

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

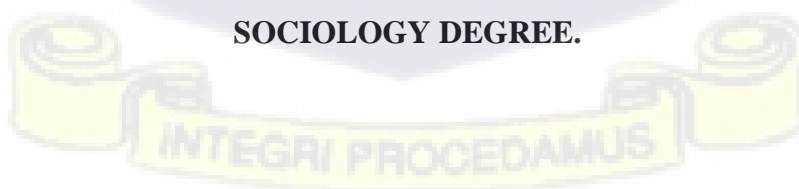
**EXPERIENCES OF SPOUSES OF GHANAIAN FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS: AN
ANALYSIS OF FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THEIR DECISION TO ACCOMPANY
OR NOT TO ACCOMPANY THEIR SPOUSES**

BY

GISELA NAKWOR GOMASHIE

(10021975)

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF PhD IN
SOCIOLOGY DEGREE.**



AUGUST, 2023

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research work was carried out by me (Gisela Nakwor Gomashie) at the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon, under the supervision of Prof. Steve Tonah and Rev. Prof. M. P. K. Okyerefo. All references to other works have been duly acknowledged.

Gisela Nakwor Gomashie

31st August 2023

.....

.....

Gisela Nakwor Gomashie

Date

(Student)

Supervisory Team:

Steve Tonah

6th September 2023

.....

.....

Prof. Steve Tonah

Date

(Principal Supervisor)

Rev. Prof. M. P. K. Okyerefo

..26th October, 2023..

...

.....

Rev. Prof. M. P. K. Okyerefo

Date

(Co-Supervisor)



DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father, David Sawyer Ayertey, who taught me the value of hard work and instilled in me the significance of a continuous quest for knowledge. My daughter, Gwendolyn Eyram Nakwor Gomashie, whose tragic death, put this thesis on hold for a while. I wish you were here to see this thesis completed but I seek solace in knowing that both of you are resting in the bosom of the Lord.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank God Almighty, for giving me the strength and knowledge to complete this course.

I thank my supervisors, Professor Steve Tonah and Professor M.P.K Okyerefo for their support, patience, guidance, and inspiration throughout this period. They helped me sculpt this dissertation through seven long years, but more importantly, they believed in me from the beginning. I could not have developed my research topic without the help of both professors, who gave me unending support, advice, and encouragement during some very trying times.

I would like to thank all the participants who opened up their homes and hearts to me with gracious hospitality and made this thesis possible. Their stories and experiences have enlightened and inspired me to go deeper and deeper into this field of study.

I am grateful to Professor Akosua Darkwah of the Department of Sociology, for her kindness and willingness to assist during the lowest point of my life. I appreciate your recommendation of a psychologist to work on my mental state so that I could complete this thesis. To the late Professor Araba Sefah-Dedeh, I am grateful for receiving counselling from you that helped me come to terms with my grief. I am also indebted to Dr. Peace M. Tetteh of the Department of Sociology, for her words of encouragement which made me believe that I can continue and finish this work.

To my colleagues, Jacob Adom, Sylvia Marfo and Selorm Adogla, I say thank you for your emotional support, guidance and useful suggestions on the work. I am grateful to you for encouraging me not to give up until this work is completed.

I thank my amazing family who made this thesis possible. I am deeply indebted to my husband, Felix Gomashie, for his unconditional love, support and always believing in me. His kind and affirmative words motivated and inspired me to reach higher than my dreams. Thank you for allowing me the space to achieve this. To my children, Felix Jnr, Festus and Gisela, you mean the world to me. Thank you for understanding that mummy has to finish this course.



ABSTRACT

This study explored the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers and their decision to accompany or not to accompany their partners to their new environment when he or she is due for posting. It focused on the interconnections among the factors and how they come together to shape one's decision to be an accompanying spouse or not. The choice of the Foreign Service is due to the lifetime career to serve abroad by the Foreign Service Officer, the premise of dedication and representational responsibilities of spouses, making them unique from other groups of expatriates. Research conducted showed that one of the reasons for remaining within the Foreign Service is the opportunity to travel abroad. Yet, it is precisely all the movement involved that amounts to one of the major disadvantages, which is the blight on the career opportunities of the accompanying spouse. This qualitative study aimed to find out why spouses do not accompany their partners after the first or subsequent postings. Through semi-structured interviews, nineteen spouses of Foreign Service Officers in Accra participated in the study. The findings indicated that prior experience with language, social support, children's education, and career development interconnected to influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse. With language being the dominant factor permeating the others, spouses wanted these factors to be favourable and mutually inclusive before relocating again. The lack of recognition from the missions and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, and the inability of the ministry to reintegrate them into Ghanaian society also had considerable impact on the decision not to be an accompanying spouse. Spouses, who are mostly women are rejecting "traditional" patterns of incorporation into Foreign Service life and are not comfortable playing a supporting role. They want to pursue professional opportunities and have their own identity, which reflects a strong desire among millennials for innovation and individualism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	3
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	6
1.4 Definition of Concepts.....	6
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	7
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	9
Phenomenology.....	9
Transcendental and Hermeneutic Phenomenology.....	16
1.7 Organization of the Study.....	22
CHAPTER TWO.....	25
LITERATURE REVIEW	25

2.1 Introduction.....	25
2.2 Decision to Relocate.....	25
2.3 Experience Abroad.....	30
Language.....	32
Cultural Adjustment.....	33
Social Support.....	40
Career.....	44
Children.....	49
2.4 Reasons not to be an Accompanying Spouse.....	53
Language.....	54
Children.....	55
Career Advancement.....	57
Loss of Social Support.....	59
2.5 Impact on the Family Bond.....	61
Relationship between Parents and Children.....	67
2.6 Conclusion.....	69
CHAPTER THREE.....	71
METHODOLOGY.....	71
3.1 Introduction.....	71
3.2 Qualitative Research.....	71
3.3 Negotiating Access.....	75
3.4 Sample Selection and Data Collection.....	80

3.5 Data Analysis.....	90
3.6 Validity and Reliability.....	96
3.7 Ethical Consideration.....	99
3.8 Field Problems.....	101
3.9 Conclusion.....	102
CHAPTER FOUR.....	104
4.1 Introduction.....	104
4.2 Diplomacy in International Relations.....	104
4.3 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy.....	106
Functions of Diplomatic Missions.....	110
4.4 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration.....	111
Background.....	111
Mandate of the Ministry.....	112
Structure of the Ministry.....	113
Functions of the Ministry.....	115
4.5 Ghana’s Foreign Policy and Missions Abroad.....	116
4.6 Ghana’s Foreign Service.....	117
Functions of a Foreign Service Officer.....	117
The Nature of the Posting.....	119
Arrival at Post.....	119
Conditions of Service.....	121
4.7 Role of the Ministry to Spouses before Posting.....	123

Orientation.....	123
4.8 Role of Spouses during Posting.....	123
The Symbolic and Traditional Role of Spouses.....	123
Societal Changes and the Evolution of the Role of Spouses.....	125
CHAPTER FIVE.....	127
FINDINGS.....	127
5.1 Introduction.....	127
5.2 Decision to be an Accompanying Spouse.....	128
Supporting the Career of FSO.....	129
Exploration.....	131
Raising a Family.....	132
Family and Friends Influence.....	133
Spousal Pressure.....	134
5.3 Experiences during Posting.....	136
Language.....	136
Culture.....	140
Social Support.....	141
Career Development.....	148
Education of Children.....	153
5.4 Conclusion.....	157

CHAPTER SIX.....	159
FINDINGS.....	159
6.1 Decision not to Relocate and its Impact on the Family Bond	159
6.2 Decision not to be an Accompanying Spouse.....	159
Language Barrier.....	160
Loss of Support and Social Network.....	163
Career Advancement.....	164
Stability and Continuity in Children’s Education.....	173
Recognition and Remuneration.....	177
Reintegration... ..	182
6.3 Impact on the Family Bond.....	184
The Bond between Children and Parents.....	186
The Bond between Spouses.....	188
6.4 Conclusion.....	192
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	194
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS... ..	194
7.1 Introduction.....	194
7.2 Summary.....	194
7.3 Conclusion.....	203
7.4 Recommendations.....	207

BIBLIOGRAPHY 215

APPENDICES 243

 Appendix I: Interview Guide for Spouses of Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers... 243

 Appendix II: Interview Guide for Key Informant... 246

 Appendix III: Script for Phone Contact with Prospective Participants..... 247

LIST OF TABLE

Table 3.1 Superordinate Themes and Subordinate Themes..... 95



CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the turn of the 21st century, organizations in the private and public sectors continuously expand their operations in order to access global markets. Governments worldwide also strive to build and strengthen international relations with countries, which they consider as strategic to political and economic growth. As a result, bilateral and multilateral relations are formed. In the past few years, economic and trade development has gained more prominence in international relations (Ortiz-Ospina & Beltekian, 2018). This is evident in the number of employees from private organizations and government departments relocating to work in different countries for a particular period. One of such government departments noted for sending its employees on international assignments is the Foreign Service.

In Ghana, the initiation, formulation, coordination, and management of foreign policy are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFA & RI). “The Ministry is mandated to formulate, promote and execute Ghana’s foreign policy and conduct Ghana’s international relations on a daily basis.” In order to carry out this mandate, the Ministry has to ensure the successful posting of its employees in different countries to achieve its foreign policy objectives. As in the case of multinational corporations, the Ministry continually posts Ghanaian Diplomats to various countries abroad. The Ministry’s placement policy stipulates that Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers are posted for a minimum period of four years (Brandful, 2013: 281). The policy allows the diplomats to be accompanied by their families on posting. However, the decision on whether to take their family or not is left to the discretion of the diplomat. The Ministry provides pre-departure preparations like diplomatic skills training and psychological

counseling in order to prepare diplomats for successful posting. “The Employee Wellbeing Strategy 2008-2010 (Department of International Relations and Cooperation) stipulates that the accompanying spouses should also receive some training, emotional preparation, and transition counseling.”

The nature of the job of a Foreign Service Officer (FSO), also known as a Career Diplomat involves moving constantly around. “The regular international assignment rhythm is between two and four years in international postings, with optional periods of two years in the home country between each posting” (Davoine et al., 2012). It is a contractual obligation for diplomats to repeatedly relocate and this is not only part of their job, but literally their life. These transitions, not only impact the diplomats but also becomes part of the reality of their spouses and children. In the case of the spouse, marriage to an FSO includes marriage to the lifestyle demanded by this position, as well. The spouse, mostly a female, has normally been ‘married’ to her husband’s job (Finch, 1983), a ‘tied mover’ (Mincer, 1978), or a ‘trailing wife’ (Cook, 2008b). Hence, the Foreign Service spouse and family live a life of continual and successive beginnings and endings, transitions, and adjustments. The international moving process has been described as, “... not just a physical activity. It requires an overabundance of mental and emotional energy,” and responsibilities for the details of the move often fall on the spouse who frequently is minimally and temporarily employed or not employed overseas or at home, and has more time (Pascoe, 2000).

One area of concern is when the spouse has his or her own professional career, dreams, and aspirations and would have to decide whether to accompany the partner during posting or not. The reality here is that at a certain moment, the couple would both need to make a major life decision. Thus choosing a common path that would allow them to be together and the realization that the

spouse would need to create his or her life again, both personally and as a family unit. In this transitional process, the ability to reinvent oneself, if possible, finding a new and challenging job as well as adjusting to the new circumstances in a way that honors one's personal and professional ideals is of importance.

It is against this background that this study focuses on spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and their experiences when they decide to accompany their transferee partners to their new environment when he or she is due for posting. It examines their motivations to move, their experiences after accompanying their spouses to a foreign country, the cultural and lifestyle distance between their lives before and after relocation, the communities into which they integrate, and the changes that they experience to their sense of self after relocation. It also explores their decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings and its impact on the family bond.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Even though the diplomatic profession is among the oldest in the migration field, there is limited research to draw from (Fliege et al., 2016; Davoine et al., 2013; Groeneveld, 2008). The experiences of FSOs and their families, as they transition to live in a foreign country, are an important area in the literature on transnational families, but have often been overlooked and understudied. Despite the fact that there have been considerable studies on the experiences of spouses of diplomats (Fenzi, 1994; Keenan, 2006; Hickman, 2002; Hughes, 1999), a greater part of the literature on diplomacy is focused on Europe and the United States of America (USA). There is scant research on the experiences of spouses of FSOs from the Ghanaian perspective (Brandful, 2013). The analysis of developing countries departs from the focus on analyzing high-income countries and their diplomatic approaches. Investigating the diplomatic environment of Ghana adds to the literature because its societal, cultural and political context is different from the Western

world. These characteristics may give new insights into the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs.

Further, the present study is designed to explore spouses' reasons for relocating as accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. This is in view of the fact that many of the initial approaches to spousal adaptation among expatriates were centred on middle-class, middle-aged women who came of age in the 1950s. This was the period when functionalist ideals of the "breadwinner husband" and "stay-at-home housewife" were normalized. Although educated, many of these early trailing women rarely had careers or professional identities of their own. They had been groomed to marry, take on the identity of the wife and mother and assume a supportive role to their husbands. Studies conducted during that time did not examine the decisions to become a trailing spouse or the reasons for agreeing to become accompanying spouses. This was probably because the researchers assumed that the wife would follow her husband; after all that was the "natural" and "normal" thing to do at the time. It is therefore understandable that research did not engage in examining the processes of deciding to relocate abroad as it was considered that wives had relatively little exertion of power in decision-making in the marital relationship (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Zvonkovic, Greaves, et al., 1996). However, with the rise of dual-career couples in which both spouses pursue a professional career and the growing awareness concerning work-life balance (Harvey, Napier, Moeller & Williams, 2010; Riusala & Suutari, 2000; Andreason, 2008; Morley et al., 2006; Hendry, 1998; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969), why would a spouse give up his or her career to move overseas where he or she probably cannot work? Why are the spouses of today, increasingly in disagreement with what their role should be; thus refusing to go abroad and opting, instead, to stay in the country of origin, after accompanying their partners on the first or subsequent postings?

Research so far indicates that spouses' dissatisfaction with life abroad is the main cause of transferees breaking contracts and returning home before the due time. The causes of this dissatisfaction are still not clear despite the fact that more and more trailing spouses are concerned about their loss of professional identity and career goals thus leading to unhappiness and lack of adjustment in a foreign country (Parfitt & Jenkins, 2008). This study sought greater clarification, particularly as the obligations of diplomats require them to move across the world at regular intervals. Foreign offices still expect of their envoys' spouses that they take on housekeeping responsibilities and do so without pay. This is because traditionally, spouses of FSOs were regarded as unpaid employees and expected to perform social and other duties without recognition of their contribution to the service. However, the traditional role of the diplomatic wife has now been overtaken by events. Over the course of the twentieth century, married life has evolved towards greater balance and equality in terms of both professional and private responsibilities (Destefano & Colasanto, 1990; Biernat & Wortman, 1991). Women's participation in the workforce has grown significantly over the past few decades, which has led the way to the dual-income household. With the generational change of "traditional spouses" who see their role as a diplomatic spouse as an occupation by itself and a new generation of spouses striving to have careers and income of their own (Hughes, 1999), it is important that one explores this phenomenon and how it has impacted the decision not to be accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. This is significant since studies on spouses of FSOs have the literature focused separately on the experiences, adjustment, or reasons given to go back home, either of spouses, expatriates, or children abroad (Guasch, 2016; Oriel, 2016; Keenan, 2006; Shaffer and Harrison, 2001). Scholars have rarely made an effort to integrate or connect these factors to understand how they eventually shape the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. As a result, the

different findings appear to coexist loosely next to each other, and a complete picture of the various factors that influence spouses' decision to be and not to be accompanying spouses is missing. This gap in the literature is addressed in the present study through the exploration of these factors and how they interconnect to shape one's decision not to be an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO after the first or subsequent postings and its impact on the family bond.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this study is to explore the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers in respect of the posting of their partner.

The specific objectives are:

1. To explore the factors that influenced the decision to be an accompanying spouse.
2. To explore the experiences of spouses during posting.
3. To examine how the experiences of spouses interconnect to influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings.
4. To examine the impact on the family bond when spouses decide not to accompany their partners again.

1.4 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Defining concepts in a research study involves writing out clear, concise definitions for our key concepts. This is crucial for establishing common understanding among researchers and readers. It helps in clarifying the scope and focus of the study, ensuring that everyone involved interprets the information consistently. Different interpretations of words and concepts can arise due to language, culture and professional differences. By clearly defining concepts, a researcher can avoid ambiguity and misrepresentation thereby enhancing the overall quality of the study. In this

light, the following concepts as used in this study have been defined to ensure that the essence of the research is understood.

- Accompanying spouse- a person who follows his or her husband or wife to another country due to a work assignment.
- Foreign Service Officer/Career diplomat- an official who works in the foreign service of their country. They represent their country's interest and promote the policies in international relations.
- Posting- a diplomat's/ FSOs assignment to a specific country.
- Expatriate- an individual living and/or working in a country other than his or her country of citizenship. The arrangement is often temporary and for work reasons.
- Relocation- the act of moving or transferring someone from one place to another for the purpose of work in another country.
- Experience- something (an event or a phenomenon) personally encountered, undergone or lived through.
- Family bond- the time that a family spends together interacting and connecting on an emotional level (The bond between parents and children; the bond between husband and wife). It involves activities like open discussions, shared activities or enjoying each other's company.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken with the aim of providing a voice to spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. This is due to the fact that their lived experiences and insights, with very few exceptions, have not been adequately explored in the literature, nor are they the focus of the Ghanaian Foreign Service regulations. The issues faced by diplomatic spouses do not receive much attention in academic

research and one contributing factor to this might be the lack of insights into the issues they are confronted with and any relevant information connected to their problems. It is often difficult to understand the urgency and importance of these issues unless one lives the reality oneself. On that account, it is significant that a number of authors, focusing on diplomatic spouses are either members of this community or have close relations with those within it (Keenan, 2015, 2006; Fenzi, 1994).

Another significance of this study is that it presents a better understanding of the experiences and the role of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs during posting to foreign countries and how prepared they are for the particular exigencies of their lifestyles. It provides insight into the complexity and interconnections of factors that influence a spouse's decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. The lived experiences of spouses in this study and the essential themes add a new understanding of experiences and the role of spouses during posting. Recently, some spouses' association groups voiced a need for this type of qualitative investigation into the experiences of spouses especially with the issue of employment abroad and allowances.

Finally, the findings of this study will be useful to the MFA & RI, FSOs, and their spouses with regard to future postings. The study will contribute towards the development of training programmes for spouses as well as inform the development of a systemic universally integrated approach to offering support, services, and assistance for accompanying spouses. This will eventually assist spouses to integrate easily and quickly into the foreign country. It is also envisaged that this research will inform policies regulating the role of spouses, career development, and assistance for them before, during a posting, and on arrival at home after posting.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Phenomenology

The purpose of this section is to introduce the theoretical and philosophical frameworks, which will be used to explain the phenomenon of relocating as accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. Choosing an appropriate social theory is an important step toward addressing research questions, which involve the social world. As a researcher interested in the experiences of spouses of FSOs, I found phenomenology to be the philosophy and methodology that best described the experiences I wished to elicit from my study. This is because a researcher applying phenomenology is concerned with lived experiences of people (Greene, 1997; Holloway, 1997; Kruger, 1988; Kvale, 1996; Robinson & Reed, 1998; Maypole & Davis, 2001) involved, or who were involved, with the issue that is being researched. It maintains that only those that have experienced phenomena can communicate them to the outside world.

