finding also corroborates the findings of others which indicate that many skilled immigrants to Canada arrive with a sense of adventure and optimism, only to be faced sometimes with insurmountable barriers to meaningful employment that lead to frustration which in turn leads to disappointment and depression (Xu, 2008).

8.2.3. Experience of the participants

The participants faced barriers as they attempted to enter sectors for which they had qualified through the FSWP. Literature indicates that the immigration policy in Canada lacked mechanisms to integrate skilled immigrants into the industries they were qualified for at the point of application (Salaff et al., 2002). Other studies have also reported that the challenges of immigrants in Canada begin with immigration policies. They noted the point system which appears to be all-encompassing and unbiased, is programmed with racial biases and undertones (Satzewich, 2007 as cited in Nkrumah, 2016). The findings of this study and others also led to a discussion of a critique of the Dual Labour Market theory in positing that people with skill are pulled to fill positions in the primary markets in the developed world. These structural requirements more often

than not rather exclude immigrants and deny them a place in the primary sectors in Canada (Bauder, 2003). These findings also negate the Neoclassical theory which argues that people take rational decisions when migrating. The narratives of some of the participants revealed that their decisions to migrate were irrational, having considered their background and employment statuses before deciding to migrate to what they were not sure about. Their migration decisions were based on only information they had on the policy of FSWP.

The institutionalized capital of Bourdieu (1986) posits that university degrees are powerful forms of institutionalized cultural capital. Going to university gives you skills which are types of embodied cultural capital. The Ghanaian highly skilled immigrants to Canada were hoping to draw on their capital attained through education, for easy integration and settlement. This finding was also negated as the research showed that the participants faced devaluation of their credentials and non-recognition of their Ghanaian education and skills. Some of them intentionally downgraded their skills themselves by accepting low skill jobs. Furthermore, their lack of Canadian experience was a barrier that shaped their experiences in the labour market. The requirement for the Canadian experience led some of them to either re-train or volunteer in work places.

Finally, racism and discrimination were covert but still hindered some of the participants and denied them access into the primary labour market, according to their narratives. It was yet again noted in line with literature that most of the participants had to re-educate themselves as a way of navigating some of the barriers into the labour market.

Another confirmation of literature is the postulation of the network theories and the social capital theories. It was found from the study that most of the participants knew about the FSWP through family and friends. Some also got employment through the advice and connections of their relations who were earlier migrants through the points system.

The majority of the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants experienced brain abuse and brain waste (Bauder, 2003), by downgrading their skills and moving into employment positions which were lower than what they previously held in their home country. This also substantiates the literature records. Many of the interviewees recorded that they entered the labour market by downgrading their skills and qualifications. Also, their initial jobs did not require their level of education confirming Salaff et al. (2002) and Man's (2004) in support of Danso's (2002) observation. They in addition recounted that many of the skilled migrants were working as cleaners, taxi drivers, security guards, factory workers and pizza or newspaper deliverers in Canada.

8.2.4. Integration of the highly skilled Ghanaians in Canada

It was found that almost all the highly skilled Ghanaian immigrants who migrated through the Federal Skilled Worker Program to Canada have been integrated into the Canadian labour market and into Canada as a country on the whole. They did this by adopting many strategies to overcome the various barriers they faced in the destination country (Canada). The findings of this study indicated that they navigated by volunteering, furthering their education and retraining to overcome the barrier of the lack of Canadian experience. More so, others also changed their careers completely and moved into jobs known to be the preserve of immigrants such as employment in

social services or into unregulated occupations in newer industries such as information technology spaces.

Again, others in their effort to integrate, overcame psychological and emotional barriers by leaning on their social capital and networks such as Christian organizations, old school associations and ethnic groupings and associations, whilst others made sense of their situation by adopting the self-sacrificing attitude of the family.

Finally, those who were not ready to adopt any of these strategies, returned to their home country Ghana, and have reintegrated into the system. They, however, still access the benefits of being a Canadian.

8.3. Major findings from the research

The data analysis of the thesis are presented in Chapters four to seven. Chapter four provides the general overview of the socioeconomic characteristics of the participants. The interviewees included a fair number of women, even though the gender balance favoured men. Quite expectedly, the interviewees were highly skilled professionals from a wide range of backgrounds and disciplines. They include accountants, a graduate with a background in linguistics, health professionals, architects, bankers and economists with degrees ranging from Bachelor's to Doctorate. While the majority of the 21 interviewees lived in the Ontario Province, there were considerable numbers in British Columbia and Alberta Provinces as well. Just by the nature of

their application, most of them were well read, with high competencies in English and thus the in-depth interviews were duly conducted in English.

Chapters five and six covered the expectations of the highly skilled Ghanaians' prior to emigration and the realities of their search for jobs and settlement in Canada respectively. It was found out that nearly all of the participants were gainfully employed in their fields or cognate ones prior to their move to Canada and they considered themselves middle – upper class people. In Canada, reality hits when they find themselves scrambling to find jobs in order to survive, especially during the early years of migration with the concomitant stress resulting in some form of depression and other forms of mental anguish of some of them. Among the strategies used as the findings of this study were further education or retraining, career changes and moving into the unregulated or informal sector of the economy to eke out some form of a living be it precarious or otherwise.

In addition to the emotional stress and anxiety, some had to cope with family disruptions and anti-Black racism.

In Chapter Seven, participants' views of the Canadian Federal Skilled Worker Program was assessed from the angle of having gone through it. In this Chapter, mention of frustrations, praises and ambivalence exhibited by many of these highly skilled Ghanaians about the Canadian Federal Skilled Worker Program. This understandable as the merits and demerits of a program like this is not absolute but relative depending on the stage of life in which a particular assessor is. Those who just migrated to Canada will have different experiences from those who have been in Canada for a while. They are more likely to be facing hardships in finding jobs and are more likely to be

initially frustrated than those established in Canada now and are finding fulfillment in their jobs. At the same time, to the extent that time has the ability to heal wounds, many have been there for long and now have fulfilling jobs may be singing praises of the program while others might be still lingering in ambivalence about the whole programme and the experiences. This is the relativity that undergirds any such assessment of the programme.

8.4. Conclusion

This study notes that immigration is one of the viable ways by which OECD countries are seeking to reinvigorate their labour markets with new entrants of youth. As they enter into the fourth and fifth stages of their demographic transition, the crude birth rates of most of most OED countries are getting lower than their crude death rates and this is causing national population declines in the absence of immigration. Comparative to European Union (EU) countries, where the shortage of immigrants have been addressed either by legal or illegal means because of their advantage of their location the case of Canada is rather different. The government is using different systems including the FSWP to recruit young talents from around the world. Still, the programme suffers from a structural disjuncture at the federal and the provincial level, posing discernible problems and frustration to the highly skilled Ghanaians and other immigrants involved.