Given that phenomenology is the study of the lived experience or the life world (Van Manen, 1997), its emphasis is on the world as lived by a person, instead of the world or reality as something separate from the person (Valle et al., 1989). This inquiry asks, “What is this experience like?” as it seeks to unfold meanings as they are lived in everyday existence. In this context, “What is the experience like to be an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO?” According to Husserl (1970), what we experience pre-reflectively is the lifeworld, without resorting to categorization or conceptualization, and very often includes what is taken for granted or those things that are common sense. Hence, our focus is on ‘what we are perceiving’ rather than ‘how we are perceiving it.’ The lifeworld comprises of individual, social, perceptual, and practical experiences. In this sense, one can say that the concept of the lifeworld was presented with the insight that human beings exist in the world with an inseparable connection. Therefore, in describing and analyzing

the lifeworld, phenomenology attempts to demonstrate how the world of theory and science emanates from the lifeworld, strives to discover the mundane phenomena of the lifeworld itself, and attempts to show how the experience of the lifeworld is possible by analyzing time, space, body, and the presentation of experience.

According to Christensen, Johnson, and Turner (2010), the main objective of a phenomenological study is to explain the meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experiences of a person, or a group of people, around a specific phenomenon. The phenomenologist seeks to understand human behavior through the eyes of the participants in the study. This is called ‘verstehen,’ which is German for the interpretive understanding of human interaction (Simon et al., 2011). The German philosopher, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) and German Sociologist, Max Weber (1864-1920) introduced ‘verstehen,’ which is an attempt to understand and interpret meanings behind social behavior. Dilthey, explained ‘verstehen’ as the way in which sociologists can access the subjective world of the individual and thus understand the intentions and meanings behind their behavior (Dilthey, 1977). The German concept ‘verstehen’ was made popular by Max Weber (1864-1920), one of the founding fathers of sociology. It became a critique of the positivist and naturalist approaches to sociology which was popular in the 19th century. It argues that human actions cannot be analyzed by just adopting the research methods followed in the natural sciences with ‘absolute objectivity’. Instead, Weber believed that the interpretation of human actions through empathy and recognition was key for a better understanding of social phenomena in society. The essence of ‘verstehen’ is that, in order to understand the cause of action, someone has to understand the meaning attached to it by the individual (Weber, 1947). This approach follows three main beliefs namely: that sociology should consider not just behaviour but the motivation for that behaviour; that reality is constructed through interactions (this is similar to the symbolic interactionist approach); and that to understand individual subjectivity, quantitative methods can be used (Nickerson, 2023). For these reasons, ‘verstehen’ as used by Weber, describes how Interpretive Sociologists must endeavor to unearth the hidden meanings of the actions and behaviours of humans. In trying to uncover the hidden meaning of people’s behaviours, non-verbal expressions and motivations of people when they act or

interact should be considered. One example of Weber using 'verstehen' is in his work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930). In 'the Protestant Ethic,' Weber sought to understand how Protestantism had led to the emergence of Western capitalism in 15th and 16th-century Europe. He achieved this by examining the religious beliefs of Protestants and how these beliefs influenced their attitudes toward work. Weber (1936) argued that understanding these deep-rooted religious beliefs held by individuals was essential to understanding the emergence of capitalism as a whole.

In a broader context, Weber studied 'verstehen' from the point of view of how societies can encourage certain types of action. He coined the term *Social Action Theory* which is a theory that focuses on individuals' subjective meanings and motivations behind their actions. In his work *Economy and Society* (1921), he mentions four ideal types of social action namely; traditional social action, affective social action, value rational action and instrumental-rational social action. In traditional social action, Weber refers to the actions of individuals in a society that are based on long-established norms and customs. According to Ritzer & Goodman (2003), traditional social action is deeply rooted in customs, habits and social norms. It occurs when the ends and means of action are established by customs and traditions. Individuals follow established practices without questioning their validity or seeking rational justification. This means traditional social action is based on the notion that people will act in a particular way because that is what they have always done. An example of traditional social action can be seen in religious ceremonies or cultural rituals. People participating in such activities often act out of a sense of tradition and continuity thereby maintaining practices that have been passed down through generations. These norms, customs and practices are passed down from generation to generation which normally become ingrained in the way people think and behave.

The next type of social action which is affective social action is motivated by an individual's specific affections and emotional state. It is driven by emotions, feelings or impulses (Giddens, 2015). It combines means and ends together so that action becomes emotional and impulsive. This type of social action is considered as the most irrational actions because the individual cannot make calm, dispassionate assessment of the relationship between the ends of action and the means that exist to serve this end. The means are rather emotionally fulfilling and become ends in themselves. Acting out of anger is an instance of affective action. For example, if a girl is being teased by someone, she may be very angry that she may slap the person offending her. She has been provoked to the extent that she reacts violently. In this case, the action is defined by the emotional reaction of an actor within a given set of circumstances and not with reference to a goal or system of values. Thus, this kind of action results from the emotional state of mind of the actor.

In value-rational social action, goal and means of achieving end is derived and determined by values. It is guided by deeply held values, beliefs and ethical principles (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017). Although this type of social action is considered to be rational, the rationality of that action is justified by the actor from his set of beliefs which may be religious, aesthetic, constitutional and based on professional policy. For instance, individuals who are in professions like law, military and the police are expected to choose goals and means of accomplishing them, under a specific code and rules, which efficiency and effectiveness cannot be questioned by them. When a soldier lays down his life for the country, his action is not directed towards attaining specific material goal like wealth. It is rather for the sake of certain values like honour and patriotism. Also, if a person refuses to engage in dishonest practices, even if it means losing a job opportunity, that person is exhibiting value-rational action. These types of social action are crucial to understanding the behavior of individuals in ethical, religious and ideological contexts.

Last, but not the least is instrumental-rational social action which is a type of social action that is goal-oriented. It is characterized by individuals who carefully calculate and plan their actions to achieve specific goals or outcomes (Morrison, 2006). These goals can be personal or economic and determined by the belief that a particular action will help to achieve a specific goal. Thus the individual sets a goal and uses the efficient ways and means to achieve it. However, the goal and means should be rational or justifiable. For example, if someone decided to study for an exam in order to get a good grade, the goal here is to perform well in the exam, and the person has decided that studying is the best way to achieve this goal. If the individual does not study and yet wants to score high in the exam, then his or her goal and means of achieving it is considered to be unrealistic and irrational. One key feature of goal-oriented action is the rational calculation of means and ends. According to Turner (2010), individuals assess the available means to reach their desired ends and select the most efficient and effective methods to achieve their objectives. This type of social action is common in modern societies, where individuals normally make decisions based on cost-benefit analysis and the pursuit of self-interest.

While explaining the four types of social action, it is important to note that the ideal types of social action as stated by Weber may not occur similarly in the real world. Nonetheless, it may exist and occur in the real world as a mixture or contaminated form of social action. By categorizing social action into four types, Weber provides a framework that allows us to explore the motivations and underlying mechanisms that drive people in their interactions with society. This categorization remains a valuable tool for sociologists and researchers seeking to make sense of the intricate tapestry of human actions and their consequences.

There are a number of different ways in which the ‘*verstehen*’ approach can be applied in sociological research. Participant observation is one way in which the researcher actually takes part in the lives of the people they are studying. This could involve working the same job, living in the same community or taking part in the same activities as those being studied. Another way is through interviews. Here, the researcher asks questions about people’s experiences and feelings in order to better understand their actions and motivations. “This mode of qualitative data can be combined with traditional quantitative data approaches to create an approach that combines the perspectives of insiders and outsiders in a society” (Ray, 2007). In qualitative studies, a phenomenologist researcher, therefore, examines the qualities or essence of an experience through interviews, stories, or observations with people who are having the experience of which the researcher is interested in. Phenomenologists, therefore, want to know what the experience was like to live it and not just the person's reaction to the experience (Munhall, 2007). Phenomenology can therefore be viewed as how people perceive the social world or a phenomenon through their senses, and how these perceptions can in turn shape peoples’ lived experiences (Layder, 1996; Berggren, 2014). Thus, how spouses of Ghanaian FSOs perceive the phenomenon of relocating as an accompanying spouse and how these experiences can in turn shape the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. It can be inferred that a ‘phenomenon’ can only be understood from experiencing an individual’s point of view as it has been lived (Fendt et al., 2014).

Several empirical studies have used the phenomenological paradigm to explore people’s lived experiences of a particular phenomenon (Rosetti and Henderson, 2013; Fendt et al., 2014; Gill, 2014; Eskandari et al., 2016). The term ‘lived experience’ is used to describe personal knowledge, experience or first-hand accounts of a phenomenon gained as a result of direct involvement in

daily life undertakings (Husserl, 1997; Gill, 2014; Eskandari et al., 2016). To illustrate, Eskandari et al. (2016) conducted a phenomenological study of seventeen fathers in Iran who had the lived experience of fathering for the first time using the purposive sampling method. The inclusion criteria for the selection of participants in the study was ‘men who have had the lived experience of being a father for the first time.’ Thereafter, data were collected using semi-structured interviews and a demographic characteristic questionnaire. All of the interviews were audio taped and transcribed. Eskandari et al. (2016) analysed the data gathered by using the interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) approach. The IPA approach is a qualitative research approach which aims to provide detailed examinations of personal lived experience (Smith et al, 2009). It is grounded in phenomenology as it involves detailed examination of the participant’s lifeworld. It explores in detail how participants are making sense of their lived experiences within the context of their personal and social worlds. This involves exploring personal experiences and taking into consideration an individual’s personal perception or account of an object or event (Smith & Osborn, 2008). IPA researchers collect data through interviews and analyse it to unearth themes and meanings which help them understand how individuals make sense of their experiences. The result of Eskandari et al’s (2016) study, revealed seventeen themes, four sub-ordinate themes, and two super-ordinate themes based on the lived experience of men about their paternal role(s). Thus, Eskandari et al’s (2016) study is important because it provides a structure that will be used in this phenomenological research.

In view of the above argument, the philosophical approach used in this study has been guided by the research questions, which seek to understand the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs within a specific contextual lifeworld, which is that of relocating to a foreign country as an accompanying spouse. From existing social theories, phenomenology offers a suitable

philosophical approach to studying an individual's lived experiences within any social context (Fendt et al., 2014). Notably, phenomenological methods acknowledge that only individuals who have experienced a phenomenon are able to describe it as it is lived and thus, a phenomenon can only be known from the perspective of the individual experiencing it (Merleau-Ponty, 1945; Husserl, 1997; Mapp, 2008; Fendt et al., 2014). The phenomenology paradigm was therefore used in this study to structure the discussion on the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs during posting abroad, how these experiences interconnect to influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings, and the impact of this decision on the family bond.

Transcendental and Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Although there are opposing views among phenomenologists as to how to categorize phenomenological approaches (Fendt et al., 2014), most phenomenology studies and arguments have been broadly divided into two, which reflects the two contributions of Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger (Creswell, 2007; Gill, 2014). In illustrating how descriptive and interpretive phenomenology applied in this study, it is important to note that although Heidegger's hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology followed Husserl's transcendental (descriptive) phenomenology, it did not diminish the value of descriptive phenomenology as a means of identifying essence of human experience or supersede the former approach. The appropriateness of these philosophies or approaches to a particular study is a matter of judgement since both phenomenologists sought to uncover the lifeworld or human experience as it is lived.

As a method of inquiry, transcendental (descriptive) phenomenology, which is attributed to Husserl (1963; original work 1913), sought to make phenomenology a rigorous science within the tradition of

its time, and applied the concept of bracketing to maintain objectivity. Husserl (1997) used the word 'epoch' to refer to bracketing or suspending biases concerning the social world in a process he referred to as 'phenomenological reduction.' Bracketing involves setting aside what the researcher already knows about the experience being investigated and approaching the data with no preconceptions about the phenomenon (Dowling, 2004; Lopez & Willis, 2004). In Husserl's transcendental phenomenology, the goal of the researcher is to achieve *transcendental subjectivity*, thus a situation whereby the impact of the researcher on the inquiry is continually assessed and biases and preconceptions neutralized, so that they do not influence the object of study (Lopez & Willis, 2004). The researcher is to stand apart, and not allow his or her subjectivity to inform the descriptions offered by the participants. In the case of the empirical transcendental phenomenologist these reflections might be written down and used for reference during the data analysis process (Polkinghorne, 1989). By becoming aware of his or her biases and pre- assumptions the researcher is then able to set them aside and becomes involved in the research experience without any preconceptions about what might be uncovered. Gaining this awareness is seen as a protective factor, ensuring the researcher's biases or assumptions do not intrude on the study. As an accompanying spouse of a FSO, I realized that the inherent human factor and the awareness of my pre-conceptions are key attributes that can affect bracketing in this study. This is because the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis in qualitative research. The findings are mediated through this human instrument. Crotty (1996) indicated that it is not humanly possible for qualitative researchers to be totally objective. Deciding not to use this method was primarily led by my desire to explore my own engagement with the material. I observed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bracket my personal experience entirely as an accompanying spouse and believed that being reflexive in the study would make it a more textured piece of research. Having only a description of the experience, without interpretation, would not allow for an in-depth comprehension of the personal

world of the participant (Willig, 2008). I then turned my attention to hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology.

Although Heidegger's philosophical inquiry began in alignment with Husserl's work, he later challenged several key aspects of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. Subsequently, Heidegger (1962) modified and built on Husserl's theories and developed the interpretative tradition (also known as the hermeneutic tradition). A point of departure from his predecessor was the focus of phenomenological inquiry. While Husserl was interested in the nature of knowledge, that is, an epistemological focus. Heidegger was interested in the nature of being and temporality thus, an ontological focus (Reiners, 2012). With this focus on human experience and how it is lived, hermeneutic phenomenology moves away from Husserl's focus on "acts of attending, perceiving, recalling and thinking about the world (Lavery, 2003) and on human beings as knowers of phenomenon. Hermeneutic phenomenology, then, seeks 'to understand the deeper layers of human experience that lay obscured beneath surface awareness and how the individual's *lifeworld*, or the world as he or she pre-reflectively experiences it, influences this experience (Bynum & Varpio, 2018).' A researcher applying hermeneutic phenomenology therefore studies individuals' narratives to understand those individuals' experiences in their daily lives, in their *lifeworlds*. However, the hermeneutic phenomenology goes beyond a descriptive understanding to that of interpretation. It is rooted in interpretation, which requires one to interpret experiences and phenomena through the individual's *lifeworld*. Thus, if all human experience is informed by the individual's *lifeworld*, and if all experiences must be interpreted through that background, hermeneutic phenomenology must go beyond description of the phenomenon, to the interpretation of the phenomenon. The researcher must be aware of the influence of the individual's background and account for the influences they exert on the individual's experience of being. This is not to say

that the individual's subjective experience, which is inextricably linked with social, cultural, and political contexts, is pre-determined. Heidegger argued that individuals have *situated freedom*. *Situated freedom* is a concept that asserts that 'individuals are free to make choices, but their freedom is not absolute; it is circumscribed by the specific conditions of their daily lives (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Hermeneutic phenomenology studies the meanings of an individual's being in the world, as their experience is interpreted through his or her *lifeworld*, and how these meanings and interpretations influence the choices that the individual makes (Laverly, 2003). This focus requires the hermeneutic phenomenologist to interpret the narratives provided by research participants in relation to their individual contexts in order to illuminate the fundamental structures of participants' understanding of being and how that shaped the decisions made by the individual (Heidegger, 1867). In this sense, interpretation was given to the narratives provided by the spouses of Ghanaian FSOs in relation to their individual contexts. This threw light on the fundamental structures of spouses' understanding of being an accompanying spouse and how that shaped their decisions not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings.

Another key aspect that distinguishes hermeneutic phenomenology is the role of the researcher in the inquiry. Instead of bracketing off the researcher's subjective perspective, hermeneutic phenomenology recognizes that the researcher, like the research subject, cannot be rid of his or her lifeworld. Instead, the past experiences and knowledge of the researcher are valuable guides to the inquiry. It is the researcher's education and knowledge base that leads him or her to consider a phenomenon or experience worthy of investigation (Moran, 2000). This aspect of hermeneutic phenomenology resonates with this researcher who was once an accompanying spouse. My past experiences and knowledge base led me to consider the phenomenon of relocating as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. As humans, one cannot experience the phenomenon of

relocation without referring back to his or her background understandings. Principally, interpretative phenomenologists believe it is impossible to rid the mind of preconceptions and approach something in a completely blank or neutral way.

We may also use our experiences to guide our research questions as in the case of this study where my research questions were guided by my experience as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO and the literature reviewed. As researchers, we are interpreting something in which we ourselves exist. Therefore, we have no detached standpoint (Koch, 1995). To ask the researcher to take an unbiased approach to the data is inconsistent with hermeneutic phenomenology's philosophical roots. Instead, researchers working from this tradition should openly acknowledge their preconceptions and reflect on how their subjectivity is part of the analysis process (Moran, 2000). This process of self-reflection is required as part of the preliminary phase of the research in order to identify the researcher's biases and assumptions and how they might impact on the study (Laverty, 2003).

It is important to note that the interpretive work of hermeneutic phenomenology is not bound to a single set of rule-bound analytical techniques. It is rather an interpretive process involving the interplay of multiple analysis activities (Bynum & Varpio, 2018). Generally, this process starts with identifying an interesting phenomenon that directs our attention towards lived experience. Thus, the phenomenon of relocating as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO, that directs our attention towards lived experience. Members of the research team then investigate experience as it is lived, rather than as it is conceptualized, and reflect on the essential (phenomenological) themes that characterize the participant's experience with the phenomenon, simultaneously reflecting on their own experiences. Researchers capture their reflections in writing and then

reflect and write again, creating continuous, iterative cycles to develop increasingly robust and nuanced analyses. Throughout the analysis, researchers must maintain a strong orientation to the phenomenon under study (i.e. avoid distractions) and attend to the interactions between the parts and the whole. This last step, also described as the hermeneutic circle, emphasizes the practice of deliberately considering how the data (the parts) contribute to the evolving understanding of the phenomena (the whole) and how each enhances the meaning of the other (Bynum & Varpio, 2018).

Having clarified the two main approaches to phenomenology, the research methodology of choice for this study is hermeneutic phenomenology developed by Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). It is a “research methodology aimed at producing rich textual descriptions of the experiencing of selected phenomena in the lifeworld of individual that are able to connect with the experience of all of us collectively” (Smith, 1997: 80). This study therefore demonstrates how hermeneutic phenomenology can provide insight into a human (complex) phenomenon of relocation as accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO, spouses’ experiences abroad, how these intertwine and inevitably influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings and its impact on the family bond. These goals fit with the philosophy, strategies and intentions of the interpretive research paradigm, which is based on the epistemology of idealism, which states that knowledge is viewed as a social construction. It encompasses a number of research approaches, which have a central goal of seeking to interpret the social world (Higgs, 2001). The investigative approaches of Dilthey (1833-1911) and Weber (1864-1920) as discussed earlier focused on interpretive understanding (or *Verstehen*), to access the meanings of participants’ experiences as opposed to explaining or predicting their behavior, which is the goal of empirico-analytical paradigm (or quantitative) research (Smith, 1983).