8.5. Recommendations

During the in-depth interviews, participants were asked to make recommendations as to how the programme could be more effective in integrating immigrants into the labour market. It was found that Canada herself has some measures in place to ensure settlement and integration of newcomers.

A number of participants agreed that there are some settlement agencies in place but they are few in number. They also mentioned that the existence of these settlement services is hardly made known to the immigrants. Some also mentioned that they are not as helpful as they are expected to be. It was also noted that there are laws in place to overcome the barrier of racial discrimination in the labour market. However, discrimination and racism are still prevalent in the labour market in covert forms, excluding immigrants from entering into the job market. On the whole, many blamed the integration challenges and barriers faced by the newcomers on the disjoint between the immigration policies and the labour market. These barriers noted are mostly structural such as the prerequisite for Canadian experience, the non-recognition of foreign credentials, devaluation of credentials, lack of information among others. Based on the above, the following recommendation was made.

The first and foremost recommendation is to address the disjoint between the immigration policies and the labour market on a structural level. There should be synchronization between various levels of governments and offices responsible for the labour market. For instance, it should be a requirement for CIC which implements policies of recruiting skilled immigrants from outside Canada to collaborate with HRSDC which is responsible for resource development; and provincial governments and other occupational regulatory bodies to provide education and training, and to ensure smooth transition and integration of newcomers in Canada.

Secondly, the credentialing process to assess foreign skills and educational certificates which is often perceived by immigrants as a lengthy, laborious, obscure, arbitrary and expensive process,

should be replaced with a much simpler and more coordinated system of evaluating foreign credentials and work experiences in a more centralized programme and form. Thirdly, the lack of information among the highly skilled immigrants could be averted by the introduction of mentorship programmes in home countries prior to their coming to Canada and these mentoring programmes should be made available and easily accessible to all new immigrants during their initial years of landing in Canada.

Furthermore, extensive bridge training programs should be organized to help skilled newcomers get their license or certificate in their profession or trade. This would also help migrants to learn skills that they might not have which are not academic such as language and technical skills. On the job training at the workplaces should be introduced in all provinces. This will solve the issue of brain abuse and brain waste as the highly skilled immigrants will transition easily to find employment commensurate with their skills and experience by which they qualified through the FSWP.

To solve the issue of covert work-related racial discrimination, it is recommended that a system of ensuring equal opportunity and a mechanism to provide a complaint procedure in the workplace needs to be instituted, operationalised and strengthened. Also, more pro-active and comprehensive equity and anti-discrimination laws are needed and should be enforced. A system of monitoring employers to ensure ethnic-cultural diversity should be in place at the workplace level. Yet again, it is recommended that various forms of counselling should be provided for families especially,

and all newcomers in general to help deal with and overcome psychological and emotional barriers of settlement and integration. This would alleviate some illnesses and challenges that are associated with migration.

Finally, access to information about access to the labour market and credentialing assessment should be made open and available to immigrants in their home countries prior to migrating, through a database or internet portal with detailed information on requirements to be met in Canada. Furthermore, a “self-assessment of credentials,” via a website should be created to allow migrants to assess their credentials. This would help migrants determine some of the hurdles they might need to overcome and what they could expect in their host country (The Maytree Foundation, Sangster 2001).

8.6. Suggestions for future research

Compare the Canadian FSWP with other programmes such that of Australia, United Kingdom, United States put in place by other OECD countries to identify the best practices.

The study made no attempt to understand gendered differences of the highly skilled immigrants to Canada. Comparatively little is known about the migration experience of highly skilled women in Canada, thus further research in immigrant settlement experience is required.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide for In-depth Interview

THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE OF HIGHLY SKILLED GHANAIAN MIGRANTS UNDER THE CANADIAN FEDERAL SKILLED WORKER PROGRAMME TO CANADA

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

Hello, my name is Adina Addy, a Ph.D. student of the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. This research is seeking to find out the migration experiences, expectations and realities of the highly skilled Ghanaians who have migrated through the Federal Skilled Worker Program to Canada and their integration into the Canadian labour market. Information about these interview questions: The interview guide questions is to give you an idea of what I would like to learn about the Ghanaian skilled immigrants' experience in Canadian labour market and of Canada as a whole.

Interviews will be one-on-one and will be open-ended (not just “yes or no” answers). Because of this, the exact wording may change a little. Sometimes I will use other short questions to make sure I understand what you told me or if I need more information when we are talking such as: “So, you are saying that ...?”, to get more information (“Please tell me more?”), or to learn what you think or feel about something (“Why do you think that is...?”). I would like to begin by asking you some questions about yourself

Section 1

Socio -Demographic Background

1. What is your age?
2. Sex
3. Marital status
4. Educational Status
5. Religious Affiliations
6. Number of Children and their ages
7. Do you have children if yes how old are they?
8. Which Ghanaian ethnic group do you belong?

Section 2 The Migration Process: decision making, the travel and aspirations

1. Which country did you emigrate from?
2. When did you arrive in Canada?
3. What year did you obtain your landed immigration status
4. Could you recollect and recount your life back home
5. What was your qualification before you migrated?
6. What was your profession?
7. In which industry were you working at the time of emigration?
8. What was your occupation before you migrated?
9. Did you enjoy doing that work?
10. Did you have career aspirations when migrating to Canada?
11. Can you recount your expectations in Canada before migrating

Section 3 The Integration into Canadian labour market. Expectations and Experiences

1. How did you know about the Federal Skilled Worker Programme (FSWP)?
2. What informed your decision to migrate to Canada?
3. Would you say your occupation is in line with your career aspirations?
4. What are your impressions or first-hand experiences in fulfilling your career goals?
5. Are you employed right now?
6. If not employed now, explain the circumstances?
7. What kinds of settlement services, if any, have you drawn on to help you find work?
8. If yes, tell me about the work you are doing now?
9. What is your occupation now?(nurse, engineer, ,lawyer etc)
10. Is that your preferred choice?
11. Are you enjoying your occupation?
12. Is the job related to your own educational qualification? Explain If no, what is your experience about this job?
13. Do you intend changing your occupation if your get the opportunity?
14. Would you say the wages you are being paid are consistent or lower considering your skill and experience?
15. What kind of barriers have you encountered in finding a job?
16. Which barrier is the most significant?
17. What do you think about your future/career in Canada?
18. Do you think you will remain in Canada or would you consider going to some other country where you might find a better job opportunities?
19. Is there an area you would have preferred to live?
20. If yes, why would you not move there

Section 4 Opinion about the Canadian Federal Skilled Worker Programme

1. What are your views about the Federal Skilled Worker Programme?
 - (Probe for In your opinion, would you say it can be a source of brain waste of highly skilled Ghanaian migrants in Canada?
 - (Probe for an you describe the programme as a brain drain for Ghana?
 - (Probe for) Describe the nature of the skilled worker program, focusing on issues, such as brain drain and brain waste

2. What kinds of settlement services could be integrated more easily in the Canadian system?
 - (Probe for)What do you think about immigration policies and settlement services working for immigrants?
 - Are they adequate to deal with immigrant's integration?
 - What kind of services do you think government should provide for better integration of highly skilled immigrants?

Closing Questions

1. Is there something important we forgot?
2. Is there anything else you think I need to know or you want to tell?

Appendix 2: Verbatim translation of a sample in-depth interview

INTERVIEW (Mrs. Nkunim)

Interviewer: Good evening Aunty. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. So, basically as you read, my interest is to find out those who migrated under the Skilled Worker Program and how they are settling in and if there are any challenges.

Interviewee: Okay

Interviewer: Maybe, just to have the story...this is purely for the academic records

Interviewee: Okay

Interviewer: Aunty please, would you mind telling me your age?

Interviewee: 45

Interviewer: And obviously you are a female

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: And you are married?

Interviewee: Mhmm

Interviewer: And your educational status?

Interviewee: Masters in Business Administration and Counselling Psychology

Interviewer: Okay

Interviewee: Do you want the one I came with or what I have now?

Interviewer: What you have now

Interviewee: Okay. So MBA Finance and masters in counselling psychology

Interviewer: So, erm, religious affiliation?

Interviewee: Christian

Interviewer: And do you have any children?

Interviewee: Four

Interviewer: Okay. And their ages please

Interviewee: Nineteen, eighteen, sixteen and fourteen

Interviewer: So, which Ghanaian ethnic group do you belong to?

Interviewee: Erm, I'm half Fante and half Krobo

Interviewer: So I want us to talk about the migration process and then the decision-making, the travels, the aspiration.

Interviewee: Mhmm

Interviewer: Which country did you migrate from?

Interviewee: Ghana

Interviewer: You came from Ghana, okay. So when did you arrive here?

Interviewee: The first time was in December 2007

Interviewer: Okay. Did you come with your husband and family?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So is that the same time you got your immigration status?

Interviewee: Yeah we had the status that's why we came

Interviewer: Okay. So usually you come with it.

Interviewee: Mhmm

Interviewer: So are you a permanent resident or a Canadian?

Interviewee: I'm a citizen now

Interviewer: Okay. When did you get it?

Interviewee: That was about three years ago.

Interviewer: Can you recollect and recount your life back in Ghana?

Interviewee: Uh which aspects of it?

Interviewer: Anything you want to share. Maybe, your working life.

Interviewee: Um okay I was working in a bank

Interviewer: Which bank is this?

Interviewee: The Ghana Commercial Bank

Interviewer: Oh okay.

Interviewee: Um my husband too was working with um...I'm trying to remember the name of the bank. It was a new bank that he helped start.

Interviewee: Okay. So what were you working as?

Interviewer: In the bank? As a supervisor

Interviewee: Okay

Interviewer: In the main banking hall or administration?

Interviewee: Back office, mostly. Yeah, I worked in the bank for thirteen years so I did all kinds of things. I was offered managerial positions but I didn't like it because I didn't want to travel.

Interviewer: That's Ghana Commercial Bank? Oh ok. My father worked there for a long time. He's called Mr. [name withheld]

Interviewee: Oh ok I think I remember the name

Interviewer: So your qualification was the MBA?

Interviewee: Yes I got the MBA I think two years before we came here

Interviewer: So were you working with that?

Interviewee: Um I didn't work that much with it before coming here.

Interviewer: So what were you working with?

Interviewee: Erm BA in Economics

Interviewer: So did you do mainstream banking?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. Did you enjoy the banking work?

Interviewee: No

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: It was just my first job. It wasn't really something I wanted to do but I still stayed for thirteen years

Interviewer: Because you remember back in Ghana when you do Economics we think you want to get into banking.

Interviewee: No not really. I just did Economics because I didn't want to do science anymore and I didn't really like the banking but it was okay

Interviewer: Were you at University of Ghana?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. So what were your career aspirations before migrating to Canada?

Interviewee: Um before migrating to Canada I was just tired of the banking and I really wanted to do counselling.

Interviewer: Okay. So you had in mind to travel outside or to FL it in Ghana?

Interviewee: Oh in Ghana I just did it with my church as a volunteer marriage counselor so it was an informal thing.

Interviewer: So, when you were coming to Canada what were your expectations?

Interviewee: I expected things to be different. And so I expected that I would be doing a lot of things on my own because I won't have people to do them for me. I knew that I'll have to stay with my children a bit more because they were younger, before I started working

Interviewer: So that accounted for the five years?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: You didn't come looking for a job straight away

Interviewee: Not me. My husband did, but I didn't.

Interviewer: So the five years was to..?

Interviewee: Take care of the kids and going to school. It took me a while before I started school

Interviewer: So it's not like you were looking for a job and you didn't get?

Interviewee: Well I did attend a few interviews but it wasn't a very high priority for me at the time

Interviewer: Okay. So you didn't have to go through like credentials...

Interviewee: I didn't. I did try to have my credentials assessed here but I never used any of that.

Interviewer: Okay. So you didn't have to do more schooling because of that?

Interviewee: No, no. Because my eventual aspiration was to do something different, I didn't do anything related to what I already knew.

Interviewer: So your husband was also in the banking industry.

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: And was his aspiration to continue in that line?

Interviewee: Mhm

Interviewer: Is that what brought him here?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: So how was his process like?

Interviewee: He applied for a job online and got interviewed while he was still in Ghana so he came with him already having a job.

Interviewer: Oh ok. So he came straight into a job?

Interviewee: Yeah but that was a few months after we initially came here because he went back to Ghana after about half of a year and then got the job before coming. We all came, and then he hadn't resigned, he went back for about five or six months, applied for something online, and then got a job before he left his job permanently in Ghana to come here.

Interviewer: Oh ok that was a smart way.

Interviewee: Yeah but you wouldn't know that that would happen, you would only hope that that would happen because he did get a good job and that's not a common thing that happens.

Interviewer: Oh okay. Did he get a job in his field?

Interviewee: Banking, yeah!

Interviewer: So he was happy with it? And the salary too?

It was okay. His level of responsibility was less than what he had in Ghana. Higher rank and all that. Remuneration will be about the same or a little less, something like that.

Interviewer: But is there any reason for taking less?