According to the interpretive paradigm, meanings are constructed by human beings in unique ways, depending on their context and personal frames of reference as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Crotty, 1998). This is the notion of multiple constructed realities (Crotty, 1996). In this type of research, findings emerge from the interactions between the researcher and the participants as the research progresses (Creswell, 1998). Therefore, subjectivity is valued in the sense that there is acknowledgement that humans are incapable of total objectivity because they are situated in a reality constructed by subjective experiences. Also, the research is value-bound by the nature of the questions being asked, the values held by the researcher, and the ways findings are generated and interpreted. On the whole, interpretive paradigm is much influenced by hermeneutic and phenomenological basis as the research and the researcher's learning process continually iterate (Carroll & Swatman, 2000; Klein & Myers, 1999; Lee, 1999). Researchers are guided by the initial interpretation or understanding of the phenomenon, and it will continuously be changed through further exploration of the literature and especially through investigation and interaction with the studied context (Klein & Myers, 1999: 71). The overall discoveries throughout the process are valuable and could be reflected by the researchers at the end of their journey. By utilizing phenomenological qualitative interviewing, it is expected that this approach uncovers the richness of the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs while discovering basic constructs that guide this population's transitions into new cultures. In line with the objectives of the study, it is also expected that the experiences during the first and any successive postings will give insights into the reasons for not moving during subsequent postings, and how this impacts the family bond.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis is presented in seven chapters. Chapter one presents a brief introduction, statement of

the problem, the objectives of the study, definition of concepts and the significance of the study. It also outlines the theoretical framework and the approach used to structure the thesis.

Chapter two reviews the relevant literature that pertains to the subject of migration and specifically, relocation of spouses of expatriates and FSOs. It examines the literature in relation to the experiences of spouses during a posting in a foreign country as well as the reasons for being an accompanying spouse and subsequently deciding not to be. It also examines how the decision not to be an accompanying spouse impacts the family bond.

Chapter three gives an account of the research methodology and methods. It outlines the design of the research, describing the qualitative phenomenological methodology and using hermeneutic phenomenology as the appropriate method for the study. The research methods include sample selection, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection, and data analysis. Additionally, the limitations of the study and ethical issues that arose from the field are discussed.

Chapter four introduces us to diplomacy in international relations. It considers diplomacy as a method that governments use to influence the actions of foreign governments. This is typically carried out by a country's representative abroad; a diplomat or an FSO, whose actions are largely controlled by the government they serve. The chapter then provides information on the history and background of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. It throws light on the mandate, structure and functions of the ministry in order to gain a better understanding of how the Ghana Foreign Service operates. It continues with the functions of FSOs and the nature of the posting. The chapter ends with the symbolic and traditional role of spouses of FSOs, the evolution

of the role and how societal changes have impacted the role.

Chapter five presents the findings, analysis, and discussions of the phenomenon under investigation. It specifically analyzed the reasons for being an accompanying spouse and the experiences during posting. It explores the motivation of spouses to relocate for their partner's work with a focus on how gender ideologies weave with the decision to relocate and how spouses, especially women's considerations and preferences are taken into account during this process.

The sixth chapter continues with the findings and elaborates on the reasons for not being an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. It examines how the experiences during posting, influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse. The chapter ends with the impact of the decision not to be an accompanying spouse on the family. This gives an insight into how these families cope as they transform into transnational families after the decision not to move.

Finally, chapter seven presents a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study. It highlights the findings of this study as spouses of Ghanaian FSOs are faced with the decision to accompany or not to accompany their partners when due for posting. The study contributes to knowledge and gives recommendations that are aimed at aiding the ministry, policy makers and government in their policy development, implementation and future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review of every research seeks to share results of other studies that are related to the field being studied, relate the study to the larger ongoing dialogue in the literature, fill academic or literature gaps, and extend prior studies (Biggam, 2008; Cooper, 1984). This study is a hermeneutic phenomenological study which focuses on the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs who relocate when their partners are due for posting and afterwards decide not to accompany their partners after the first or subsequent postings. To this end, this chapter presents a literature review on the phenomenon of relocation and its effects on spouses and the family of expatriates and diplomats. It reviewed research findings that helped frame an understanding of variables that impact the experiences of spouses. In line with the objectives of the study and to facilitate the coherent and systematic achievement of these objectives, the literature review is presented into these categories: the decision to relocate, experience abroad, reasons not to be an accompanying spouse, and its impact on the family bond.

2.2 DECISION TO RELOCATE

A decision to relocate a family to a foreign country because of a work opportunity is not a decision taken lightly. Expatriates and their spouses usually take a considerable amount of time to make the decision to move overseas before they publicly embrace the opportunity (Pollock & Van Reken, 1999). Past research has considered the gendered nature of decisions about potential relocations and the imbalance of power within the process. Bielby and Bielby (1992: 1245) considered the

degree to which gender-role ideology "introduces asymmetry into the process by which husbands and wives decide how to respond to a job opportunity in a different location". Their research, which was confined to dual-earner couples, revealed that gender-role ideology along with labor market structure contribute to a husband's greater power within the dyad. The underlying reason is that labour market resources of men and women do not have equal weight in family bargaining processes due to gender identity constructions of femininity associated with domestic roles and masculinity associated with provider roles (Halfacree 1995; Cooke 2008a). An incipient literature has begun to question the role of occupational structures and regional contexts of opportunity in shaping the migration behaviour of family households (Nisic 2009; Shauman 2010; Brandén and Ström 2011; Perales and Vidal 2013). Analysing Swedish data, Brandén (2013) finds that the fact that men's education affects family migration decisions more than women's is due to a higher concentration of women in occupations with low wages and career potential. Using British data, Perales and Vidal (2013) show that gender asymmetries in the impact of spousal resources on family migration decisions are channelled by structural inequalities in the labour market (such as occupational sex-segregation). In Germany, Nisic (2009) finds that the employment outcomes of women who migrate following their partners depend on the labour market opportunities in the origin and destination regions. Altogether, these findings suggest that gender-based labour-market inequalities (and spatial variation in these) influence how men's and women's capabilities affect the decision to relocate, as well as the consequences that relocations have on women's work outcomes. Hence, the difference in family migration rates between male-breadwinner and dual-earner couples may vary across regional and national contexts.

Comparably, some male and female dual earners adhere to a traditional view of family and responsibilities, whereas others embrace a more egalitarian ideology (Gerson, 2010; Harvey & Wiese, 1998). A man who espouses a traditional gender role philosophy, views himself not only as the primary provider but also as the decision maker, rejecting the idea of allowing his partner's job to disrupt his own career advancement (Bielby

& Bielby, 1992). In a similar vein, a female accompanying partner who holds traditional beliefs about herself as the homemaker and housewife may tend to make the necessary sacrifice for her career advancement rather than impede her husband's advancement (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Hendershott, 1995). Correspondingly, Lersch (2016) demonstrated that women with an egalitarian partner are less likely to leave employment after a household move, whereas those with a partner holding traditional beliefs exhibit a higher probability of dropping out of the labor market

Also, traditional gender-role beliefs within a couple were positively correlated with the decision to decline a wife's relocation opportunity. Shihadeh (1991: 442) examined wives' post-migration employment and found that because females deferred to their partners' employment-related decision to move, they experienced subsequent penalties in their own employment. The finding held regardless of whether the wife held less, equal, or greater human capital and earning power than her partner. Shihadeh (1991), looked not at the different values placed on productive versus reproductive labor but at the "normative pressures arising out of traditional gender-role distinctions."

According to Shihadeh (1991: 433), "Women are often socialized to place family first and personal goals second when it comes to critical household matters". It is recognized that women are still socialized into the importance of their role in domestic family life and are continuously exposed to images of femininity and domesticity (Olson, Frieze et al. 1990; Pfof and Fiore 1990; Gilbert 1993). Men are also socialized into being the breadwinners and providers even though most women are economically independent (Friedman 1996; Potuchek 1997; Moya, Exposito et al. 2000; Hochschild and Machung, 2003). In this regard, women are the ones to be asked to sacrifice their well-paying jobs in traditional gender-role beliefs (Bielby and Bielby, 1992). "Thus, it appears as if economic

rationality in family migration decision-making occurs only on the margins: families will consider the wife's career development in making migration decisions only if she has a very high-status job relative to her husband or if the husband is unemployed and the family has no other economic resources” (Cooke, 2000: 421). However, even in these cases, the husband's human capital characteristics play a more important role than the wife's human capital characteristics when deciding to migrate. Otherwise, family migration is to improve the career prospects of the husband, but with little regard for the wife’s career prospects (Cooke, 2000).

Existing research supports the contention that work-related family migration is predominantly husband-centered for married couples. Zvonkovic, Greaves, Schmiege, and Hall (1996: 97) found that women, even in couples who consider themselves as having similar values and openly expressed opinions, take the secondary position in work-related family decisions. Zvonkovic and colleagues concluded that work-related family decisions were “more often enacted according to the husbands’ preference”, although they appeared to be formed through agreement. Over the years, research on family migration has shown couples give priority to men rather than women’s careers and economic progress (Branden, 2014). According to Branden, (2014), couples generally move to accommodate men’s, rather than women’s career opportunities. Using Swedish panel data including 1,039 married or cohabiting individuals, the study examined the importance of traditional gender ideology and behaviour in explaining this pattern. Two dimensions of gender and migration were examined: (a) the willingness to move for a partner’s career and (b) the likelihood of couple migration for one’s own work or educational opportunities. Findings showed that women are more willing to move for their partner’s career. Childless women are more likely to move with their partners to pursue their own work or education than childless men, whereas mothers are less likely to report this than fathers. This has led to men taking up the ‘lead migrant role’ and women choosing the ‘trailing spouse’ or ‘tied

mover role' resulting in women losing their employment (Branden et al., 2018).

Historically, women were thought to migrate primarily for marriage or family reunification, both internationally and internally. Indeed, although married men may move to join family members, women are more likely to move for their spouses (UNDESA 1993, as cited in Martin 2004). Twice as many women immigrate to the United States for spouses than men, and family reunification is the main cause of women immigrating to Australia, Canada, Europe, New Zealand, and the United States, (Ghosh, 2009). According to a survey in India, marriage was the cause of 89 percent of rural female migration and 59 percent of urban female migration (National Sample Survey Organisation, 2005, as cited in Ghosh, 2009). The same survey conducted in 2007–08 shows an increase in rates, with marriage migration accounting for 91 percent of rural female migration and 61 percent of urban female migration (National Sample Survey Office, 2010). In studies of migration, it has been assumed that the male is the primary actor in this process in which they left their origin places in order to make some money and return to their origin country, or they move to a new destination and bring their wife and children with themselves in a search of a better life. Thus, the primary assumption is that migration is a male-dominated process, and the male is the one who makes the decision to migrate, and the female is the follower. Women migration is seen as a secondary movement that follows the young males' migration in which "Women generally migrate to create or reunite a family" (Houstoun et al., 1984: 919).

In Chen's (2009: 224) study of international graduate students' wives in the USA, she found that some participants took the decision to accompany their husbands to go abroad as a must, based on the belief that "women need to compromise" or "women need to follow husbands whenever husbands go". In assuming a subordinate position in relation to their husbands, these women took the

patriarchal gender relation for granted without giving equal consideration to their own life opportunities in the new country. Also, Jones (1973) found that women believed it was better to move than to endanger their husband's opportunities for upward mobility. A decade later, Donahue and Gulotta (1983) opined that families who relocate subscribe to a unique value of putting the head of the household's needs first. It was culturally expected of women, at least up to the seventies to be "compliant and cheerily accepting" of their husband's job transfer (Starker, 1990). Although the literature suggests that several factors influence the decision to relocate or accompany one's spouse on foreign posting, the role gender plays in arriving at this decision cannot be overemphasized. Women often give up or defer their personal, social, and professional lives to support their spouse. This happens without taking into consideration the country of post and how they will adjust to the language, culture, education opportunities for their children and their career options and advancement if they wanted to work. The next section examines the literature on the experiences of spouses of FSOs and expatriates when they decide to accompany their partners on posting.

2.3 EXPERIENCE ABROAD

When FSOs are posted abroad, it does not just impact their life but the lives of their entire family. For all the joys of seeing the world and living in another country for a few years and experiencing it with your family, being an accompanying spouse of an FSO can be a lonely and isolating experience. The experience is particularly challenging for partners who do not have the continuity of a position to anchor them and who are often expected to handle the practical matters of life in a new and different culture such as grocery shopping and making appointments (Family Liaison Office Department of State, 2008). They are usually prevented from working in the new country as they find it difficult to get work permits (Groeneveld, 2008). More often than not, spouses are oblivious of what they are about to experience, especially first-timers, who may not have participated in any

orientation before accompanying their partners abroad.

Generally, spouses of expatriate workers are often compelled to sacrifice or postpone employment and educational opportunities and live in economic conditions that are vastly different from their country of origin. Multinational Corporations spend a great deal of money sending the expatriate and family abroad in terms of travel or relocation, housing, schooling, and other costs incurred in such transfer (Caligiuri et al, 1998). However, the social risk involved in such transfers for the family cannot be underestimated. This includes the risks of not fitting in abroad and not fitting in upon return to their country of origin, a lapse in a work-specific resume or applicable work related to the spouse's profession, lack of privacy, and social isolation. Similarly, while life in the Foreign Service is stimulating and has undeniable rewards of personal growth, travel, and international friendship, the dark side is rarely recognized. The experience of culture shock, the isolation of language inadequacy, the hazards of rigorous climate and endemic disease, the trials of evacuations, and the pervasive fear of terrorism cannot be overemphasized (Mann, 1979).

Several mixed qualitative and quantitative studies over the last decade have aimed at understanding the challenges of partner/spousal adjustment to living overseas. Shaffer and Harrison (2001) conducted a mixed quantitative/qualitative study on Expatriate Trailing Partners (ETPs). The authors agreed with earlier studies on expatriates who stated that the partner's adjustment greatly affects employee performance and early departure, but noted that little attention was given to these findings. In the qualitative portion of the study, the researchers interviewed 10 women who were spread over various regions (South America, Europe, Asia, North America, and the Middle East) but were evenly divided into two groups: those who had positive experiences abroad and those who did not. Shaffer and Harrison (2001: 238) first modified Black et al.'s (1991) three dimensions of expatriate adjustment to just two, interaction adjustment and general living adjustment, because they deemed work adjustment irrelevant. They then analysed the participants' transcripts to see if their

experiences fell under positive or negative categories. Difficulties in adjustment arise for this group, Shaffer and Harrison (2001) argued that because ETPs do not have organizational support, may lack fluency in host country's language, have difficulty accessing social supports such as new friendships, interact more with the local economy, and take on domestic, personal, and professional roles that are different than those to which they were accustomed to at home. Those participants who experienced a significant change, such as going from having a career to staying home, reported that their sense of identity was negatively impacted, while those who did not change their employment status were able to maintain their sense of identity in their new home (Shaffer and Harrison, 2001: 241). The study called for more research into the role of organizational support and the accessibility of emotional support such as counselling for ETPs and their children. As I interrogate the literature, I hope to build upon these authors findings to better understand the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and identify how these experiences affect their decision not to relocate again.

Language

According to the HSBC Expat Explorer survey (2008), the most common problems faced by expatriates are: learning the local language, finding a new place to live, making new friends, sorting out finances and healthcare, and finding a school for the children. Often doing all this in a country where you cannot speak the language. Knowledge of the host country's language is therefore one of the crucial elements of successful adjustment abroad. Language capability has been attributed by Tung (1987: 119) as one of the reasons for lower failure rates for European and Japanese multinationals. "The ability to speak the language of the host country is still quite important for the expatriate to deal with local nationals, local customers and suppliers, as well as to adapt to host culture (and be accepted into that culture) both of which are major keys to successful expatriate experience" (Briscoe and Schuler, 2004: 247). This was further supported by Scullion and Collings (2006: 65), who stated that willingness to communicate, is a key factor that includes the expatriates' desire to use the host national language and a willingness to understand

and work with the host country. Consequently, host country language fluency will ease communication with locals and thus facilitates intercultural adjustment (Shaffer & Harrison 2001: 252).

Apart from this, Usunier (1998: 31) states that language is a significant component of culture as it conveys meanings, which may be unique to a community. In support of this view, Earley et al. (2006: 86) add that culture and language are very much linked. They stress that languages in themselves are culture carriers and therefore allow one to access the body of cultural knowledge, beliefs, and values beyond those expressed in the native language. In some countries, the inability to speak the language is interpreted as arrogance and demonstrates a lack of interest. Scullion and Collings (2006: 65) contend that the number of previous assignments and language fluency had a significant positive direct effect on interaction and adjustment. Similarly, the longer the assignment, the bigger the positive impact language skills in the host language have on adjustment (Andreason, 2003: 551). Hence, learning a foreign language will not only enable one to communicate better but helps one to appreciate the cultures with which one is interacting. It also helps one to gain rapport, respect, and appreciation from the people of the foreign culture. These factors strengthen Briscoe and Schuler's (2004) assertion that language training should be included in the pre-posting preparation for spouses. Bauer and Taylor (2001:137) also advise companies to offer language courses and intercultural training for spouses. On the whole, Scullion and Collings (2006: 123) state that spouses, who mastered the foreign language, at least at a rudimentary level, were more likely to have had a positive experience whilst abroad.

Cultural Adjustment

Aside from the difficulty in communication due to the language barrier, spouses have to contend

with the issue of cultural adjustment and social integration. It is one thing to know intellectually that there are cultural differences and another to go through them in real life. Living in a culture that is different from your own can be both an exciting adventure and a challenging process. Some researchers like Bauer & Taylor (2001) argue that expatriate spouses and partners accompanying diplomats on international assignments are exposed to more frequent interactions with local culture than the jobholder, making it more difficult for them to adjust. Regardless of what country you are from, it is common for FSOs and their families to go through a period of cultural adjustment. Understanding this adjustment process and getting support through this transition will help you to have a more fulfilling experience. The values, social norms, and traditions in the host nation may be very different from beliefs about "how things should be" in the country where you grew up. When individuals move to another culture, they naturally carry their own background and life experiences with them, and this shapes how they perceive and adjust to their new environment.

Black and Mendenhall (1991) state that expatriates go through four main stages in adjusting to the host country. These are the honeymoon stage, culture shock, adjustment, and mastery phases. The Honeymoon stage occurs as soon as the expatriate arrives in a host country. The family is still living in a hotel. In this stage, the expatriate and the family are still fascinated by the host culture. Everything is new and exciting; the family is also receiving assistance and support from the company with transport, enrolling children in schools, and so forth. Marx (1999: 7) adds that in this stage judgement is reserved and even minor irritations are suppressed in favour of concentrating on the nice things. This stage can last up to three months. However, Lane et al. (2009: 221) believe that this stage, which they refer to as the phase of elation of anticipating a new environment can last up to nine months depending on previous experience, the degree of cultural differences being experienced, and the individual personality.