Interviewee: “*Uh*” to be with the family. Because the main reason why we came was for school and for the children

Interviewer: Okay. So, I want us to look at the integration into the Canadian labor law and the experience. So I just wanted to find out, how did you know about this program? The

(indiscernible)

Interviewee: My husband visited a cousin and his wife and he learnt it from them and started the process of applying

Interviewer: So what informed your decision?

Interviewee: The desire to bring the kids to school here while they were still young.

Interviewer: So you had your children in Ghana before they came here?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So how was the integration for them?

Interviewee: It was quite easy. The youngest was six and the oldest was eleven

Interviewer: So they were still in their formative years

Interviewee: Yes. And I think it was easy for them because they went to a smaller school and they knew people in the school from church. They had a smaller community so it was easy for them to integrate.

Interviewer: And I am sure it's easy for you too

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So now what you're doing is what you aspire to do?

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Interviewee: Mhmm

Interviewer: So you're happy with that?

Interviewee: Yes. It took sometime though

Interviewer: So what are your impressions? Was it a difficult thing to do it here, get to that point?

Interviewee: Uh it wasn't straight forward, and I wouldn't say it was difficult for me on a personal level, because I expected it to be different. I think it was more challenging for my husband because it was a bit of a downgrade from what he had in Ghana

Interviewer: So how did he cope with what?

Interviewee: Um a lot of love from home. (Laughter)

Interviewer: So did he feel that maybe because he's foreign..?

Interviewee: Oh yeah! Yeah! that topic came up often because um there was over a thousand people and maybe just two black people in the head office so sometimes those questions occurred. Maybe this has to do with race more than what you do.

Interviewer: So which bank was he working in?

Interviewee: HSBC

Interviewer: So right now you're gainfully employed. Is it full time?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: And do you think that your work and your salary are commensurate to your qualifications now?

Interviewee: Um not really. It's maybe a step less.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: I think for me it's because I changed careers. If I'd been in the same career then maybe it would have been. But I changed careers completely so it's still a starting thing for me even though I'm not really starting

Interviewer: So did you have to use settlement programs to get to the job?

Interviewee: No because I'd lived here. I was already a citizen

Interviewer: So you could just apply online?

Interviewee: Yeah! Yeah! just like any citizen here

Interviewer: Okay so can we talk a little about the job you're doing now?

Interviewee: Yes I am a counselor in the multiple level prison. So I work with inmates.

Interviewer: That's interesting. And is it fulfilling?

Interviewee: Very fulfilling. That's all I've wanted to do. I prefer that very much to the banking.

Interviewer: And you have success stories?

Interviewee: Um it's a tough environment to work in and I haven't done it for that long. I've been there for just six months.

Interviewer: I'm sure since you're enjoying your occupation you don't intend to change it?

Interviewee: No, I've already done the change.

Interviewer: And there was no barrier when you wanted to find the job?

Interviewee: Oh there were barriers and that again had to do with because I hadn't worked, done any counselling work before, or worked with any population. All I had was my internship so it was a bit difficult. Most of the employers will want even two years' experience, something that I didn't have.

Interviewer: Everybody starts from somewhere?

Interviewee: Yeah but it's interesting. When they want to employ you then they want someone who has at least two years employment before.

Interviewer: So who cooks for you to eat?

Interviewee: I don't know, it's always a question we ask.

Interviewer: So this job you had did not require that?

Interviewee: No, I think it's also because it's a little bit below what I should be doing, they were also happy to have me.

Interviewer: I see. So you're hoping that you'd pick up from there?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So with your experience if you had another counselling job will you move?

Interviewee: Uh it will take a lot for me to move.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Um I'm working with the government which has a lot of positive benefits, even pension which is good. So if I'm to continue to work here it's a good place. It's only that it's a challenging population to work with and people tend to get burnt out. Given that I'm starting at the middle of my working years, maybe I'll stay there for long, unless it becomes too much for me.

Interviewer: So which area are you living in?

Interviewee: DC

Interviewer: Is it an area you prefer to live in?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: So let's say with your qualification if you get a job outside Canada which pays will you consider moving?

Interviewee: Well no. My husband has, but I have my kids in school here. We've already disrupted their lives once. So we'll like to continue to make this place a home because of the children. With my husband gone back to Ghana, I don't know, we live it one day at a time

Interviewer: Do you think he'll come back?

Interviewee: I don't know. He's been away for just a month. And he's doing what he likes to do so...

Interviewer: So he's gotten his job back? Or a higher position?

Interviewee: Um, I think it's higher.

Interviewer: Okay. So do you think that's the reason why he left?

Interviewee: No. He lost his job. And he couldn't get another one that was good enough.

Interviewer: So he had to take the tough decision of going back home?

Interviewee: Yes. If he had something similar he'd rather stay here **Interviewer:** Okay.

How is that to you?

Interviewee: It's a difficult thing but we thank God for the internet. We get to speak to each other every day. It's not the best but it's better than what could be.

Interviewer: But because of the children you intend to maintain this arrangement?

Interviewee: Yeah maybe till they're old enough to be on their own

Interviewer: Then you move to Ghana?

Interviewee: Possibly

Interviewer: So is your prayer he coming or you moving?

Interviewee: That could change.

Interviewer: I want to find your opinion about the program itself.

Interviewee: Okay. There's this invitation that Canada has open doors and that people should come. But then you get here and find out that it's not that easy. There are so many things that you have to get to know, different systems, you have to do taxes, and then it's very difficult to get a job that is um equivalent to whatever qualifications or experience that you have. One thing that is always trumpeted is that you don't have Canadian experience. And even after you've gotten experience the expectation is that you'll do something that is Canadian. The funny thing is that I did my MBA in Ghana with University of Ghana, my husband did his online with University of Lester and that seemed to be an advantage. Because when we sent our credentials to be evaluated, mine was considered a one year masters degree and his was two years. But we both did the same first degree. Because when we did the first degree it was three years in Legon then. My one year of masters degree was counted as part of my first degree

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: I have no idea. But because he did his masters and they saw London, they ignored the three years first degree. There's a credentialing body.

Interviewer: So do you have to pay for that?

Interviewee: Oh yeah about more than a hundred dollars. You have to pay all that. It's up to the employer to decide whether he'll use the evaluation or not. But the body just evaluates and let you know that this is what it's equivalent to in Canada. You do it in case you need it to get a job or go to school.

Interviewer: So you can decide not to do it?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Then how do you get into the labor market?

Interviewee: Oh you just send your certificate. Then your employers will decide. But sometimes some employers will require that you do it but we did it just as a matter of cause. It takes about three weeks or so.

Interviewer: So when they do it and bring it is it demoralizing?

Interviewee: Yeah for me it was demoralizing because here was I, I was thinking I did far more as a full time student than Frank as an online student and just because His has the U.K .beside it... Because there was no other reason.

Interviewer: And there was no way to contest it?

Interviewee: You could. You'll have to pay extra. But I didn't because I never had to use it

Interviewer: And there was no guarantee that they'll change it?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So will you say this program is a brain waste?

Interviewee: It is. Because a lot of people that you'll see from different countries will tell you that I was this in my country and now I'm something else. Doctors who are now nurses, nurses who are care aids, engineers who are taxi drivers

Interviewer: Is it because their credentials have been devalued?

Interviewee: Yes. And when you come with a family you'll have to survive right? So you'll have to make money anyhow. And then once you start making money you still have your bills to pay. So unless you're able to go to school to get Canadian credentials then before you get to where you should have been in the first place. And if you come when you're not that young, your age too works against you. Even though no one will admit it. Especially when you're getting so many interviews and you're not being employed, they look at you and say okay they could employ a younger person and pay

them less. So you have all those things working against you as a skilled immigrant. A lot of people come and go back because they get discouraged. Especially doctors.

Interviewer: Do you know any doctor in this category?

Interviewee: Um I know a doctor who came, landed, and went back to Ghana. So her husband and kids stayed eventually but she went back to Ghana. Because it will take her seven years, already in her mid-fifties. Before you start as a basic doctor over here you have to get all their credentials and it takes time. You have to study to take all their exams before. It's not fair. And then even after you finish it's no guarantee that your job is waiting for you. You now have to look for it. I think the only people it seems to work in their favor is nurses. I do hear also that bankers are no longer part of the program because there are too many people in the financial field.

Interviewer: So if you hadn't changed your profession you could be hit by the same thing?

Interviewee: Well I'm already here so I just have to struggle with the other people in finding the few jobs that there are

Interviewer: If a doctor comes here and he has to go back then it's also a brain drain from us in Ghana

Interviewee: Yes. Because why would a doctor come here and become a nurse or something before they get jobs?

Interviewer: So in your opinion do you think that there could be some settlement arrangements that could help people bear with this or not to go through this?

Interviewee: If the situation were that the program is such that there's a connection to actual jobs that ok we need doctors for instance, so if you come and you're not even employed as a full doctor at least you're working in the field and then you get the credentials, then the knowledge and experience that people are bringing will not be wasted because you know that these are the steps and I'm already here. Instead of coming and being a taxi driver while you try and get your credentials.

Interviewer: So clear policies in that direction which they don't have now?

Interviewee: Yes. I think it's a lie that they need people, and open the doors and make it look very rosy for people to come

Interviewer: They actually do need people, I mean, if you look at the literature.

Interviewee: They don't. Because where are the jobs? We are all scrambling for the jobs.

Interviewer: What is happening is that, you know there's a difference between the birth rate and the death rate and they have the population graph with a broad base.

Interviewee: Yeah so they need human beings they don't need skilled labor

Interviewer: Yeah but they have to justify why they will bring people from other places

Interviewee: Yeah! That's what I mean that they don't need skilled labor. They need human beings to occupy the place and do the menial jobs.

Interviewer: But one article I was reviewing says that to a Canadian a highly skilled person is versatile to fit into any job

Interviewee: It's not even true. It's only true within an industry. For instance, if I have an MBA in finance then you can work in a bank, in insurance, that is possible.

Interviewer: But that feel that you should be versatile to be able to even do menial jobs. You can do anything

Interviewee: That is demeaning. Yeah. Because the impression that is given is skilled labor, that you come and you work in accordance with what you qualify for. But it's not true

Interviewer: Is that really the immigrants' impression or that is the impression of the program? That if you're coming in you're coming in to work at your level?

Interviewee: It's the impression of the program. Even with the use of the word 'skilled'. That with your skill you come in and fit in where you belong.

Interviewer: Because there are some arguments which say that, well I didn't say I'm going to give you this job, but it is your impression that creates that.

Interviewee: Nooo, if you say you want skilled labor you want bankers, there's a wide variety of bankers. But if you want skilled labor I know that whatever skills I have, when I come I can use them here. But then you realize that you have to put those skills aside and do some other things before you eventually, hopefully, some people never do, you get there

Interviewer: So what kind of settlement services do you think that the Canadian government can put into place to solve it?

Interviewee: They should just be honest and say that we need to populate the country and so these are our conditions that we don't have that many jobs in the higher levels, so when you come be prepared to start from scratch.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: But they want everybody to come.

Interviewee: Yes. But Canada still opens its doors to lots of refugees who are not skilled.

Interviewer: But they also need the balance.

Interviewee: So then don't say skilled labor. Say that when you come we don't have jobs in these areas so this is what you should expect. More honesty. More openness.

Interviewer: But some of the groups are saying that they never promised anybody.

Interviewee: Yeah, they don't promise specific jobs but even just using the word. Cos that's just unfair. It's a twisting of things because just the fact that you used the word skilled, if I have an MBA, whatever that it's for, when I bring those skills, and the experience and the knowledge, I should fit where I belong.

Interviewer: I also think so. So is there anything you think you can share that will help that we haven't spoken about?

Interviewee: Mm erm just that moving to another country is such a big thing that it must not be done unadvisedly. It requires a lot and well, because I'm a counselor also there's a lot of the emotional side of things that can be disregarded. There are a lot of immigrants that come here and end up with different kinds of diseases, depression, physical ailments, high blood pressure and things because their lives have been changed so drastically. Not only adjusting to the different environment but also having to deal with the disappointments of not being able to use their skills as they could. So immigration is such a tough thing. It's unfortunate that you have the impression that you are moving to greener pastures. It's a big adjustment. And if you bring kids, it's an even bigger one. One of the reasons why I decided that I'll sacrifice my schooling and stay at home with all my kids for a while to help them adjust and it's a tough thing. A huge, huge sacrifice. I think if you come at the early ages, maybe in your early twenties, maybe you school here

before you start working it may be an easier adjustment. But if you're gainfully employed in our motherland.

Interviewer: But they give you more points based on your work experience also?

Interviewee: Yes. More points to come and then you don't get to use that experience. It's very demoralizing, it's very discouraging. It's a huge thing to deal with. It's been a challenge.

Interviewer: This is a personal question. So if you had to advise somebody what advice will you give to the person?

Interviewee: Oh take a lot into consideration before coming. If you're in your middle years and you're gainfully employed don't come. If you're in your early twenties fine. And if you have very young children be prepared that maybe one may be at home to take care of the kids before they start working. If it's a single overdone maybe it's easier. But if your kids were like the age that mine were when we came it's not a very good idea to do that. We were just blessed that my husband could get a job before leaving his job in Ghana to come here

Interviewer: So did you have like network support or something? Do you think it helps?

Interviewee: Um it does help a lot. Because a lot of things that I heard from my friends in the US of how difficult it is to adjust I never experienced that because of Frank's cousins and their families it was just like moving from home to home. Yeah. It really, really does help if you have relations or friends supporting.