The next stage is culture shock. Here, the expatriate changes from being infatuated with the host culture to being disillusioned, confused or unhappy living and working overseas. This phase according to Marx (1999: 8) is characterized by a general unease that can involve being uncomfortable with the new situation but can border on hating everything foreign. Expatriates can become angry, anxious, excessively concerned about their health and in extreme cases become depressed or resort to excessive use of drugs or alcohol. In this stage, the support from the company fades. The family is now left to fend for themselves and often the spouse must figure out where to shop, where to find doctors and how to build social networks. Mendenhall et al. (1991: 412) caution that some people never go beyond this stage and either request to be sent back to their home country or live through the tour of duty with unhappiness.

The adjustment phase, which is the third stage, occurs as the expatriate or the spouse starts to accept the new culture and begins to learn the norms and the ways of getting things done in the new culture. This stage doesn't occur naturally, it requires a mind shift and deliberate effort on the side of the expatriate and spouse. In this stage, expatriates use different techniques to adjust. However, for the spouse who is left with no social support system, adjustment can be difficult. As mentioned earlier, some never get to adjust. They either request to be sent back home or will stay and feel miserable. Scullion and Linehan (2005: 247) however argue that not all expatriates start with a honeymoon phase or with a period of euphoria and optimism, and although depression occurs with some frequency, it is far from universal. Tarantal (2005: 101) also argues that expatriates' experiences are complex and do not fit neatly onto these phases.

The last phase of adjustment is mastery. This stage is reached after a deliberate effort and desire are made by the expatriate to understand the host culture. It requires a high level of cross-cultural

maturity where the expatriate can function effectively in a different culture and enjoy the nuances of the norms and traditions of the host culture. At this stage, although they may not like and enjoy some aspects of the host culture they start to respect and understand why these practices exist.

Undoubtedly, all expatriates experience these stages at some point in their sojourn, so it is critical to evaluate literature regarding this topic. In understanding how culture shock impacts expatriate adjustment, researchers have tried to understand the role that cultural distance plays in this process. Cultural distance (Martinko and Douglas, 1999; Stahl and Caligiuri, 2005; Swagler and Jome, 2005; Selmer, 2007) refers to the degree of difference between two cultures: collectivist vs. individualistic, differences in time orientation, religion, languages, etc. In an extensive review of theory and research of international business literature and cross-cultural studies, Martinko and Douglas (1999) aimed to analyse existing literature through the lens of attribution and cross-cultural theories in order to explore why expatriate managers fail overseas. Attribution theory explores how individuals comprehend the causes of events and the outcomes of those perceptions (Martinko, 1995, cited by Martinko and Douglas, 1999: 269). This, in turn, will affect one's expectations. The authors (1999: 281) noted that much of the problem is the "incongruencies" between expatriates and the locals, especially when the expatriates are from a highly individualistic and low-context culture (such as North America and Western Europe) and are living and interacting with locals from a highly collectivistic and high-context culture (many countries in Latin America and Asia). They suggested that organizations should increase cross-cultural training to lessen psychological distance to cultural differences and have employees address their biases and preconceived expectations to gain a better understanding of the culture in which they will be living. Martinko and Douglas (1999) also called for more studies in this area in order to ascertain how biases are formed and carried out in detail. It is also critical to measure how Expatriate Trailing Partners (ETPs) encounter cultural differences to

formulate more effective cross-cultural training, since they are interacting more with the local population.

Stahl and Caligiuri (2005) also noted that well-adjusted expatriates tended to be more flexible and have better coping strategies for adapting to new cultures. They remain open to a new culture but continue to maintain their own worldviews, traditions, and norms from their home culture. Conversely, expatriates who reported difficulties with adjustment tended to reject their host country's worldview and values, make invidious comparisons between the host culture and their own, and only socialize with other expatriates from their home country. They interviewed and surveyed 116 German managers who were evenly split between assignments in the U.S., which is considered culturally similar to Germany, and Japan, which is deemed to have more cultural distance. Stahl and Caligiuri (2005) also found that cultural distance played a big role in how the participants coped with living abroad. The German expatriates living in the U.S. had an easier time coping than their counterparts in Japan and tended to use problem-focused coping skills, such as asking for assistance on where to shop or actively seeking friendships with locals, as opposed to the emotion-focused coping strategies of withdrawal or avoidance of local culture. The authors noted, however, that some emotion-focused coping skills such as empathizing and seeking emotional support can be helpful (Stahl and Caligiuri 2005: 605). They also discussed in their review of previous literature that expatriates in developing countries were more prone to poor coping strategies because they may not have the same coping skills and supports due to cultural distance. As Martinko and Douglas (1999) found in their review of expatriate literature, Stahl and Caligiuri (2005: 605) noted that maladjusted expatriates' inability to cope with the cultural differences of their host country may have an unfavourable impact on their adaptation, resulting in maladaptive behaviour, such as problem drinking or isolating themselves from the expatriate community. So presumably, a North American can appear quite well-adjusted in

Berlin but have coping challenges in Abuja. The study did not mention what on-the-ground support these expatriates had, but suggested that individual expatriates who work in a culturally distant country should try to utilize problem-focused skills in order to better adjust to their life abroad (Stahl and Caligiuri, 2005: 612). I would like to mention that it would be prudent to study whether pre-move counselling, training, or coaching, in addition to cross-cultural training, could assist employees going overseas to foster constructive problem and emotion-focused coping skills that would aid their adjustment. Since ETPs tend not to have the structure of an office in place which helps develop these skills, further studies on ETPs' behaviour and coping skills are vital in order to understand how best to help this group adapt and find support.

In a 2007 quantitative study, Selmer conducted a survey of 42 American businessmen in Canada and Germany, with Canada being used as the culturally similar measure vs. Germany as the culturally dissimilar country, to test the assumption of expatriate researchers that the more different the host culture is from the expatriate's own culture, the more difficult the process of adjustment will be. The author sent surveys containing various psychological, adjustment, and cross-cultural questionnaires and the researcher found that there was basically no significant adjustment difference between the participants in both countries. Citing previous studies by Forster (1994), Hung (1994), Selmer and Shiu (1999), Selmer (2007) further argued that expatriates living in a culture similar to their own with the same language, such as an American living in the UK, may experience more culture shock because they are not prepared for small and nuanced cultural differences. This is where misunderstandings arise. Selmer (2007: 197) states that while all expatriates could benefit from cross-cultural training, "special considerations" may not be necessary for those who are placed in postings that are just classified as culturally different. The author noted, however, that more research is needed on this front, especially longitudinal research since adjustment is a process that needs to be measured

over time. The study was very small and it is possible that a study comparing expatriate adjustment in Canada to expatriates in a developing country or comparing rates in adjustment of expatriates in different capacities, such as trailing partners and NGO employees, may bring vastly different results.

While these quantitative and mixed methodological studies shed light on the role that cultural differences play in the expatriate's adjustment to life overseas, there have also been a few notable recent qualitative studies (Feldman and Thomas, 1991; Walsh, 2006; Robertson et al., 2007; Smiley, 2010; McKenna, 2010) that are especially relevant for this research, because they interviewed participants who were living in areas that were extremely culturally different from their own. These studies give pertinent insight into the expatriate experience and how expatriates make sense of adapting to a new culture and forming a life in a new home.

Robertson et al. (2007) also set out to understand the impact of culture shocks and surprises on expatriates and how this affected their ability to adjust. In a mixed methodology study, the researchers interviewed 12 expatriate faculty members employed by a research institute in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Robertson et al. (2007) explored how participants reacted to cultural differences when they first arrived in this Central Asian country and then studied their adjustments to these particular shocks. As with Martinko and Douglas's (1999) research discussed earlier in this review, Robertson et al. (2007: 212) found that as a phenomenon, culture shock and subsequent disappointment is usually the disparity between expectations influenced by the individual's own culture and the facets of the culture of their home overseas. Robertson et al. (2007: 217) found that expatriates not only describe these shocks as cultural but also as "a service shock" and are more likely to describe difficulties "in terms of "services,' 'bureaucracy,' 'space safety' and 'loss of time.'" Exploring these differences and the importance expatriates place in them is critical for understanding how this group

cope and adjust in culturally distant landscapes.

Social Support

Tied to the issue of cultural adjustment is the role of social support during posting. Shumaker and Brownell (1984:13) have defined social support as “an exchange of resources between at least two individuals perceived by the provider or the recipient to be intended to enhance the well-being of the recipient”. It is the feeling or experience of having others who love and care for you, whom you can turn to for help in times of need. Support may come in the form of financial or material assistance or simply a friend who listens or gives advice. Cobb (1976) identified three components of social support: information that one is cared for and loved (succour, nurturance, and affiliation), information that one is esteemed and valued (recognition and respect), and information that one belongs to a network of communication and mutual obligation (group membership).

The role of social support in international relocations cannot be overemphasized. This is because when the expatriate moves to another country, his or her pre-existing social support networks are disrupted (Copeland & Norell, 2002). An overseas assignment presents both the disruption of established social support networks and the challenge to develop new ones. Such changes can be especially stressful for relocated accompanying spouses, due to competing family responsibilities, social isolation, socio-political constraints, and changes in their social and/or work status. In a quantitative study of more than 250 spouses and partners of European diplomats, Gudmundsdottir, Gudlaugsson and Adalsteinsson (2019) found a positive relationship between emotional support, instrumental support and the spouses’ satisfaction with life. Although the authors do not write from the perspective of gender equality, concentrating more on socio-emotional and instrumental rather than employment support, they make a clear connection between the levels of support diplomatic

spouses on posting receive, and the success or longevity of the international assignment itself.

According to Black et al. (1992: 134), there is consistent evidence that social support can facilitate cross-cultural adjustment for both the employer and the spouse. Black et al. (1992: 130) found that both family and host country nationals helped spouses' interaction adjustment. Host country nationals' support helped primarily because host country nationals provide both emotional support and information about the culture, as well as feedback about how the spouse is doing and what changes can bring about more effective functioning in the culture. The authors also found that culture novelty i.e. the perceived distance between the host and parent country cultures hindered spouses' general non-work adjustment. It was found that the more the home culture and the host culture differed, the more difficult it was to figure out the cultural maps and rules, and the more difficult to operate effectively even after figuring them out. Shaw (2001: 214) argues that spouses of diplomats, not only relied on the mission (Embassy) support system but found that the international community provides a ready-made, albeit transient support base. She further highlights the mission as either a buffer between the person and his foreign environment or as an impediment. She cautions that a supportive mission in a difficult country goes a long way in helping a spouse to adjust better.

Without emotional support from extended family or a network of intimate friends and community, the adjustment may be especially difficult for spouses. Bayraktar (2019) categorized the social support network of expatriates into four: home-country nationals, host-country nationals, compatriots (same-citizen expatriates) and foreign expatriates. Expatriates use social networks to reduce uncertainty and cope with stressful situations, especially during adjustment (Albrecht and Adelman, 1984; Liu and Shaffer, 2005). They need intra- and intergroup relations as this adjustment does not happen in a social vacuum (Liebkind, 2008). In expatriates' adjustment processes, social and fictive

kin also play an essential role. They provide them with the material and social support that enables newcomers to integrate into a new society (Ebaugh and Curry, 2000). Expatriates with home and host country social networks are more likely to use these to access support (Caligiuri and Lazarova, 2002; Johnson et al., 2003). In coping with an alien culture and unfamiliar environment, spouses may find “expatriate ghettos” where they can hang out. However, Scullion and Linehan (2005: 238) caution that people who prefer the seclusion of “expatriate ghettos” have minimum exposure and interaction with the host country nationals and are unlikely to exhibit a strong relationship between psychological well-being and culture-specific competence. It is therefore advisable for spouses to avoid social isolation and establish social networks such as membership in a Diplomatic Spouses Association, which is exclusive to spouses of diplomats from various countries of the world. In addition, spouses are also encouraged to interact with their nationals and volunteer their services at Embassy events or local charities.

Apart from these, help from the company in dealing with financial concerns related to the move and life in a new country, and good organizational and practical support, including providing contacts in the new country, are all important support systems for the adjustment of an expatriate family (Lazarova et al, 2015). Active involvement within a church, school, youth organization, employment organization, health or welfare organization in the host country helps family members to adjust quickly to a new location (Cornille, 1993). Schools (most often international ones) can offer support for families by encouraging dialog between families and the school and facilitating parent-adolescent communication during relocation. This was emphasized by McLachlan (2008) in a qualitative study with 45 families at an international school, in southern England. The study was about internationally mobile (IM) families managing relocation and transience and the place of international schooling in that process. The study included an intervention that consisted of implementing a personal and social

education (PSE) programme for families with adolescent children. Family involvement in PSE facilitated parent-adolescent communication at a critical transitional stage as IM teenagers who grow up ‘on the move’ were experiencing complex emotional and social upheavals in relationships with their peers and their families. Despite the fact that the focus of this study explored the experiences of a small sample of IM families, there are wider implications from the study. Family mobility presents an opportunity for schools to also work with families who experience domestic moves to ease the transition of children through pastoral care.

Also, and at a more social level, company assistance prior to and during expatriation, support from families, and support (e.g., network size, breadth of support, depth of support) from host country nationals, but also contacts with other expatriate partners, and time with old friends, as well as new acquaintances, were found to be essential to partners’ adjustment (De Cieri et al., 1991; Shaffer and Harrison, 2001; Caligiuri and Lazarova, 2002; Ali et al., 2003; Copeland, 2004). Copeland and Norell (2002) studied the role of social support within the framework of social support theory with 194 trailing partners (American women residing in 17 host countries in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America) and found that better-adjusted women had participated in the decision to relocate, experienced fewer losses in friendships, had more functions of social support adequately met and could rely on the support from local rather than long-distance providers, and they were coming from families with higher cohesion. Similarly, in their spouse adjustment model, Black and Gregersen (1991) take into account certain organizational aspects such as pre-departure training provided by the company. Their study confirms that spousal adjustment is influenced by the involvement in the decision-making process and by pre-departure training related to the foreign culture provided by the Multinational enterprise (MNE).

To sum up, Harvey (1998: 321) argues that the level and quality of support for the dual-career couple will be influenced by the family background (quality of the marriage), the social network in the new environment, the similarity between the home and host support systems and the individual characteristics of the couple (willingness to seek and provide support).

Career

Apart from the above experiences, there is a growing concern for both partners in a marriage to keep up their careers. Yet, this can be difficult to achieve since the mobility of diplomats can have an impact on family arrangements and on the spouse's plans and working life, which may involve experiencing breaks in their professional careers and/or various challenges with regard to relocation (Cangia, 2018). In the recent past, diplomatic spouses have been expected to follow their partners around the world, and until recently many accepted the role of supporting their spouses and their services on an unpaid basis. As a result, the vast majority of spouses, the overwhelming majority of whom were wives, were unable to follow their own careers and instead became incorporated into their partners' work and way of life; often identifying with his work and progress. Many did not even consider the possibility of following their own careers but rather saw their own career as being a kind of "parallel" one alongside their partners, vicariously "taking on" the latter's rank and status and feeling a high level of consciousness of the sets of rights and duties which followed from this (Hendry, 1998).

Most diplomatic spouses had to give up fulfilling personal careers or schooling and trade it in for a life of living around the world, of adjustments and voluntary uprooting of the entire family repeatedly, of resettling from one foreign country to another. The basic problem is that spouses who have been involved in fulfilling occupations of service to others suddenly find themselves doing

“trivial” tasks that anyone could do. Research in skilled labour migration found that highly skilled and highly educated women are more at risk of being underemployed. Thus, they are at risk of taking up employment requiring a lower level of education than they hold (IOM, 2012). Lack of meaningful work, culture shock, and loneliness may leave the spouse miserable. Marital problems and even premature departure may finally result. Research suggests that the mobility of expatriates can have a negative impact on their partner’s work and personal life. In a study of 264 trailing spouses, McNulty (2012) found that trailing spouses suffer from feelings of isolation, frustration and disappointment, and anger during international assignments. Interruptions to the careers of spouses have been shown to result in loss of power, isolation, identity, and self-worth, which may have spillover effects on personal life (Brown, 2008). Diplomats move to a new country every two or three years, and the constant relocation takes a toll on the spouse’s career. While the FSO always has a desk or section awaiting him or her at each station to take charge of, the spouse has to start from scratch each time they move. In reality, spouses almost always have to give up their careers or the exact kind of career and salary they would have at home since the Foreign Service in most cases does not permit them to work in the host country.

The rise of couples with dual careers and the awareness of having a professional identity have recently become an issue, as wives of diplomats (WOD) are becoming more concerned about having a professional identity independent of their partners (Andreason, 2008; Simosi, Rousseau & Daskalaki, 2015). Unfortunately, many countries have traditionally banned spouses of diplomats from working while on diplomatic postings in view of the fact that they do not get local work authorizations, as there might be a conflict of interest. Although some nations like Sweden have begun forging bilateral pacts with other countries allowing diplomatic spouses to seek outside employment, the majority of countries still prohibit it. Even in cases of a bilateral agreement between

countries, a spouse of a diplomat's potential successful career may be limited due to frequent moves and unstable experiences (Finch, 2012; Pahl & Pahl, 1971). Although countries, including Ghana, do have a reciprocal agreement that allows the spouses of FSOs to work in their host country, realistically, spouses who are doctors or lawyers cannot go around giving equivalency exams every two or three years in order to practice in each country they are stationed at. Their careers often had to be put on hold because they were unable to get the necessary clearances or qualifications to ply their skills in the country they were posted to. For these spouses who had to quit their work to accompany their partners, getting a job of their preference may not materialize all the time (Solomon, 2000; Adler, 2002). The jobs that are normally easier to find are in the teaching sector, online jobs out of your home base, or in the development sector. For instance, in Ghana, the MFA & RI in reference to Notes No.55 of 28th July 1989 has a bilateral working agreement concerning a "Dependent Employment Agreement" with the United States. Thus, the Department and Embassy have established a bilateral agreement, which would permit dependents of employees assigned to official duty in the receiving States to take up employment. For the purposes of this agreement, "dependents" shall include:

- spouses;
- unmarried dependent children under 21 years of age
- unmarried dependent children under 23 years of age who are in full-time attendance as students at a post-secondary educational institution; and
- unmarried dependent children who are physically or mentally disabled

However, it is important to note that in many countries that do have an agreement in place, there are few local economy jobs available to spouses, and those that are available are often at pay far below

United States standards. Gooderham and Nordhaug (2003: 308) state that assignments are likely to fail due to partner dissatisfaction, family concerns, or inability to adapt. They further caution that giving up a career to accompany a spouse on a posting is not just about losing a salary but it affects status, self-esteem, and the balance of power in a relationship. For instance, a 2008 study conducted by the Permits Foundation indicated that only 35% of surveyed trailing spouses work during their expatriation despite having prior careers. What is more, the lack of satisfying job opportunities often affects self-esteem. In the case of diplomacy, cooperating with patriarchy basically means accompanying the husband to a host country and as a result, entering a social structure that is more patriarchal than the one the wives might have experienced in their home country, especially as professionals. The reality of leaving the workplace makes these wives, some even for the first time, financially and socially dependent on their husbands (Arieli, 2007; De Singly & Challand, 2002). In offering a representation of what economic marital dependency is, Kinsley (1977: 80) highlighted this concept by suggesting that “at the core of a wife’s dependence on her husband is her inferior earning power. As long as she is not able to get a job with pay and prestige at least equivalent to that of her husband, she must rely upon him to maintain her standard of living and social status.” Given their lack of financial contribution, wives of diplomats (WODs) are mainly responsible for childcare and childbearing and will tend to subordinate their own needs in order to maintain their relationships and reduce the risk of dissolution (Valor-Segura, Exposito, Moya & Kluwer, 2014). Eventually, ‘this silencing of the self’ leaves wives feeling ‘unheard, undervalued and under-appreciated’ in their marriage (McBride & Bagby, 2006: 187).

For spouses, who frequently still suffer repeated rejections when they apply for jobs on the grounds that they have shifted around and changed jobs too often, the vision of a portfolio career utopia can seem a long way off. This was borne out in a Swiss survey (Schaller, 1995) where a drop in personal

careers among Swiss wives of diplomats was found to be higher than expected; against 60% of the respondents, who worked before their first posting, only 16% worked on their return and only 22% were able to pursue their chosen professions. Concern over career prospects was also reflected in a study undertaken by the Austrian researcher Wille-Romer (1992) who found that 75% of the respondents who had completed professional training were not exercising their professions due to diplomatic assignments.

Considering the loss of professional identity by WODs, many have experienced a shift in their efforts and dedication from their personal career to their partner's career (Ariel, 2007). These shifts are especially profound for WODs whose husband's careers or types of postings entail expectations on them to perform tasks and/or fill roles that serve the diplomatic assignment. Papanek (1973), a feminist sociologist who wrote about American middle-class women married to professionals, termed this professional concept a 'two-person single career'. She suggested in her study that this term served as a mechanism of social control that kept wives in their place by channelling their personal career aspirations into supporting their husbands' careers, resulting in a psychological cost for women (Papanek, 1973). Papanek (1973) described this cost as a destruction of women's self-esteem as they are expected to conduct tasks, they are reluctant to do, while their time and efforts went undervalued.

The desire for economic independence by diplomatic spouses is apparent in a sociological study of the principal issues encountered by spouses of American diplomats. Hughes (1999) observes the generational change of "traditional spouses" who see their role as a diplomatic spouse as an occupation by itself, and a new generation of spouses striving to have careers and income of their own. In Europe, the Swedish MFA was criticized for not doing enough to secure the professional development and pensions of partners accompanying officers abroad as early as the 1970s (Berggren

2008, quoted in Aggestam and Towns, 2018: 75) and was pushed to take steps to mitigate the negative effects on spouses' professional careers and pensions (Biltekin, 2016a, quoted in Aggestam, Towns, 2018: 76). It is probably not a coincidence that one of the first European countries responding to these issues was Sweden, a leader in the area of gender equality.

Children

In an increasingly global world, a family's frequent travel and living in multiple locations, learning the language and culture of each of the countries as they move, is an additional pressure that diplomatic parents face. Transitioning to new culture, jobs, countries, and schools can impact the entire family and often leads children to question their true nationality; is it where they live, where they came from, or where they are headed to? "Home" for what is now termed a Third Culture Kid (TCK), is a hard place to find. The coinage of this term is credited to the American sociologist Ruth Useem (1915- 2003), who used it in her studies of expatriates living in India. She focused on children whose parents had moved abroad for career purposes, such as diplomats, missionaries, and members of the military. The "third culture" to which the term refers is a mixed identity that a child assumes, influenced both by their parent's culture and the culture in which they are raised. Pollock and Van Reken (2009) provide a description of a TCK as follows:

"A Third Culture Kid is a person who has spent a significant part of his or her development years outside the parent's culture. The TCK builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background." (Pollock and Van Reken, 2009: 13).

From the above description, the identity formation of TCKs and their cultural and intellectual development is taking place in the third culture, particularly in the international environment in the host country (the first culture is understood as the parents' culture and the second culture is a

host culture). TCKs share more common experiences with other TCKs than with their peers who grew up in their home or host cultures (Bonebright, 2010). Among difficulties, such as struggling with a sense of belonging and disruption of identity formation, having lived in different cultures also provided TCKs with skills to handle change, to be more open and accepting to different cultures, and to successfully handle these differences. Besides being used to frequent travel and changes as part of an international mobile lifestyle and having good education and language skills, they also have experience in adjusting to a new work and life situation in a new location. Selmer and Lam (2004; Lam & Selmer, 2003) proposed that past experiences and international focus prepare adult TCKs to be well suited for expatriate assignments with multinational businesses.

According to Mobbs (2016), an upbringing with a wealth of international experiences can have many advantages. Proficiency in multiple languages, intercultural sensitivity, expanded worldviews, open-mindedness, and cultural empathy are among the frequently reported ones. TCKs enter adulthood armed with skills to handle change and to communicate across cultures. They are usually highly educated, with one survey showing that TCKs are four times more likely to have bachelor's degrees compared to non-TCKs. They often choose careers with international themes such as human service fields, education, medicine, law, and self-employment. However, along with a breadth of opportunities and privileges, growing up between cultures comes with unique challenges. Unlike their peers at home, for instance, TCKs are usually surrounded by multiple cultural cues that influence their self-concepts and identities. As a result, these adolescents often report feeling rootless and restless, as well as different from their peers. They form their sense of belonging around their relationships rather than particular countries and this can have a significant impact on the family and children in particular. Children's lives are often disrupted by sudden changes and the general bewilderment of finding themselves in a completely strange

environment. Mostly, the non-working parent becomes the "culture shock absorber" for the whole family. This is because an accompanying spouse feels like a "single parent" when his or her partner buried himself/herself in the responsibilities of his /her new job.

The lack of research that includes partners and children on the expatriate experience has been noted by several sources (Davidson & Kinzel, 1995; De Liogn & MacPartlin, 1995; DeCieri, et al., 1991; Reynolds & Bennett, 1991). However, some researchers have found that the presence of children during expatriation is more likely to place additional demands on resources and subsequently increase workplace strain, and expatriate failure (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Guzzo, Noonan, & Elron, 1994; Shaffer & Harrison, 1998). Depending on their age, children have to face additional challenges and these may have significant effects on the moving family as a whole. One of these challenges, described by Rosenbusch and Cseh (2012) is children's confusion about their role (specifically gender role expectations), as a result of being raised in different cultures. Other challenges for young children are linked to the loss of their home and their social network, change of schools, making of new friends, and learning a new language (Pollari and Bullock, 1988; McLachlan, 2008; Lazarova et al., 2015). Feelings of uncertainty, a sense of belonging to a culture, and identity loss have been frequently reported (Ali, 2003; Moore and Barker, 2012; Rosenbusch and Cseh, 2012). Emotional instability and an ambivalent attachment style were identified to be important risk factors that made children more susceptible to adjustment problems (Ali, 2003; Van der Zee et al., 2007).

Similarly, in the framework of adolescent development theory and the concept of third culture kids, Weeks et al. (2010) used in-depth interviews to study the adjustment of 18 expatriate students age 14–19 of private international school in Shanghai, China. They came from the United States

(the majority), Australia, Canada, Malaysia, and Philippines. They found that expatriate children have unique challenges of adjustment to a foreign environment, among which were the disruption of the identity formation process during their adolescence, concerns related to making friends, fitting in, and to be successful in school. International moves can therefore disrupt adolescents' identity formation process, which is characterized by a growth toward more autonomy. In this sense, they become more independent from their parents and peers.

Additionally, family cohesion may also impact expatriate children's ability to establish and maintain friendships with other children in the host country (Caligiuri et al., 1998). In the early stage of relocation to an unfamiliar environment, family members need to rely primarily on each other. The emotional support from parents and siblings and good discussion with parents about the move, where parents show sensitivity to children's specific needs in the host country, were found as important facilitators in the adjustment process of children and teenagers (De Leon and McPartlin, 1995; Ali, 2003; Weeks et al., 2010; Lazarova et al., 2015).

Another important social resource for children and adolescents is the support they receive from friends, primarily at school (Weeks et al., 2010). Teenagers do not seem to be bothered by the fact that they are often isolated from the host culture (Weeks et al., 2010). However, they really seem to need friendships with peers who speak their mother tongue. Overall, some evidence shows that family support and informal networks buffer against depressive symptoms with adolescents and their academic performance as well as persistence were higher (Lucier-Greer et al., 2015).

In view of the above, it is evident that relocating to a foreign country, as an expatriate and specifically, a spouse of a FSO can be very unsettling and flustering. Existing research from both

the public and private spheres corresponds in finding that relocation negatively affects the economic status and consequently the mental health of the spouse or partner who follows, while the negative effects impact on women more than men. The prime concern of accompanying spouses is maintaining paid employment, while the private sector recognizes the need for a support system to enable this much more than the public sector. Owing to the inability of spouses to fulfill their career and other experiences abroad such as language barrier, cultural adjustment, social support and children's education, further exploration of the literature on the reasons not to be an accompanying spouse is essential to ascertain whether these experiences influence the decision not to relocate in subsequent postings.

2.4 REASONS NOT TO BE AN ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE

There are many reasons that urge the spouse to go back home or not to be an accompanying spouse and the consequences that this decision might bring. The main reasons that are usually argued by the spouse to go back home are related to their children, taking care of older parents, or the professional career, and couple conflicts, in which case the previous reasons can turn into excuses in order to go back, despite not being the main cause (Guasch, 2016). Within the HR framework, the most frequently reported reason for a failure in an international assignment (when defined as a premature return) was the inability or an unwillingness of a partner to adapt to the foreign environment (Punnett, 1997; Haslberger and Brewster, 2008), together with a trailing partner's career concerns (Lazarova et al., 2015). Studies conducted by Tung (1982: 67) and Hill (2003: 612- 613) as cited by Vogel (2005: 5) stressed the inability of the spouse to adjust as the main reason for failed international assignments in American and European managers. As quoted by Scullion and Collings (2006: 122) in Linehan & Scullion (2001), "an international assignment undertaken as a family unit usually requires the spouse or partner to forfeit the accustomed structure and continuity of his or her life, which can be problematic for the expatriate family."

This is coupled with the fact that the spouse often faces an unstructured arrival in the host country, as opposed to the expatriate or diplomat who in addition, may have received language training; one that spouses are rarely offered.

Similarly, scholars have identified that spouse adjustment-related issues are among the main reasons to refuse to relocate abroad (Harvey, 1998; Harvey, Napier & Moeller, 2009). This is because spouses are often forced to put their careers on hold and to leave their social network behind, which might lead to adjustment difficulties to a new environment (Copeland & Norell, 2002). In addition to company support, several other factors have been shown to affect the adjustment of the trailing spouse. One such factor includes background characteristics such as self-efficacy of the trailing spouse (Shaffer & Harrison, 2001), and family cohesion (Copeland & Norell, 2002).

Generally, the most common reason for foreign assignments failing is when an employee tries to relocate with their whole family. For individuals, moving internationally can be relatively straightforward but as one factors in spouses leaving their homes, children moving school, family and friends left behind, language barriers to overcome and an enormous culture shock on arrival, then it becomes obvious why relocating does not always work out for everyone in the family.

Language

Depending on the country FSOs are posted to, language barrier can be a major issue in shaping the decision not to be an accompanying spouse. This is because language is the key to understanding culture. Without trying to develop a basic ability to converse in the local language, your ability to engage with people effectively will be severely limited. Not speaking the language can make it difficult to find your niche in a new community. Besides, learning a language is not just restricted

to speaking and listening either, it is also suddenly not being able to read. Things like menus, street signs, place names and documents that you would usually take for granted are now foreign and although technology can help with overcoming the language barrier in these areas, it gives a much better impression if you can learn a few phrases of the local language before arriving in your destination. Simple things like 'Hello,' 'please' and 'thank you' will go a long way to breaking the ice and making friends with locals.

Children

Raising children is always a challenging task but raising children in a foreign country comes with its own unique set of challenges. One of the biggest challenges can be whether there is a language barrier when relocating. Although many countries have a good expatriate community, it can help children to integrate and make friends if they can understand a little of the local language. However, this is not always the case as most parents enroll their children in International schools.

How easily children adapt to a new lifestyle in a different country can depend on their age, as younger children, particularly pre-school, will often find it easier to make the change than older children who are settled in school. It is possible to move at any time with children but certain ages are more difficult than others. Many people for instance, are reluctant to move when their children are teenagers. Parents seem to resist moving, as their children grow older (Brown & Orthner, 1990), while parents with younger children are more willing to move (Munton & Forster, 1990). For school-age children, leaving behind education that they understand, as well as friends that they have made over the years is very difficult. Starting again in a new environment is overwhelming and some children may act out or exhibit a change in behaviour upon moving.

Aside from that, as children grow older conflicting family needs create problems where there are

no easy answers. The adolescent who remains behind at boarding school forfeits family support during vulnerable years for the sake of uninterrupted schooling and a stronger sense roots. On the contrary, the adolescent who opts to disrupt his or her schooling and leaves friends behind to move with parents loses social status, may eventually identify with a foreign country, or remains at the edge of society (Shaw, 1992). Couples with children in their teens may decide that it would be best for the children to go back home in order to give them roots, thereby ensuring that they do not end up feeling out of place. The spouse, who has brought them up during these past years may decide to accompany them in this journey back home.

For those with children younger than eight, the prospect of uprooting them is much less daunting. However, it must be noted that expat couples are sometimes faced with the problem of finding suitable schools for their children. Schools in expat communities are often expensive, and space is limited. Couples would have to decide whether to place their children in local school systems so they can get a fully immersive experience in the culture and language of their host country, while enjoying substantial cost savings or have them school back home. This often leads to the decision not to accompany one's spouse after considering the disruptions in academic calendar, cost and the problem of reintegrating children into school after posting. Given these circumstances, a new curriculum and schooling in a different language may not be beneficial to children of FSOs who would relocate back home after every four years.

Relocating can also be difficult for children emotionally. It is important to be there for them and empathize with what they are going through since they are leaving a lot behind such as friends, family, familiar places and their home. It is a lot to take in and they may feel a sense of loss when first moving. This can generate a big sense of loneliness in the spouse, which can be mitigated if the

diplomat gives support and becomes the travelling companion with whom to share the exhaustion and decisions of everyday life. However, due to the nature of their job, this help is scarce which leaves the spouse with no option than to try to substitute it within his or her own family.

Career Advancement

The professional career of the spouse also has its own influence on the decision not be an accompanying spouse. Spouses, who identify strongly with their careers, will regard relocation as less favourable because it poses a threat to their own careers (Challiol & Mignonac, 2005). Following the employee (i.e., their partner) abroad generally involves leaving one's job and interrupting one's career. Hence, moving from a great independent life in one's country to go to another country where one is confined to the house without an income and no possibility of getting a job can be frustrating. As mentioned earlier, one of the drawbacks of being an accompanying spouse of a FSO is the postponement or putting on hold one's career. However, the idea to restore it is always there and the best place to restart work is back home, in a stable environment that allows for a career progression. The truth is that the new generation of spouses, do not accept the traditional role of being a diplomats' companion. They want more recognition and the professional career has a lot to do with that. This is evident in various researches that focused on factors affecting marriages, women's employment and dual career (Haring, Hewitt & Flett, 2003; Zuo & Shengming, 2000). Nicole Nasr offers a psychological perspective on the matter in her book with the pertinent title *Real Housewives of Diplomacy: A Psychological Study* (2019). Based on in depth interviews with female diplomatic spouses, Nasr analyses the impact of multiple relocations and undesired unemployment on their identities. Spouses struggle to manage their sense of self in foreign countries and new situations, such as, the absence of paid work or a career, and the consequent reduction of their identity to a housewife. Nasr based her research on feminist theories, highlighting the clash between the desire for personal

success and their own agency, and the pressure to become a homemaker.

When relocating, nonworking spouses are often most concerned with family and community issues; finding the right neighbourhoods, recreating social networks and making new friends. Working spouses on the other hand have their own set of challenges in addition to many of those faced by their nonworking counterparts. They must find new jobs, deal with a temporary loss of income and contend with the possibility that they might give up status and accompanying benefits in their new positions. The concern here is when the accompanying spouse has a long-term career with an employer, or the more senior the accompanying spouse is, the higher their income level and the harder it is to deal with the loss or suspension of that income. Partners often feel lost in a sense that they do not have an outside professional identity or a specific clarification of their family identity (Rosenbusch and Cseh, 2012). A lot of partners see their employment status change and lose their career because of a move which causes disturbance within home and lowers the interactional adjustment (i.e., interaction with the host-country nationals) (Shaffer and Harrison, 2001; Cole, 2011). A study by Lazarova et al. (2015) highlighted the most common causes of expatriate failure were partner's career concerns, partner's resistance to move and marital breakdown. As with relocating diplomatic spouses and partners, partners of private sector relocating staff are increasingly reluctant to give up or threaten their career. Research in skilled labour migration found that highly skilled and highly educated women are more at risk of being underemployed, i.e. at risk of taking up employment requiring a lower level of education than they hold (IOM, 2012). The survey of corporations revealed that 82% of spouses have university degrees, 77% of them engaged in paid employment before the assignment, and 66% work or are looking for work while on posting (NetExpatriate and EY, 2018).

Overall, it may be said that, the success of international assignments hinges on whether the spouse can settle successfully. In their home country, both partners might be employed and enjoy the financial security of two incomes but relocation can mean one person has to give up their job to move. If accompanying spouses are then unable to work in the new country, it can increase their sense of isolation and put a strain on finances, which can quickly lead to resentment, low self-esteem, depression and a reason to go back home.

Loss of Social Support

Moving to a foreign country means leaving behind the familiarity of home, and the support of friends and family. This is a big strain on expat relationships, as partners find themselves isolated and unable to confide in people that they trust and get the support that they need. This is particularly relevant in countries that have a foreign language, as it can be hard to establish meaningful relationships with those around you if you feel different and struggle to understand each other. Existing research frequently stresses the importance of social support in the adjustment process of expatriate spouses (Punnett, 1997; Copeland & Norell, 2002; Shaffer & Harrison, 2001). As spouses and other family members experience a disruption of their established social network, often resulting in feelings of isolation, loneliness, depression, and stress (Copeland & Norell, 2002), social support becomes increasingly important (Viswesvaran, Sanchez, & Fisher, 1999) under such dire circumstances.

The expatriate literature has found that social support is critically important to the adjustment of the trailing spouse (Abdul Malek, Budhwar, & Reiche, 2015; Bikos et al., 2009; Sluzki, 1992). If expatriate spouses are unable to form small social groups with other expatriate spouses, Teague (2015) suggested that trailing spouses will spend most of their time at home, withdrawing from the environment. Similarly, a high degree of spouse support is significantly associated with

successful adaptation in dual career couples after relocation (Neims, in Starker, 1990). Starker (1990) reports an increased reliance on the employed spouse after a move, but cautions that over-reliance could cause marital tension. The employed spouse virtually takes the place of the lost social support system while increased mutual dependence should be the norm until a satisfactory circle of friends can be established.