Interviewee: No not really. I just did Economics because I didn't want to do science anymore and I didn't really like the banking but it was okay

Interviewer: Were you at University of Ghana?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Okay. So what were your career aspirations before migrating to Canada?

Interviewee: Um before migrating to Canada I was just tired of the banking and I really wanted to do counselling.

Interviewer: Okay. So you had in mind to travel outside or to FL it in Ghana?

Interviewee: Oh in Ghana I just did it with my church as a volunteer marriage counselor so it was an informal thing.

Interviewer: So when you were coming to Canada what were your expectations?

Interviewee: I expected things to be different. And so i expected that I would be doing a lot of things on my own because I won't have people to do them for me. I knew that I'll have to stay with my children a bit more because they were younger, before I started working

Interviewer: So that accounted for the five years?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: You didn't come looking for a job straight away

Interviewee: Not me. My husband did, but I didn't.

Interviewer: So the five years was to..?

Interviewee: Take care of the kids and going to school. It took me a while before I started school

Interviewer: So it's not like you were looking for a job and you didn't get?

Interviewee: Well I did attend a few interviews but it wasn't a very high priority for me at the time

Interviewer: Okay. So you didn't have to go through like credentials...

Interviewee: I didn't. I did try to have my credentials assessed here but I never used any of that.

Interviewer: Okay. So you didn't have to do more schooling because of that?

Interviewee: No, no. Because my eventual aspiration was to do something different, I didn't do anything related to what I already knew.

Interviewer: So your husband was also in the banking industry.

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: And was his aspiration to continue in that line?

Interviewee: Mhm

Interviewer: Is that what brought him here?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: So how was his process like

Interviewee: He applied for a job online and got interviewed while he was still in Ghana so he came with him already having a job.

Interviewer: Oh ok. So he came straight into a job?

Interviewee: Yeah but that was a few months after we initially came here because he went back to Ghana after about half of a year and then got the job before coming. We all came, and then he hadn't resigned, he went back for about five or six months, applied for

something online, and then got a job before he left his job permanently in Ghana to come here.

Interviewer: Oh ok that was a smart way.

Interviewee: Yeah but you wouldn't know that that would happen, you'd only hope that that would happen because he did get a good job and that's not a common thing that happens

Interviewer: Oh okay. Did he get a job in his field?

Interviewee: Banking yeah.

Interviewer: So he was happy with it? And the salary too? It was okay. His level of responsibility was less than what he had in Ghana. Higher rank and all that. Remuneration will be about the same or a little less, something like that.

Interviewer: But is there any reason for taking less?

Interviewee: Uh to be with the family. Because the main reason why we came was for school and for the children

Interviewer: Okay. So, I want us to look at the integration into the Canadian labor law and the experience. So I just wanted to find out, how did you know about this program? The (indiscernible)

Interviewee: Frank visited Alice and Joe and he learnt it from them and started the process of applying

Interviewer: So what informed your decision?

Interviewee: The desire to bring the kids to school here while they were still young

Interviewer: So you had your children in Ghana before they came here?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So how was the integration for them?

Interviewee: It was quite easy. The youngest was six and the oldest was eleven

Interviewer: So they were still in their formative years

Interviewee: Yes. And I think it was easy for them because they went to a smaller school and they knew people in the school from church. They had a smaller community so it was easy for them to integrate.

Interviewer: And I am sure it's easy for you too

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So now what you're doing is what you aspire to do?

Interviewee: Mhmm

Interviewer: So you're happy with that?

Interviewee: Yes. It took sometime though

Interviewer: So what are your impressions? Was it a difficult thing to do it here, get to that point?

Interviewee: Uh it wasn't straight forward, and I wouldn't say it was difficult for me on a personal level, because I expected it to be different. I think it was more challenging for my husband because it was a bit of a downgrade from what he had in Ghana

Interviewer: So how did he cope with what?

Interviewee: Um a lot of love from home. (Laughter)

Interviewer: So did he feel that maybe because he's foreign..?

Interviewee: Oh, yeah! yeah! that topic came up often because um there was over a thousand people and maybe just two black people in the head office so sometimes those questions occurred. Maybe this has to do with race more than what you do..

Interviewer: So which bank was he working in?

Interviewee: HSBC

Interviewer: So right now you're gainfully employed. Is it full time?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: And do you think that your work and your salary are commensurate to your qualifications now?

Interviewee: Um not really. It's maybe a step less.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: I think for me it's because I changed careers. If I'd been in the same career then maybe it would have been. But I changed careers completely so it's still a starting thing for me even though I'm not really starting

Interviewer: So did you have to use settlement programs to get to the job?

Interviewee: No because I'd lived here I was already a citizen

Interviewer: So you could just apply online?

Interviewee: Yeah! Yeah! just like any citizen here

Interviewer: Okay so can we talk a little about the job you're doing now?

Interviewee: Yes I am a counselor in the multiple level prison. So I work with inmates.

Interviewer: That's interesting. And is it fulfilling?

Interviewee: Very fulfilling. That's all I've wanted to do. I prefer that very much to the banking.

Interviewer: And you have success stories?

Interviewee: Um it's a tough environment to work in and I haven't done it for that long. I've been there for just six months.

Interviewer: I'm sure since you're enjoying your occupation you don't intend to change it?

Interviewee: No, I've already done the change.

Interviewer: And there was no barrier when you wanted to find the job?

Interviewee: Oh there were barriers and that again had to do with because I hadn't worked, done any counselling work before, or worked with any population. All I had was my internship so it was a bit difficult. Most of the employers will want even two years' experience, something that I didn't have.

Interviewer: Everybody starts from somewhere?

Interviewee: Yeah but it's interesting. When they want to employ you then they want someone who has at least two years employment before.

Interviewer: So who cooks for you to eat?

Interviewee: I don't know, it's always a question we ask.

Interviewer: So this job you had did not require that?

Interviewee: No, I think it's also because it's a little bit below what I should be doing, they were also happy to have me.

Interviewer: I see. So you're hoping that you'd pick up from there?

Interviewee: Yeah

Interviewer: So with your experience if you had another counselling job will you move?

Interviewee: Uh! it will take a lot for me to move.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Um I'm working with the government which has a lot of positive benefits, even pension which is good. So if I'm to continue to work here it's a good place. It's only that it's a challenging population to work with and people tend to get burnt out. Given that I'm starting at the middle of my working years, maybe I'll stay there for long, unless it becomes too much for me.

Interviewer: So which area are you living in?

Interviewee: DC

Interviewer: Is it an area you prefer to live in?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: So let's say with your qualification if you get a job outside Canada which pays will you consider moving?

Interviewee: Well no. My husband has, but I have my kids in school here. We've already disrupted their lives once. So we'll like to continue to make this place a home because of the children. With my husband gone back to Ghana, I don't know, we live it one day at a time

Interviewer: Do you think he'll come back?

Interviewee: I don't know. He's been away for just a month. And he's doing what he likes to do so...

Interviewer: So he's gotten his job back? Or a higher position?

Interviewee: Um, I think it's higher.

Interviewer: Okay. So do you think that's the reason why he left?

Interviewee: No. He lost his job. And he couldn't get another one that was good enough.

Interviewer: So he had to take the tough decision of going back home?

Interviewee: Yes. If he had something similar he'd rather stay here

Interviewer: Okay. How is that to you?

Interviewee: It's a difficult thing but we thank God for the internet. We get to speak to each other every day. It's not the best but it's better than what could be.

Interviewer: But because of the children you intend to maintain this arrangement?

Interviewee: Yeah maybe till they're old enough to be on their own

Interviewer: Then you move to Ghana?

Interviewee: Possibly

Interviewer: So is your prayer he coming or you moving?

Interviewee: That could change.

Interviewer: I want to find your opinion about the program itself.

Interviewee: Okay. There's this invitation that Canada has open doors and that people should come. But then you get here and find out that it's not that easy. There are so many things that you have to get to know, different systems, you have to do taxes, and then it's very difficult to get a job that is um equivalent to whatever qualifications or experience that you have. One thing that is always trumpeted is that you don't have Canadian experience. And even after you've gotten

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Interviewee: Yeah for me it was demoralizing because here was I, I was thinking I did far more as a full time student than *[name withheld]* as an online student and just because his has the UK beside it... Because there was no other reason.

Interviewer: And there was no way to contest it?

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Interviewer: So will you say this program is a brain waste?

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Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Yeah! Yeah!

Interviewer: But they want everybody to come.

Interviewee: Yes. But Canada still opens its doors to lots of refugees who are not skilled.

Interviewer: But they also need the balance.

Interviewee: So then don't say skilled labor. Say that when you come we don't have jobs in these areas so this is what you should expect. More honesty. More openness.

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Interviewee: Yeah they don't promise specific jobs but even just using the word. Cos that's just unfair. It's a twisting of things because just the fact that you used the word skilled, if I have an MBA, whatever that it's for, when I bring those skills, and the experience and the knowledge, I should fit where I belong.

Interviewer: I also think so. So is there anything you think you can share that will help that we haven't spoken about?

Interviewee: Mm, erm, just that moving to another country is such a big thing that it must not be done unadvisedly. It requires a lot and well, because I'm a counselor also there's a lot of the emotional side of things that can be disregarded. There are a lot of immigrants that come here and end up with different kinds of diseases, depression, physical ailments, high blood pressure and things because their lives have been changed so drastically. Not only adjusting to the different environment but also having to deal with the disappointments of not being able to use their skills as they could. So immigration is such a tough thing. It's unfortunate that you have the impression that you are moving to greener pastures. It's a big adjustment. And if you bring kids, it's an even bigger one. One of the reasons why I decided that I'll sacrifice my schooling and stay at home with all my kids for a while to help them adjust and it's a tough thing. A huge, huge sacrifice. I think if you come at the early ages, maybe in your early twenties, maybe you school here before you start working it may be an easier adjustment. But if you're gainfully employed in our motherland.

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Interviewee: Um it does help a lot. Because a lot of things that I heard from my friends in the US of how difficult it is to adjust I never experienced that because of [*name withheld*] cousins and their families it was just like moving from home to home. Yeah. It really does help if you have relations or friends supporting.

Interviewer: In settling, I mean

Interviewee: Yes. Definitely. Before we came our house was already furnished and everything and we just came into it. If you didn't have anyone to do that for you, you have to. And a lot of people have horror stories of how they settled. And we didn't have that.

Interviewer: Thank you so much Aunty, I appreciate your time.