At a more social level, company assistance prior and during expatriation, support from families and support (e.g., network size, breadth of support, depth of support) from host country nationals, but also contacts with other expatriate partners, and time with old friends as well as new acquaintances were found to be essential to partners' adjustment (De Cieri et al., 1991; Shaffer and Harrison, 2001; Caligiuri and Lazarova, 2002; Ali et al., 2003; Copeland, 2004). While in diplomacy (the public sector), support to spouses in relocation is limited and sometimes non-existent, studies suggest that in the corporate sector, such assistance is increasingly deemed necessary. The survey report finds that the percentage of employers offering some form of support has sharply increased over the last few years, with 90% of employers in 2017 offering some form of support to the relocating partner and the investment pays off. Sixty-two percent (62%) of employers confirmed that partner support benefits had a positive impact on their assignment acceptance (NetExpat and EY, 2018). Ramos et al (2017) suggested that organizations could increase well-being of spouses by getting them actively involved in the expatriation process, participate in the decision and more importantly receive all the relevant information in relation to the relocation first hand. Copeland and Norell (2002) also suggested organizations would benefit from providing relocation assistance that is tailored to the respective family life and needs (eg. house finding, school for children, activities, shopping, etc.). However, while these services are used by organizations, the Foreign Service has generally not exploited their services as they have been reluctant to provide information on diplomatic relocations and these kinds

of services are quite costly as well.

2.5 IMPACT ON THE FAMILY BOND

The decision not to accompany one's partner during subsequent postings results in a situation where family members live some or most of the time separated from each other while maintaining a healthy relationship. In spite of the temporal separation, there is a feeling of collective welfare and unity across national borders. The term "family members" usually refers to a nuclear family comprising parents and their children. With the migration of one of the family members, family life inevitably changes. Decision-making, communication and exchange of ideas and feelings may take different forms and go through different channels. Following the changing of its structure, the family has to make adjustments for example in the roles of family members left behind.

Bryceson & Vuorela (2002) defined transnational family life as social reproduction across borders. They further understood transnational families as families that live separated from each other for some or most of the time, yet still remain together and create a feeling of collective welfare and unity, a process they term 'familyhood across national borders'. They argued that transnational families have to cope with multiple national residences, identities and loyalties. Like other families, transnational families are not biological units *per se*, but social constructions or 'imagined communities' that must mediate inequality amongst their members, including differences in access to mobility, resources, various types of capital and lifestyles (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002: 3-7).

Family norms in migrants' origin countries are important for understanding choices around transnational family life. These context-specific norms are not usually considered in demographic studies concerning couple migration (Mazzucato and Schans, 2011; Zentgraf and Chinchilla,

2012). Consequently, transnational family life is usually seen as stressful, problematic, and a 'second-best' option, whereas this is not always the case. In conjugal life in Ghana, spousal geographic separation, as in many parts of West Africa, is common (Coe, 2011; Oppong, 1983). Marriages are often arrangements between families, serving to create and maintain alliances. In these cases, geographical distance between spouses can be the rule rather than the exception, and too much intimacy between a husband and wife might reduce the loyalty to the respective families of the spouses (Oppong, 1983). Despite the lack of co-presence, husbands and wives share productive and reproductive obligations and responsibilities (Fortes 1950; Clark, 1994).

The practice of living apart together (LAT) is, of course, not an exclusively African phenomenon. Demographers also have studied non-residential relationships among predominantly Western populations in Western countries. Previously, individuals were narrowly conceptualized as either single, in a cohabiting union, or married, thereby assuming that partnership and co-residence coincide (Roseneil, 2006). However, emerging studies have identified increasing social acceptance of these LAT relationships (Duncan and Philips, 2011; Latten and Mulder, 2013; Levin, 2004).

Explanations of why people are involved in LAT relationships differ considerably between African and Western contexts. Non-residential relationships in many parts of Africa are generally ascribed to loyalty towards the wider family. By contrast, research on this type of relationship in Western countries generally identifies different reasons, such as both spouses' need for autonomy. Although motivations for being in LAT relationships vary between countries and over the course of a person's life, they tend to occur more frequently among the young, the higher -educated, or the divorced (Strohm et al., 2009). These studies distinguish between LAT relationships that exist because of economic constraints and those that exist because both partners choose this particular lifestyle (Levin, 2004).

It is important to note that each family lives and approaches migration differently. However, very often the main motivation behind the choice of moving to another country, is the willingness to improve living conditions for the whole family and, if children are there, to offer them a better future. This is done at the price of separating from family members who will stay in the country of origin. However, in the Foreign Service moving abroad is an obligation to duty rather than a choice. This gives a new dimension to the motivation behind relocating to another country, which is to implement a country's foreign policy. Diplomats' contractual obligations to repeatedly relocate, and its impact on relocating family members' lives are quite unique and unparalleled in the labour market. Gonzales- Loureiro (2015) suggests using the term propatriates for diplomats, defining propatriates as professional expats who relocate every few years. One community that is often compared to diplomats' spouses is the civilian spouses and family members of military personnel. In this context, Cooke and Speirs (2005) use the term tied migrant, illustrating that the reason for relocation is linked to the person (migrant) only indirectly, through their husband or wife (military personnel). As such, tied migrants are not defined through their relationship to another person (in the case of diplomatic spouses) but rather through an implication of forced mobility.

One theme that emerges strongly from past research is the gendered nature both of the migrant's experience and of the impacts of migration on those left behind in sending communities. The migration of male heads of household, for example, has been found to lead to reconfigurations both of productive and of reproductive labour within transnational families as women and children perform tasks traditionally performed by men (Xiang, 2007; Asis, 2003; Hugo, 2002). Male migration may also result in non-migrant women experiencing more financial hardships (Smith-Estelle & Gruskin, 2003), difficulties with disciplining their children (Hugo, 2000; Battistella &

Conaco, 1998; Dwiyanto & Keban, 1997), reduced access to food (Smith-Estelle & Gruskin, 2003), and increased loneliness and isolation (Gardner, 1995).

However, other studies have found more positive outcomes for women, with wives of migrant men accorded greater autonomy and self-confidence, as well as improved social status (Donnan & Werbner, 1991; Hadi, 2001). Migration can influence and change gender norms at home, creating more gender equality and agency, even when women themselves do not migrate. When women remain behind as their husbands migrate, they may gain greater control and authority in their households, acting as the decision maker for the family's choices and finances. Several studies state that when wives remain at home they are more likely to have autonomy and decision-making power in the household on issues related to land, children's education, and household expenditures (Afsar 2011; Martin 2004; Gammage 2004, Fadloulah, Berrada, and Khachani 2000, as cited by De Haas 2009). Taylor, Moran-Taylor, and Ruiz's study of four Guatemalan communities confirms that migration may change gender roles, but notes that social change is gradual and there may be resistance to change (Taylor, Moran-Taylor, and Ruiz, 2006, as cited by De Haas, 2009).

According to Chant (1992), in Costa Rica, Indonesia, and Kenya, women remaining at home experienced more autonomy regardless of the type of migration by household males (Chant, 1992, as cited by Ghosh, 2009). Similarly, a World Bank study in Niger finds that women whose husbands migrated experienced greater autonomy and were more likely to control finances, take part in community events and organizations, and become aware of constraining gender norms. Women also took over agricultural or employment opportunities usually reserved for men (World Bank, 2014). In Kerala, India, women whose husbands were away in the Gulf States gained more autonomy, with 70 percent opening bank accounts, 40 percent gaining an income, and more than 50 percent owning land or their homes (Zachariah, Prakash, and Irudaya Rajan, 2002, as cited by

Afsar, 2011). In Peru, Deere finds that women were not willing to relinquish their newfound authority when their husbands returned after migrating. Consequently, the area saw a high rate of divorce and separation (Deere, 1978, as cited by Curran and Saguy, 2001). Thus, men's absence from home provides conditions for fostering women's autonomy, self-esteem and role expansion. Alternatively, when women remaining behind do work, they may struggle with managing both the economic and domestic needs of the household. In Brazil, migration resulted in no difference in women's social status, despite women's increased household authority. Rather, their daily burdens increased and women struggled with the separation (Martin, 2004). Wives remaining behind in Bihar, India, were shown to have higher stress, loneliness, and isolation due to their husbands' absence (Roy and Nangia, 2005, as cited by Afsar, 2011).

For men, separation from their wives necessitates undertaking domestic tasks that they would not have otherwise done. Nevertheless, when fathers take on nurturing roles other family members often provide additional assistance. Some left-behind families enlist the help of extended family members (usually female), or even friends, to undertake the main caring and nurturing tasks left vacant by the migrant mother (Gamburd, 2000; Parrenas, 2005a, 2010). However, the dismantling in gender-segregated roles is only partial since frequently families return to a patriarchal division of labour once they reunite. In a World Bank study, when Nigerian men migrated they became more used to conducting household tasks. Subsequently, the stigma of housework lessened and men helped their wives with household tasks when they returned home (World Bank, 2014). Rahman finds that migrant men returning from Singapore to Bangladesh treated their wives more equally, and Pedesaan notes that migrants returning to Indonesia were found to be more respectful and caring for their children (Rahman, 2004, Pedesaan 1996, as cited by UNFPA, 2006). However, in other contexts, migration may result in more strict observance of traditional norms and values rather than more lax views.

How one is affected by transnational family life varies as well. Those at destination may be busy with settling in and understanding a different way of life, whilst trying to remain in touch with those left behind. The other partner often takes on the role of mediator between the absent parent and the children, explaining the absence abroad and its reasons. Conboye (2012) for instance argues that the experiences of husbands and wives of executives posted overseas can vary enormously. With the feminization of migration, women are increasingly migrating internationally, with and without their husbands. Previous studies have shown that the way transnational families function is different for independent female migration and independent male migration. For example, Ghanaian transnational couples have a higher likelihood of divorce when the wife migrates independently compared with couples without a migration experience and compared with transnational couples where the husband migrates independently (Caarls and Mazzucato, 2015).

From the existing evidence of South–North migration, partners are often affected in a gendered way by transnational family experiences. Some find that families where mothers emigrated are more affected by negative stress than when the father migrates. In the latter, couples redefined roles and arrangements for the family life and the relationship of the partners improved due to the increased need to cooperate and coordinate despite the hardships throughout the process (Pribilsky, 2004). However, when men migrate, wives often assume the care role, which hardly ever occurs the other way around. Mothers often rely on alternative care networks, most often consisting of other women (Schmalzbauer, 2010).

Spouses moving without their partners may also have to re-adjust to the life of a *de facto* ‘single’, despite only for the period abroad. Whether the man or the wife migrated, this may include taking on domestic chores traditionally by men seen as female roles. Women would take on the extra

responsibilities of the head of household such as ensuring the farming production and other income generating activities and managing income, including remittances (Pribilsky, 2004). Thus the phenomenon of transnational families questions the material inequalities between men and women predominant in many societies, including the Countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) countries (Parreñas, 2005). The redefinition of roles can lead to exchange between the couple on these new roles, such as men calling for advice on cooking and washing clothes (Schmalzbauer, 2010). This however may entail negative feedback from others from the society at origin, considering men cleaning, cooking and doing the laundry as having lost the ‘respect’ of their wife and children (Pribilsky, 2004: 318).

Relationship between Parents and Children

As aforementioned, international migration results in longer periods of separation compared to internal migration. Studies show that longer periods of parental absence may disrupt childcare practices (Dreby, 2010), may hinder child development (Lu, 2015) and may exacerbate parent-child conflicts (Coe, 2011b). Just as women, many men migrate to support their children. ‘Transnational fatherhood’ becomes difficult as the common cultural notions of the relationship between fathers and children being built on respect, and not a very close bond, is difficult to uphold over long distances. This is the case of Filipino transnational families, including in the South (Parreñas, 2005). Some may try to enforce a rather patriarchal relationship, which proves difficult in light of long absences and when children hardly or do not know their father at all prior to emigration. This complicated relationship may then last until adolescence. Other fathers may distance themselves from their children, also in light of not knowing how to best approach them (Pribilsky, 2004). Nonetheless, transnational family life can also offer men to break-out of the traditional discipline-based relationships to care and establish an emotional bond with their

children. This could be considered more modern and progressive than traditional father-children ties (Pribilsky, 2004). However, Parreñas (2005) found in Filipino transnational families the patriarchal conventions were more often reinforced than contested.

Some studies have also tried to distinguish effects based on the gender of the migrant parent, but since the extent of female migrants is limited in many countries, few studies have generated meaningful results. One exception is Cortes (2010) who is able to compare children of migrant fathers with children of migrant mothers in the Philippines. She finds that maternal migration has an overall negative effect on children's education and argues that maternal absence is more detrimental than paternal absence. Similarly, Jampaklay (2006) finds that long-term maternal absence negatively affects children's education in Thailand, while paternal absence does not.

The separation of the family across transnational space can particularly negatively affect children staying behind (GFMD, 2010). This can include psycho-social difficulties such as feelings of abandonment, low self-esteem, anger, depression and/or material obsession that could result in behavioural problems (Bakker, Elings-Pels and Reis, 2009). If children, in particular adolescents, are not involved in the decision-making process of who migrates and where, feelings of resentment towards their parents or father in particular may be the consequence, especially when the education goals for them did not materialize or were devaluated due to high youth unemployment (de Haas and Fokkema, 2009). According to Pribilsky (2004), missing their parents may be a very painful experience for children of emigrants. This is especially so for children in families where the mother emigrated since they seem to be affected more than in transnational families where the father is away. This can be attributed to the difficulty to accept the changed role of mothers as more of an economic provider and less of a caretaker (Schmalzbauer, 2010; Parreñas, 2005).

2.6 CONCLUSION

Having reviewed the literature, it appears the decision to relocate reflects a range of factors which for many couples are not part of a conscious migration strategy. Traditional gender-role ideologies that view males as breadwinners and females, as nurturers, framed the families' decision to move abroad. As spouses of Ghanaian FSOs decide to relocate for an overseas assignment, the variety of experiences associated with this move can be overwhelming. Experiences such as language barrier, inability to adjust to a new host country and its culture, lack of social support, career development and children's education affect the spousal adjustment process. Spouses may experience difficulties in adjusting to a new living environment including a new unfamiliar context and is not able to lean on a social network for support. As a result, several negative issues may arise like isolation, insecurity and stress (Takeuchi et al., 2002; Harvey & Buckley, 1998; Guzzo et al., 1994.), particularly in the early periods of the assignment (Punnet, 1997). These experiences impact their family relationships and sense of self, which results in feelings of isolation, loneliness and resentment. In case the spouse has children, additional challenges such as the children's anxiety and uncertainty related to identity formation, break-up of friendships and disruption of schooling (Lazarova et al., 2010; Borstorff et al., 1997; de Leon & McPartlin, 1995; Harvey, 1985) arise. However, what is not clear in the literature is how these experiences interconnect to influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse of a FSO during subsequent postings and how the decision not to relocate impacts the family. This is of particular interest when juxtaposed against the emerging trend of dual career families and how spouses of Ghanaian FSO's with careers and having their own ambitions in life are expected to accompany their partners when due for posting. It provides new and unique perspectives into a phenomenon that continues to grow and challenge the foreign service and families each year. The existing literatures of phenomenology provided a sound philosophical and theoretical framework for the researcher to interpret and make sense of

spouses experiences within their unique context using the narrative data of this study.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research methodology employed in order to answer the research questions of this study. By adopting phenomenology as a methodology of social inquiry and conducting the research under the interpretive paradigm, this chapter demonstrates how phenomenology was applied to the research questions. The data gathering procedures which involves the methods of data collection, the selection of the sample, the research process, is described along with procedures for analyzing and presenting the research data. The chapter ends with a discussion on the validity, reliability, ethical issues, as well as research problems encountered on the field and how these were navigated.

3.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

As indicated in chapter one, the goal of this study is to explore the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs when they decide to accompany their partners during postings. In order to adequately delve deeply into the richness of this human experience and to better understand the lived experiences of the spouses, a qualitative research design was employed. This is because qualitative research methods are especially useful in discovering the meaning that people give to events they experience (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In this case, discovering the meanings that spouses give to events they experienced during posting. Qualitative research therefore results in specific knowledge and personal stories that add depth and yields a rich description of human experiences that cannot be extracted from objective measures

(Moustakas, 1994). Qualitative research is preferred by human scientists for its main features, such as text as data and foci on meanings and/or interpretation (Silverman 1998). According to Moustakas (1994) the goal of qualitative research is not to produce generalizations, but rather in-depth understanding and knowledge of particular phenomena.

For this reason, a qualitative approach is normally undertaken when the nature of research questions requires exploration (Stake, 1995). Research questions in a qualitative study begin with *how* or *what*, so that the researcher can gain an in-depth understanding of what is going on relative to the topic (Patton, 2002; Seidman, 1998). In this study, the researcher explored participant's experiences as accompanying spouses in a foreign country by asking the following "what and how" questions:

- (a) What influenced the decision to be an accompanying spouse?
- (b) What was the experience like as an accompanying spouse in a foreign country?
- (c) How did these experiences influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse?
- (d) What are the implications of the decision not to be an accompanying spouse on the family bond?

Ultimately, the purpose of qualitative research is to describe and interpret issues or phenomena systematically from the point of view of the individual or population being studied, and to generate new concepts and theories. The choice of methodology is directed by the questions being raised (Viswambharan & Priya, 2016). In view of the above questions, the phenomenological method as indicated in chapter one, is appropriate since it focuses on peoples' perceptions of the world or the

perception of the ‘things in their appearing’ (Langdrige, 2007: 11). It is an approach to explore people’s everyday life experience and is used when the study is about the life experiences of a concept or phenomenon experienced by one or more individuals. This study, therefore explored the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs with regard to the phenomenon of relocating to a foreign country as accompanying spouses.

The phenomenological method is also relevant for this study as it is a method of analysis, which focuses on the lived experiences of the participants allowing for multiple perspectives and insights while considering the impact of the experiences on and within the greater context of the family and culture and environment. This is congruent with systemic theory (Bowen, 1978; Kerr & Bowen, 1988). As this study focuses on the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs, it examines how the various experiences of each spouse influence their decision not to be accompanying spouses again and its impact on their various families.

In chapter one, phenomenology has been described as both a philosophy and a methodological science for examining human nature (Gehart et al., 2001). It involves examining meanings of events and interactions of people within a particular context. In other words, Phenomenologists do not assume to know meanings of perceptions of people they are studying. They rather look to a person to actually convey the meaning of his or her perceptions. Phenomenology relies on interpretive understanding of human interaction (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The focus is on subjective aspects of people’s behaviour, since this subjective experience is believed to embody a wealth of knowledge and understanding of one’s given experience. Therefore, in order to know how people experience a given phenomenon, in this case, the spouses’ relocation or transition to a foreign country as accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs, one must learn from the persons

themselves what they experienced and how they interpreted these experiences within their worldviews.

As a method, a phenomenological researcher attempts to come as close as possible to people's lived experiences, without the researcher having necessarily experienced it. The researcher attempts to describe the meaning of lived experiences for several individuals by describing what all participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon. Thus what the spouses have in common as they experience the phenomenon of relocating as accompanying spouses. The result then, is a universal description for the individual experiences with a phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). To achieve this result, one follows a set of tasks that require the researcher to collect data, analyze them and report on findings. The findings or outcome of this type of study is a collection of descriptions of meanings for individuals of their lived experiences; experiences of concepts or phenomena (Creswell, 2007). The descriptions normally appear as written phrases or statements that represent the meaning that a person; a study participant, for example attributes to a related experience (Smith et al.,2009).