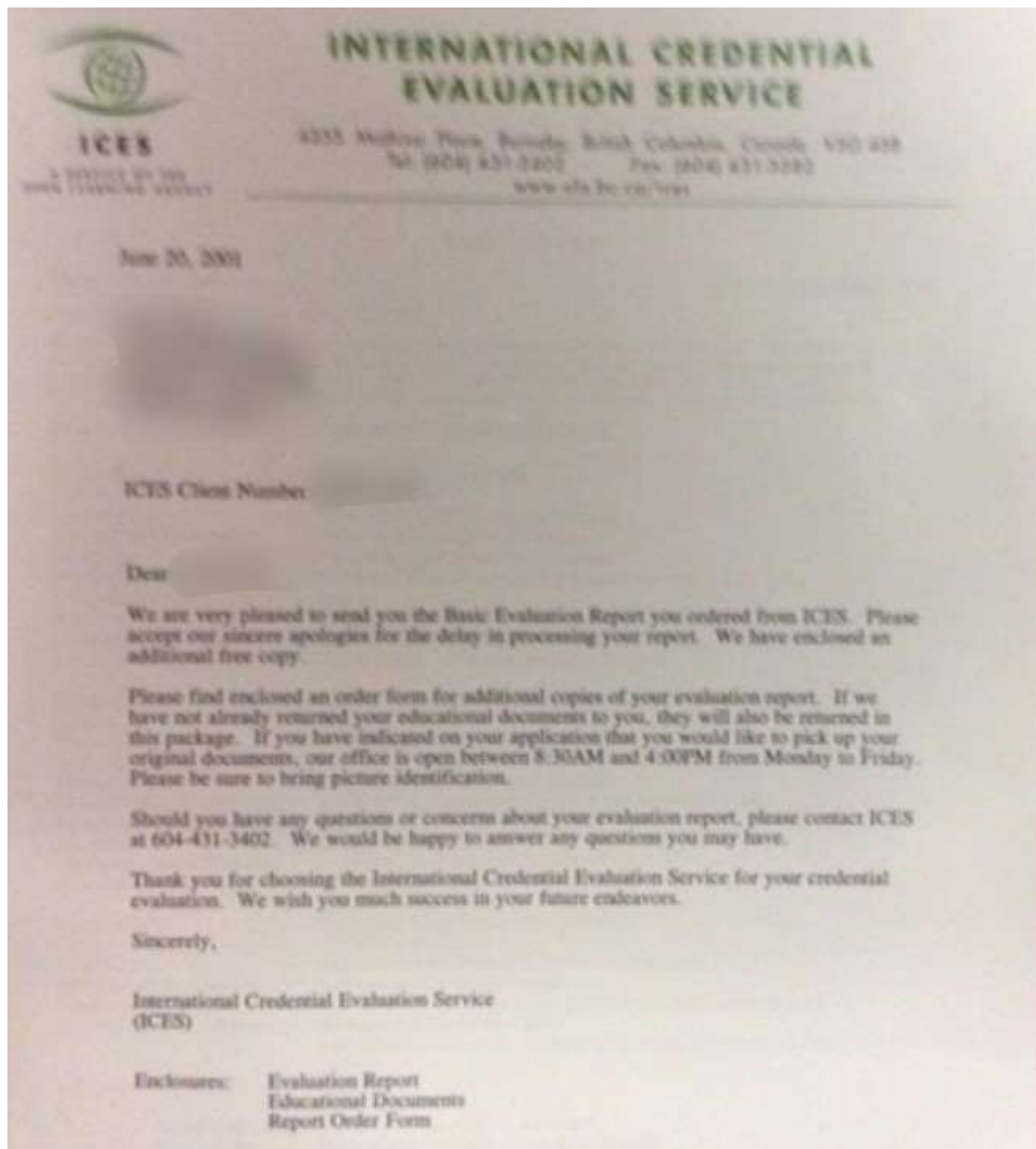
Interviewee: You are welcome

Appendix 3 – A visit to one of the settlement agencies in Burnaby, Vancouver



Photo by Author, November, 2016

Appendix 4: samples of an evaluation report after credentialing





ICES

INTERNATIONAL CREDENTIAL EVALUATION SERVICE

4355 Mathissi Place, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada V5G 4S8
Tel: (604) 431-3402 Fax: (604) 431-3382 <http://www.ola.bc.ca>

INTERNATIONAL CREDENTIAL EVALUATION

BASIC REPORT

Name: [REDACTED]

Client Number: I0001-5430

Date Evaluation Completed: June 14, 2001

All evaluations are based on a standard methodology which includes an examination of documents for authenticity, verification of translations, recognition of educational institutions, and a review of both country educational systems and specific programs of study. A Basic Report consists of two parts: PART I - DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED; PART II - COMPARABLE LEVEL OF EDUCATION. Both parts plus "END OF REPORT" notation must appear on this report for it to be considered complete.

PART I. DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED

Credential 1: School Certificate (1988)
Country: Ghana
Institution: West African Examinations Council
Institutional Recognition: Ministry of Education of Ghana
Program: Two-year upper secondary program
Normal Basis of Admission: Minimum of nine years primary and lower secondary study
Language of Instruction: English
Awarded to: Chugani Alice
Document Authentication: Examination of original documents
Translator Certification: Not required - credential issued in English

Credential 2: General Certificate of Education - Advanced Level (1990)
Country: Ghana
Institution: West African Examinations Council
Institutional Recognition: Ministry of Education of Ghana
Program: Two-year upper secondary program
Normal Basis of Admission: Minimum of eleven years primary and secondary study
Language of Instruction: English
Awarded to: Chugani Alice
Document Authentication: Examination of original documents
Translator Certification: Not required - credential issued in English

Credential 3: Certificate Stage Examinations (1997)
Country: United Kingdom
Institution: Association of Chartered Certified Accountants
Institutional Recognition: Incorporated by Royal Charter
Program: One-year full-time equivalent professional program in accounting
Normal Basis of Admission: Minimum of Foundation Stage (considered comparable to one year full-time equivalent of post-secondary study)
Language of Instruction: English
Awarded to: Alice Chugani
Document Authentication: Examination of original documents
Translator Certification: Not required - credential issued in English

END OF PART I

Certified General Accountants Association of British Columbia

300-1867 West Broadway, Vancouver, B.C. V6J 5L4 Telephone: 732-1211 Fax: 732-1252

ACADEMIC EVALUATION FOR CGA COURSE CREDIT

NAME: _____

TELEPHONE: (604) 438-5201

DATE: December 21, 2001

CGA COURSES	EX STATUS	CGA COURSES	EX STATUS
Financial Accounting [FA1]	EX	Auditing 1 [AU1]	EX
Economics 1 [EM1]	EX	Practice Set 3 [PS3]	
Law 1 [LW1]	EX	Taxation 1 [TX1]	AX
Financial Accounting 2 [FA2/PS1]	EX	Public Speaking [001]	
Quantitative Methods 1 [QU1] or OR Quantitative Methods Bridging [QMB]	EX	PACE Level (No exemptions available) Must do FA4 and 2 other electives	
		Financial Accounting 4 [FA4]	AX
Management Accounting 1 [MA1]	EX	Finance 2 [FN2]	EX
Communication Skills 1 [CM1]	EX	Management Auditing 1 [MU1]	
Financial Accounting 3 [FA3]	EX	Management Information Systems 2 [MS2]	
Accounting Practice Set 2 [PS2]	EX	Taxation 2 [TX2]	
Finance 1 [FN1]	EX	Auditing 2 [AU2]	AX
Management Information Systems 1 [MS1]	EX		
Management Accounting 2 [MA2]	EX	ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT of the CGA Program:	
Accounting Theory 1 [AT1]	EX	Bachelor degree requirement satisfied	YES
Comments/Special Program:			

Status:

DS = denied: not sufficiently similar

DA = denied: due to age of course work

DC = denied: requires Canadian content

AX = assignments only

CS = syllabus/outlines of course are required

NA = exemptions for this course not available

EX/CR = yes, exemption/credit granted

DG = denied: grade not sufficient


CX = challenge examination only

NE = not yet evaluated

Your maximum completion time for the required CGA courses will be 3 years. An additional 2 years may be added to individuals who have not yet met the degree requirement. Your assessed level of standing would be Level 5. Based on your records and our evaluation, we would recommend that you enrol in the following program of study for the 2001/2002 academic year:

Session 1 - - Session 2 - - Session 3 - TX1 Session 4 - PS3/001

Should you decide to enrol in the CGA Program, we would welcome an application for admission. Please include a copy of this letter with the application and official transcript. Any transcripts, course outlines, resumes or other documents submitted for evaluation or for application to the CGA Program become property of the CGA-BC Association. Please note that this evaluation does not constitute acceptance as a student and is based on the current information submitted with reference to the 2001/2002 academic year. **Exemptions and degree acceptability are subject to confirmation upon admission.** For individuals who wish to have their Non-Canadian degree or other certification evaluated to determine if it meets the degree requirement of the CGA Program, contact the International Credentials Evaluation Service of the Open Learning Agency for information. Telephone (604) 431-3402 or fax (604) 431-3382. CGA students must be residents of B.C. and have Canadian Citizenship or landed immigrant status. If you have any questions, please feel free to call at our offices.


Jas Randhawa, B. Comm, CGA
Coordinator, Student Admissions
JRS/ks

Appendix 5: An in-depth session with an interviewee in Toronto



Photo by Author, November 2016