However, phenomenological research is not so straightforward and one must first of all understand and decide which of the approaches to be used. To understand any of these approaches to phenomenology, it is imperative to remember that most approaches hold a similar definition of phenomenology's object of study. Thus, the study of an individual's lived experience of the world (Manen, 1997). By examining an experience as it is subjectively lived, new meanings and appreciations can be developed to inform, or even reorient, how we understand that experience (Lavery, 2003). Accordingly, in choosing the appropriate method of research for this study, the two main approaches to phenomenology: transcendental (descriptive) and hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology, as examined in chapter one, informed the choice. According to

Langdrige (2007), they are the two classical approaches that guide the majority of psychological research. Having examined the two approaches, hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology was the appropriate method for this study. This allowed the researcher to engage in a flexible approach to asking questions which seek access to pre-reflective knowledge and reflective perception of the phenomenon of relocating abroad as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. This required an open and flexible orientation on the part of the researcher which provided a deepened understanding of the phenomenon being investigated.

3.3 NEGOTIATING ACCESS

It is becoming increasingly common for researchers in qualitative studies to be part of the social group they wish to study. This means the researcher is already a native or 'insider' before the study commences (Adler & Adler, 1994; Kennedy, 1999; Lofland and Lofland, 1995; Pugh, Mitchell & Brooks, 2000; Tom-Orme, 1991). Some of the benefits of being an 'insider' include: having a greater understanding of the culture being studied (Pugh et al, 2000; Reed & Proctor, 1995; Tom-Orme, 1991); not altering the flow of social interaction unnaturally (Adler & Adler, 1994; Kennedy, 1999); and having an established intimacy or rapport between the researcher and participants which promotes both the telling and the judging of the truth (Leininger, 1985; Robinson & Thorne, 1988; Ryan, 1993). Apart from this, being an 'insider' can reduce a number of problems associated with researching in the real world of participants. These include establishing rapport with subjects (Gerrish, 1997; Kennedy, 1999; Platzer & James, 1997) and dealing with ethical concerns (Platzer & James, 1997; Ryan 1993).

Accordingly, the researcher's position as an 'insider', facilitated negotiation of entry into the field. Insider research may be defined as research conducted by people who are already members of the

organization or community they are seeking to investigate as a result of education, employment, social networks or political engagements (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005). Some insider researchers have found familiarity with the community and its people to create nearly instant access and rapport (De Andrade, 2000; DeLyser, 2001; Merriam et al., 2001; Nakhleh, 1981; Sherif, 2001; Stephenson & Greer, 1981). Similar to others (Kondo, 1986; Nakhleh, 1981; Sherif, 2001), my position as an insider was advantageous in accessing the field more quickly and intimately. I had no problem with establishing rapport and being accepted by the spouses I interviewed since my experience of “being an accompanying spouse in a foreign land,” in particular, strongly enhanced the cultural bond shared between the interviewees and I. After all, they saw me as having the same background and sharing common experiences with them. Comments from the spouses attest to this. “I am really happy to see one of us doing this research. I have been looking forward to it.” “... As one of us, you will understand our situation better,” said to me by another spouse. Statements like these helped me see how being familiar with the group and social setting enabled insider researchers know how to approach individuals; thus their colleagues are usually happy to talk, often welcoming the opportunity to discuss issues with someone who understands (Bell, 2005).

Ultimately, being an insider helped to facilitate trust and confidence in the researcher-participant relationship and allowed me to establish rapport with the participants during the early part of the data gathering process, providing access into their diplomatic world as spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and thoughts. In some cases, I was given information that was not part of the study. For instance, another said, “I hope you are not recording what I am saying now because it is just for your ears only.” This was after the interview had ended. She thought I was still recording but I allayed her fears. Indeed, knowing that the researcher used to be an accompanying spouse, the participants in

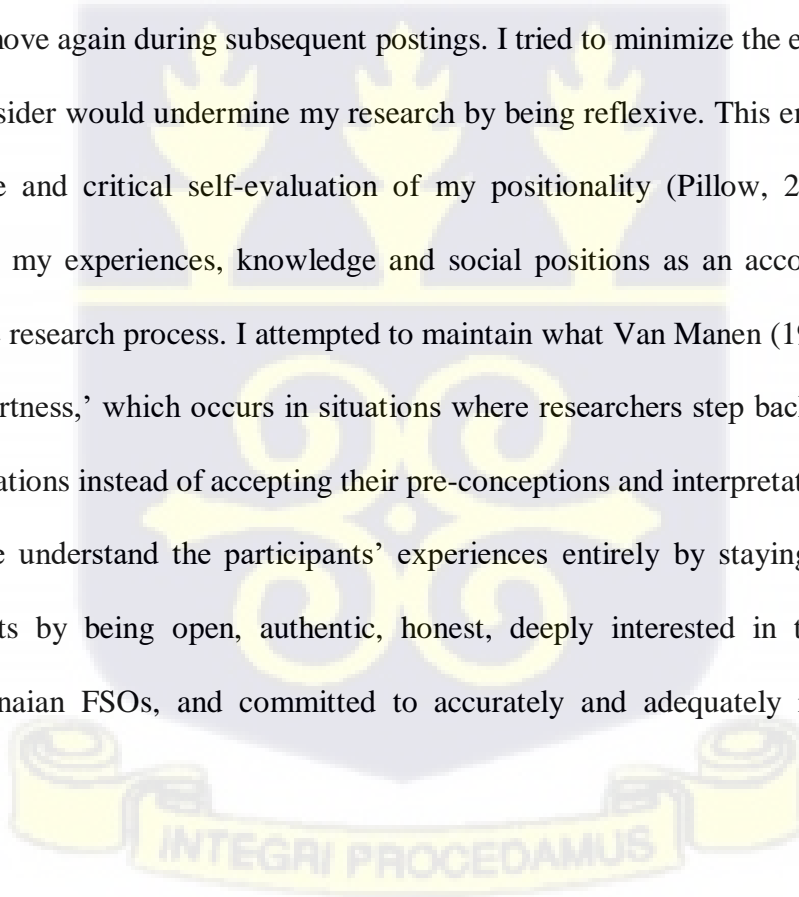
this study were very open with the researcher about many issues being asked. According to Reinharz (1992: 261) feminist researchers note that “being an insider of the experience enabled them to understand what some women have to say in a way that no outsider could”. Being a female insider and having most participants as females, I could relate to the view by Oakley (1981) that women interviewing other women enjoy a greater rapport, as a result of their shared experiences.

Although researching as an insider allowed me to access in –depth information both formally and informally, I encountered some problems because of the sameness that I shared with my participants. According to DeLyser (2001), insider researchers may face difficulties during the research process because of over-familiarity with the research context and participants. Lipton (1984) suggests that recognition of patterns of practice may be difficult to identify because the behaviour is so familiar and that is taken for granted. Mercer (2007: 7) posited that conducting insider research is “like wielding a double-edged sword” as what can be gained in terms of extensive knowledge and familiarity with the context may be lost in terms of an insider’s inability to “make the familiar strange”. In other words, what insider researchers gain in terms of ‘their extensive and intimate knowledge of the culture and taken-for-granted understandings of the actors’ may be lost in terms of ‘their myopia and their inability to make the familiar strange’ (Hawkins, 1990: 417). While I may have gained initial rapport in my interviews and felt confident in directing informants into relevant areas, these had their drawbacks also. There is always a danger that an informant will fill in little detail of a subject or incident if they are aware the interviewer has similar knowledge. Although insider researchers may enjoy easier access and greater rapport, they also have to contend with the fact that their informants have known them that much longer, and have had that much more time to form preconceptions about them and their research (Hockey, 1993: 206). For instance, some participants in this study assumed that the researcher already knows

what they know and experience as an accompanying spouse. Therefore, in the interview sessions, some participants said things like, “I’m sure you are aware that we...” indicating that they assume the researcher would be able to fully understand the issues they are talking about. Thus, the interviews with these participants did not reveal enough information and this corroborates the findings that, if the participant considers the researcher as an insider, they may leave things unsaid as they expect the researcher to know, or be able to finish the participant’s thoughts (Berger, 2013). However, in order to get the participants to provide more information, the researcher had to provoke them and ask questions, which required detailed answers from them. Probing questions like “Tell me more about that” and “What do you mean when you say [xxx]?” were used by the researcher to get more information and clarify some of the responses.

As I relished the advantages as an insider, I guarded against unconsciously making wrong assumptions about the research process based on my prior knowledge, which can be considered a bias (DeLysler, 2001; Hewitt-Taylor, 2002 in Unluer, 2012). Gerrish (1997: 27) warns that there was the risk that over familiarization with the setting might lead me to make assumptions about what I was observing without necessarily seeking clarification for the rationale underpinning particular actions. Detailed reflection on the subjective research process, with a close awareness of one’s own personal biases and perspectives, might well reduce the potential concerns associated with insider research. The reflexive processes, entails an internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the researcher’s positionality (Stronach, Garratt, Pearce & Piper, 2007). Reflexivity specifically turns the researchers’ lens back onto themselves to recognize and take responsibility for their own situatedness within the research and for the effect that it may have on the setting, participants, questions asked, data collected and data interpretations (Berger, 2015). According to Pillow (2003), when researchers are reflexive, they are attentive to how their experiences,

knowledge and social positions might impact the research process. I therefore minimized the potential for researcher effect through being reflexive and critically examining my assumptions and actions in relation to both data collection and analysis. Reflection was done through personal memoing, reflecting on my reactions to the spouses and events in the setting, reflecting on my relationship with the participants, examining the way I felt when conducting interviews and providing reasons for my decision making (Lipson, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Gerrish, 1997). For instance, from my previous experiences of the phenomena of relocating to a foreign country as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO, I was reflexive of my own experience and knowledge concerning the problems or benefits associated with my first posting and my decision not to move again during subsequent postings. I tried to minimize the extent to which my position as an insider would undermine my research by being reflexive. This entailed a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of my positionality (Pillow, 2003). Thus being attentive to how my experiences, knowledge and social positions as an accompanying spouse might impact the research process. I attempted to maintain what Van Manen (1997) referred to as ‘hermeneutic alertness,’ which occurs in situations where researchers step back to reflect on the meanings of situations instead of accepting their pre-conceptions and interpretations at face value. This enabled me understand the participants’ experiences entirely by staying away from pre-judgement results by being open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience.



3.4 SAMPLE SELECTION AND DATA COLLECTION

The samples or participants in phenomenological research are generally chosen according to what is known as “purposive sampling.” Purposive sampling refers to a researcher’s selection of participants based on a set of characteristics or a specific purpose (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). It is characterized by the incorporation of specific criteria met by the participants at the moment of selection.” As the goal of hermeneutic phenomenological research is to develop a rich or dense description of the phenomenon being investigated in a particular context (van Manen, 1997), purposive sampling was preferred. As recommended by several authors, purposive sampling method was chosen for this type of research in order to select information-rich cases for detailed study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002; Maxwell, 2005); these were participants who could elucidate the phenomenon of relocation as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. This method of sampling is consistent with interpretive paradigm research (Llewellyn, Sullivan, & Minichiello, 1999).

Thus, in exploring the lived experience of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs, a sample was selected based on the following criteria: spouses of Ghanaian FSOs who accompanied their partners on the first posting or more than once (with or without children), ended their four-year tour, returned to Ghana, live in Accra but decided not to go again on subsequent postings. The aim of these criteria was to ensure that the selected spouses had common experiences regarding the studied phenomenon. This ensured a homogeneous sample of participants with common characteristics and experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003: 53-80). In this case, the phenomenon of relocating to a foreign country as an accompanying spouse for the first time or more and deciding not to move on subsequent

postings. The choice of the study area is based on the fact that most FSOs and their families live in Accra.

Contacts with participants were made through both formal and informal means. The formal way involved writing a letter to the MFA & RI to obtain the consent of the ministry before interviewing the key informant. The informal means to contacts relied primarily on my spouse's network of friends as well as mine. As an insider, I identified a friend and spouse in my neighbourhood, who suited the inclusion criteria for the sample selection. This spouse actually whipped up my interest in the research topic. It occurred one day when after exchanging pleasantries with me, and realizing that my spouse had gone on posting retorted that "Let them go, we will also be here doing our own thing." This statement got me thinking and asking what the problem was regarding the experience of this particular spouse to warrant such a comment. Could it be that her experience during posting was similar to mine, and probably, that of other spouses? Could her previous experience be the reason why she has decided not to be an accompanying spouse or are there other reasons? I then set out to seek answers to these pertinent questions, which eventually formed the basis for this research. After contacting her and explaining the purpose of my study, she was excited, and agreed to be interviewed. A date, time and location for the interview were agreed on. I also relied on my spouse who spoke to his colleagues in the foreign ministry about my research topic and objectives. After explaining who my target population is, most of them agreed to allow me to interview their spouses. They gave the telephone numbers of their spouses to mine after assuring him that they will inform their spouses about the impending interview. After laying the groundwork for the interview, I followed up by contacting these other spouses through the use of telephonic inquiry in order to identify those who decided not to accompany their partners after the first and subsequent postings. The aim of the telephone call was to review the purpose of the study, ask for their

participation and, if they are willing to participate, schedule an interview date, time, and location at the participant's discretion. Interviews were arranged with these spouses who are the primary unit of analysis (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000), with their 'informed consent' (Bailey, 1996: 11; Arksey & Knight, 1999; Street, 1998). Participants chose the interview site, which was held at their home, workplace or in a neutral location, according to the interviewee's preference. However, I recommended the location be a quiet place and free from distraction although this was not always the case.

After each interview with a spouse, I solicited names of other possible participants. This led to the use of the next method, which is snowball sampling. It is a method of expanding the sample by asking one informant or participant to recommend others for interviewing (Babbie, 1995; Crabtree & Miller, 1992). Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, in which a researcher begins with a small population of known individuals and expands the sample by asking those initial participants to identify others that should participate in the study. In other words, the sample starts small but "snowballs" into a larger sample through the course of the research (Crossman, 2017). After interviewing a spouse who satisfied the inclusion criteria, I subsequently asked him or her to recommend others who fitted the same criteria. This continued for other participants until a sample size was achieved.

Being a qualitative study, I did not seek to increase the sample size as a means of improving validity. Researchers normally strive for "saturation" or "completeness" of their data. This "saturation" requires just enough cases to clearly identify and substantiate results. Generally, samples for qualitative studies are much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. The reasons for this as provided by Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) are that: there is a point of

diminishing return to a qualitative sample. This means that as the study goes on more data does not necessarily lead to more information. This is because one occurrence of a piece of data, or a code, is all that is required to ensure that it becomes part of the analysis framework. Frequencies are rarely important in qualitative research since one occurrence of the data is potentially as useful as many in understanding the process behind the topic. This is because qualitative research is concerned with meaning and not making generalized hypothesis statements (Crouch & Mckenzie, 2006). It has previously been recommended that qualitative studies require a minimum sample size of at least 12 to reach saturation (Fugard & Potts, 2014; Clarke & Braun, 2013; Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

Also, because qualitative research is very laborious, analysing a large sample can be time consuming and often simply impractical. According to Hill, Thompson, and Williams (1997), conducting such a study is intensive and time consuming so a sample of eight to ten participants is feasible. Additionally, authors recommend a relatively small sample size in order to gain an in-depth understanding of each case and to maintain a high quality of participant care and concern.

Drawing from the argument above, the theory of saturation was used as a guiding principle in this study, since all authors agree that saturation is achieved at a comparatively low level (Guest et al., 2006; Griffin & Hauser, 1993; and Romney et al., 1986), and generally do not need to be more than 60 participants (Charmaz, 2006; Morse, 1994). Therefore, the aim is to arrive at theoretical saturation, taking into consideration Polkinghorne's (1989) recommendation that researchers interview from 5 to 25 individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon. Data-collection through interviews continued until the topic was exhausted or saturated, that is when interviewees introduced no new perspectives on the topic. I therefore continued to conduct the interviews with

participants until a point of saturation was reached, in which a clearer understanding of the experience was not found through further discussion with participants (Sandelowski, 1986). In all, twenty participants were interviewed. This comprised nineteen spouses (sixteen females and three males) and one key informant from the MFA & RI. It was the expectation of the researcher that more males will participate but it was difficult since the snowball sampling did not yield the desired result for males as compared to that of female spouses. Others were constrained by time and their busy schedule and could not avail themselves of the interview.

The most appropriate method of data collection for phenomenological research is the in-depth interview. According to Kahn and Cannell (1957), interviews are purposeful discussions between two or more people and can help to gather valid and reliable data that are relevant to the research questions and objectives. Existing literature (Kyale & Brinkmann, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2010) coincides in that the phenomenological interview should be open or semi-structured. These two types of interviews allow the researcher to address the phenomenon thoroughly, providing a space of aperture for the informants to express their experiences in detail, approaching reality as faithfully as possible. The detailed descriptions or interpretations given by the participant in this interview should be as representative of experienced reality as possible. Consequently, in this qualitative study I used phenomenological inquiry through personal in-depth interviews to obtain the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. “Researchers in the phenomenological mode attempt to understand the meaning of events and interactions to ordinary people in particular situations” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003: 23). For this reason, the researcher captured personal experiences and drew out rich descriptions and deep meaning from participants as they described the nature of their experiences in a foreign country and that of their family. This was achieved through semi-structured interviews, which enabled participants give voice to their experiences and

commonalities from all participants were revealed. This form of interviewing allows the researcher and participant to engage in a dialogue whereby initial questions are modified in the light of the participants' responses and the investigator is able to probe interesting and important areas, which arise. Hence, the researcher will have a set of questions on an interview schedule, but the interview will be guided by the schedule rather than be dictated by it.

The advantage of semi-structured interviews over structured and unstructured is the combination of structure and freedom, whereby anticipation is possible, without drifting away from the subject. A list of topics could be prepared in advance and modified before every interview. In other words, there are no pre-set questions apart from perhaps a few key questions, but themes are set beforehand. The themes for this study were: the decision to be an accompanying spouse; experiences abroad; decision not to be an accompanying spouse; impact on the family bond. Each of these themes had subthemes which exists underneath the umbrella of the various themes and focused on one notable specific element. This allowed freedom for the interviewer and interviewee to discuss the themes in no particular order. However, the interviewer should guide the interview to ensure that all necessary areas are covered. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2000, 47-48; Saunders et al. 2016: 391). Another advantage over unstructured interviews is the ability to compare across interviews because some of the questions are standard (Minichiello et al., 1999). For these reasons, semi-structured interview was used since the researcher wanted to leave room for the spouses to describe their own experiences freely without guiding them too much with pre-set question format. I also wanted to allow possible new concepts to arise. It is noteworthy that during the interview there is space to probe the answers, when it is useful for the respondent to explain, clarify or justify the given answer.

On this account, an interview guide containing open-ended, non-directive questions was produced prior to the interview (see appendix I). An interview guide is a list of topics that you intend to cover in the interview with the questions that you want to answer under each topic. The process of creating such a guide can help to focus and organize your line of thinking and questioning. Creswell (2009: 181) argued that “qualitative research interviews centered on few open-ended questions that are intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants.” According to Smith and Osborn (2008), formulating an interview guide will lead IPA researchers to explicitly consider what they think or hope the interview may cover, and enable them to identify any potential difficulties they may encounter in terms of question-wording or sensitive topics. However, it is important to recognize that whilst the guide was there to help me navigate through the interview, its role was not to restrict lines of conversation. Instead, a flexible schedule allowed respondents to exercise greater control over the flow of discussions. This enabled questions to be adjusted, considering the responses of participants, which sometimes led interviews in interesting and unexpected directions. Questions for this semi-structured interview were employed based on the themes gleaned from the research objectives. In semi-structured interview, the researcher may encourage an informal conversation covering certain themes and questions. These questions may vary from one interview to the next, and the order in which questions are asked may vary also. The questions for this study were therefore “directed to the participant’s experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions about the theme in question” (Welman and Kruger, 1999: 196).

Throughout the interview process I delved into participants’ experiences, in particular, seeking to understand the reasons for deciding to move in the first place, what factors they considered in the decision-making process; what the experience was like to move to a foreign country as a result of their spouse’s posting abroad; whether they had certain expectations before moving; and whether

those expectations were met on arrival in the host country. These questions explored the experiences of spouses, and attempted to probe into their feelings, thoughts, concerns, and strengths regarding their experiences as well as the impact on their families in the absence of their partners.

My insider status enabled me understand the issues being studied as I had the common knowledge of the life, experiences and problems they face as accompanying spouses. This corroborates Bonner and Tolhurst (2002) believe that being an insider researcher gives three advantages to the research. First, an insider will be able to better understand an issue; second, he or she will not disrupt the flow of social interaction; and finally, he or she will be able to extract true data from the participants as he can relate well to them. Additionally, a researcher's familiarity with the cultural and political structure of an organization will help him or her to save time in trying to understand the issue he or she is studying since he or she already has some knowledge regarding the issue (Smyth & Holian, 2008). This became apparent as I interviewed my key informant at the MFA & RI. I realized that I was familiar with much of the responses and this helped save time in terms of understanding the issues pertaining to the objectives of study. However, I needed more clarification on the political structure and function of the ministry. I was given a website address that I could get all the relevant information from. Indeed, the interview and website gave me a better understanding of the structure of MFA & RI, its operations, the role of the FSO during posting and how this impacted on their family, especially the spouses. One of the things that came up in my interview with the key informant was the ethics of being a diplomatic spouse. This involved the expectation that as a spouse, you support your partner during posting. Apart from that, you conduct yourself in a way that will not bring shame and disgrace to Ghana as well as the

host nation. The latter comment was premised on the fact that some spouses have fought their partners because of marriage allowance during posting.

All through the interviews, I observed spouses' verbal and non-verbal responses and used follow-up questions to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences. The narratives revealed rich details regarding spouses' experiences while also uncovering identifiable factors that are common among families of Ghanaian FSOs. These commonalities were carefully compared and contrasted to reveal the specific themes and sub themes that predominate throughout the narratives of all participants. The qualitative analysis allowed for a rich examination of each participant's reality and understanding of the phenomena within his or her experience as a spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. This provided the context for teasing out the common themes amongst the participants as well as differences that may explain some of the factors that influence the decision to be an accompanying spouse and how these experiences interconnected to influence the decision not to accompany one's spouse on subsequent postings. All but two of the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face, single basis (Babbie, 2007). Telephone interview was conducted for the other two participants since their schedule did not allow the interviews to be conducted during the day. The interviews lasted between 30 to 80 minutes.

Demographic data was also collected to describe the sample in this study. This provided a basis for understanding the background of each participant. These included the age of respondents, gender, level of education, employment, number of children, number of postings, country of post (English/non English), and whether the spouse had ever travelled before prior to the first posting.

A summary of the profile of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs is hereby given. A total of nineteen spouses were interviewed in Accra. This comprised sixteen females and three males. Pseudonyms were

used in place of their names to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participants' ages ranged from 34 to 44 years as at the time and year (2018) of the interview. Most of them were highly educated (diploma and university graduates) with careers ranging from civil servants, lawyers, fashion designers to businessmen and women. Participants were at varied stages in their career and life ambitions, with differing life experiences, motivations, and goals. This diversity lends richness to the data and is a valued aspect of interpretive paradigm research. All the spouses but one accompanied their partners during the first posting and not subsequent ones. This participant accompanied her spouse on the first and second postings since the first posting was to an English-speaking country. Her experience during the first posting encouraged her to go on the second posting. The remaining eighteen spouses were posted to non-English speaking countries during the first posting, which made adjustment difficult for them. This was attributed to the inability of spouses to speak the language of the host nation since most of them did not understand nor speak the language. The language barrier had a cumulative effect on how they assimilated to the culture of the host nation and eventually their decision not to relocate again. This included whether to allow their children to attend public or private schools, the issue of stability for children in terms of their education and career development of the accompanying spouses. Seventeen out of the nineteen spouses had never travelled abroad before, making their posting the first time in a foreign country. Most of them had great expectations and were looking forward to having a fulfilling experience during posting, however their expectations were short lived. As newly married couples, most of the spouses had their children (at least two) during the first posting with two others having two children each before the posting. A key informant was interviewed, bringing the total participants to twenty.

Apart from semi-structured interviews, ‘Memoing’ (Maxwell, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1984: 69) which is another important source of data in qualitative research was used in this study. It is the researcher’s field notes recording what the researcher hears, sees, experiences and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the process. Researchers are easily engrossed in the data-collection process and may fail to reflect on what is happening. However, it is important that the researcher maintains a balance between descriptive notes and reflective notes, such as hunches, impressions, feelings, and so on. Miles and Huberman (1984) emphasize that memos (or field notes) must be dated so that the researcher can later correlate them with the data. Accordingly, the researcher took brief field notes during the interviews and expanded on these notes after the completion of each of the interviews to ensure complete and thorough findings. The context of the interview was described in the field notes as well as any factors that might have influenced the data collection process. For instance, the environment in which the interview took place, observations with regard to the demeanour of the participant, and the dynamics of the interview was described. In one of the interviews the participant was interviewed at her place of work (owner of a beauty salon). There were some interruptions by one or two workers who needed her direction as they attended to clients. This prolonged the interview but the aim of the study was achieved as she provided the information I needed concerning her experience abroad regardless of the time spent. Indeed, her demeanour was pleasant, cheerful and was eager to describe her experience despite her busy schedule.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

After completion of the interviews and transcription of the recordings, analysis of the data commenced. In line with the methodology adopted in this research, data analysis methods were

developed from phenomenological and hermeneutic principles and from guidelines in the literature about systematic and useful ways of interpreting research data. It was important for me to record what each participant said, since both Langdrige (2007) and Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009), state that the researcher should utilize the actual speech of the participant as much as possible. It was significant to have verbatim that captured the essence of the meaning of what the participant was trying to say rather than a grammatically correct passage. The Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was specifically used to analyse the data from one-on-one interviews in order to develop rich descriptions of human experience (Fadé, 2004) and emphasize the importance of individual account (Pringle, Drummond, McLafferty & Hendry, 2011). Thus, this study sought in-depth information regarding how spouses of Ghanaian FSOs understand their experiences in a foreign land and how this understanding influenced their decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings.

Considering that IPA is a qualitative approach, which aims to provide detailed examinations of personal lived experience (Smith et al, 2009), it is explicitly idiographic in its commitment to examining the detailed experience of each case in turn, prior to the move to more general claims (Smith, 2006). IPA employs a flexible set of guidelines, which investigators can adapt in accordance with their research objective. Although researchers are encouraged to be creative in their thinking (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012), IPA is characterized by a set of common principles which start with, but go beyond, a standard thematic analysis. Analysis is fluid, iterative and multi-directional, yet to illustrate how it unfolds, I placed the processes into distinct stages consistent with my data analysis.

Reading and Note Making

The initial stage involves reading of the transcripts. The transcripts were read and re-read to enable my full immersion in the process (Van Manen, 1997). It involves engaging with the meaning of the texts, where the aim is to get a “sense” or preliminary interpretation of the texts, which then facilitates coding. I listened to audio recordings of the interview whilst reading the transcripts. My goal was to get as ‘close’ to the data as possible and considering that each reading and listening to the recording may provide some new insights. With each reading, the text was annotated with initial ideas; this was done in a wide margin on the transcript. Whilst there are no rules concerning what can be commented on (Sparkes & Smith, 2014), notes were made regarding any thoughts, observations, and/or reflections relating to participant’s narratives. Since it was important to go beyond mere description, I considered not only what was said, but also how it was said, and what this actually tells me about the experience. This was central to ensuring I produced a deeper, interpretive analysis. The use of open annotated coding helped to ensure that distinctive voices were able to emerge from participant’s testimonies, rather than pre-existing notions present in the literature.

Transforming Notes into Emergent Themes

Once the transcript had been read, re-read and annotated, I returned to the beginning of the transcript and documented any emerging themes. As Williams (2008) explained, emergent themes are insights derived from the words or documented experiences of research participants, captured through interactive reading and a process of abstraction, which involves creating categories from complex data. The emergent themes from this research were grounded both empirically (from the data) and conceptually (from the analytical frameworks as outlined in the literature review) (Williams, 2008). As detailed and comprehensive annotations were made in the previous stage, I

drew emergent themes from the notes, rather than the transcript itself. I began to recognize similar themes emerging during initial note taking, yet it is during this secondary stage where I transformed these initial annotations into concise phrases, which reflected the essence of what was unearthed from the transcript. Whilst these emergent themes were at a slightly more advanced level of abstraction than the initial notes; thus, allowing theoretical connections to be made, it was ensured that they remained grounded in the particularity of the participant's initial response.

Connecting Emergent Themes

This stage consisted of looking for connections between emergent themes according to conceptual similarities; as advised by Smith and Osborn (2008), I chose to do this on a separate piece of paper, with the emergent themes listed in chronological order, based on the sequence they appeared in the transcript. Whilst most themes clustered together, some emerged as superordinate concepts; thus holding hierarchical relationships with one another, and others were dropped entirely from the process having held a weak evidence base. As emergent themes were clustered, thus becoming sub-themes, I referred back to the transcripts to ensure the connections were consistent with the raw data; by this stage I had already drifted from the exact words of participants as per the interpretive analysis, yet I was keen to ensure that I stayed true to the essence of the participant's testimonies.

Producing Table of Themes

Once sub-themes were compiled into superordinate themes, thus providing a composite portrayal of experience (Denovan & Macaskill, 2012), they were subsequently placed into a table. The table situated the sub-themes within their respective superordinate theme, along with a relevant data extract or quote beside each theme; doing so retained the voice of individual participant's personal

stories, and also allowed the reader to track the analytic journey from the primary source material to the table of themes.

Continuing to the Next Case

The next stage involved moving onto the next transcript and repeating the process. Whilst earlier literature concerning IPA noted that the researcher may elect to draw upon themes from the first case to aid their subsequent analysis (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999), later discussions have placed a greater emphasis on approaching each case “on its own terms, to do justice to its own individuality” (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009: 100). During this process, the researcher used the master list of themes obtained from the first interview to identify more instances of these themes in subsequent interviews, while also being alert to the possibilities of new themes.

Final Table

Once each transcript had been analyzed, a final table of superordinate themes and their respective sub-themes was produced. During this iterative process, I went back to the table of themes for each participant, reviewed them, and, if necessary, amended them and returned to the original transcripts. As this research consisted of multiple cases, the difficulty here was to decide upon which themes to prioritize, and which to abandon. Smith and Osborn (2008) suggested that themes should not be selected purely on their prevalence within the data, but also on the richness of the passages which highlight said themes, and how the themes assist in illuminating other aspects of the account. As such, although I decided that at least two participants must have discussed a topic for it to be considered a theme, selection of the themes were also driven by the length at which such phenomena were discussed, and the level of pertinence placed upon them by participants. Whilst this may engender a danger that priority would be given to those participants who were

more articulate and verbose, I hold that for this particular study, where all participants were experienced spouses, this was not a concern, as all participants were able to confidently speak at length.

Table 3.1 Summary Table of Superordinate Themes and Subthemes

Superordinate themes	Subthemes
Decision to be an accompanying spouse	Supporting the career of FSO Exploration Raising a family Family and friend's influence Spousal pressure
Experiences during posting	Language Culture Social support Career development Education of children
Decision not to be an accompanying spouse	Language barrier Loss of social support and social network Career advancement Stability and continuity in children's education Recognition and remuneration Reintegration
Impact on the family bond	Bond between children and parents Bond between spouses

Source: Fieldwork, (2018)

Writing up the research

There is no clear distinction between analysis and writing up in IPA research since “as one begins to write, some themes loom large, others fade, and so this changes the report” (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009: 110). Throughout this final stage, the process became expansive once again, as I sought to unclutter the table of themes and provide a description of the experiential accounts uncovered during analysis. The themes had to be explained, illustrated and nuanced in a narrative

account. At this stage, researchers must seek to distinguish between what participants actually said, and their interpretation of it. Keeping that in mind, I decided to explicitly intersperse my narrative argument with verbatim extracts. As with other methodologies, IPA researchers are able to draw upon two presentation strategies: they may choose to use separate ‘results’ and ‘discussion’ sections, with the former containing the emergent thematic analysis and the latter linking the analysis back to the extant literature, or compile both elements into a single ‘results and discussion’ section (Smith & Osborn, 2008). I chose to collate a joint ‘results and discussion’ chapter as I contend that this aided the flow of the thesis.

3.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity of qualitative research refers to the trustworthiness of the data interpretation. It means showing that the findings are accurate and honest. Validity of research ensures that the findings provide valuable information obtained from the appropriate implementation of the research method. In a phenomenological study, researchers may take several measures to address validity. First, researchers can utilize bracketing process (epoché) to avoid making personal judgments throughout the study (Ashworth, 1999). According to Kvale (1996), “presupposition in bracketing process cannot be always avoided.” However, in the hermeneutic phenomenological approach, it is acknowledged that pre-understanding cannot be eliminated or “bracketed” (Koch, 1995). Hence, the technique of bracketing is found inconsistent and problematic within this approach (LeVasseur, 2003). There is also no single set of methods for undertaking bracketing (Gearing, 2004; Wall, Glenn, Mitchinson, & Poole, 2004). Giorgi (2011) further argued that “the interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) provides no step in executing bracketing.” However, in the phenomenological approach, the only time that a researcher has to bracket or keep his or her preconception out of the process is during interviews of participants and collection of research

data. Smith et al. (2009) argued that, “The IPA approach to data collection is committed to a degree of open-mindedness, so you will have to try to suspend (or bracket off) your preconceptions when it comes to designing and conducting interviews or other data collection events.” The rationale for bracketing one’s preconception during interviews, according to Smith et al. (2009: 42), “is to enable participants to express their concerns and make their claims on their own terms.” Therefore, as I acknowledged my insider status in this study, I bracketed my preconceptions during the interview and data collection process. I was aware that when interviewing these spouses, I needed to remain neutral, setting aside my own views and reactions and to listen from the perspective of a researcher. However, it is worth noting that as my pre-understanding of the phenomenon of relocating as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO cannot be eliminated or “bracketed” (Koch, 1995) entirely, reflexivity practices were adhered to throughout the research process. Reflexivity as mentioned earlier, is understood in qualitative research as an attentiveness to the influence of the researcher on the research process. Fook & Gardner (2007) see reflexivity as “the ability to recognize that all aspects of ourselves, and our contexts influence the way we research.” In order to ensure that analysis is rooted in the data, the researcher must be reflexive. This served as a self-monitoring function to continuously re-examine the position of the researcher in this study (Holloway & Galvin, 2017).

Although both Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Colaizzi (1978) have advocated for the use of member-checking as a final step in validation of qualitative research studies, a recent study by McConnell-Henry, Chapman and Francis (2011: 30) viewed that revisiting a participant for clarification (or member-checking) is a “potential threat to the rigour of interpretive studies.” McConnell-Henry et al. (2011: 31) further noted that returning to participants in the study is

“antithetical to phenomenology’s requirement that a recounting is presented in native or original form and that it considers a snapshot in time, not a generalizable right answer.”

However, Alase (2016) argues that, “IPA research studies must have the following mechanisms; trustworthiness, member checking, triangulation and auditing as tools for navigating any phenomenological data gathering and analysis.” These mechanisms (tools) will allow for the research data and findings to be thoroughly authenticated so that the end results are not cued or defective. Member checking was therefore employed, by sharing the interpretations of the data with the study participants in order to ensure that it is representative of their experiences (Candela, 2019). This helped to ensure the rigour of the data (Candela, 2019; Cresswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1986) and reduce the impact of researcher bias. Using the guidelines of Cresswell (2005), Stakes (1995), and Yin (2014), participants were supplied with copies of the completed analysis. Specifically, I wanted to find out if the spouses agreed with the findings. This included the factors I identified as influencing their decision not to be accompanying spouse during subsequent postings, whether I had omitted any important factors, or if I had misrepresented the spouse’s experience in any way. The results of the findings for each spouse’s interview were shared via e-mail, and feedback received was used to amend themes. Most of them agreed with the interpretations made by the researcher while a few pointed out some corrections to be made. Ultimately, participants found the member checking process to be insightful and reflective.

The final test refers to the reliability of the study. In qualitative research, trustworthiness is used to demonstrate the reliability and validity of the findings (Kombluh, 2015; Rodham, Fox & Doran, 2015; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to ensure reliability of the method used, the steps involved must be clearly outlined and defined. Thus, anyone who wants to replicate the steps on the data, can easily do so to find out how reliable the procedure was. “If a later investigator follows exactly

the same procedures as described by an earlier investigator when conducting the same case study in the same way, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions” (Yin, 1994). In other words, the goal of reliability is to minimize the biases and errors in a study. By making an extensive report of every procedural step I took, another investigator should be able to carry out the research and arrive at the same findings and conclusions. However, because the interviews are semi- structured and not completely kept via a strict protocol, there might be a lack of reliability (Babbie, 2007). This is because of the inherent subjectivity of IPA; no two individuals coding the same transcripts are likely to precisely replicate one another’s analysis. Secondly, Saunders et al. (2007) reduce the importance of this issue by emphasizing that, “findings from non-standardized research methods are not necessarily intended to be repeatable because they reflect the reality at the time they were collected and in a situation that might be subject to change.”

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

In addition to the significance of selecting an appropriate research methodology and methods is the importance of the ethical considerations around conducting research. Considering the nature of qualitative studies, the interaction between researchers and participants can be ethically demanding for the former, since they are personally involved in different stages of the study. Researchers face ethical challenges like informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality (Richards & Schwartz, 2002), researchers’ potential impact on the participants and vice versa.

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2011), the cornerstone of ethical research is ‘informed consent’. For qualitative researchers, it is important to state in advance which data will be collected and how they are to be used (Hoeyer, Dahlager & Lynoe, 2005). The principle of informed consent requires the researcher to completely inform participants of various aspects of the research in

comprehensible language. Clarifications need to include the following issues: the nature of the study, the participants' potential role, the identity of the researcher and the financing body, the objective of the research and how the results will be published and used (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001). Participants must be fully informed of what will be asked them, how the data will be used and what (if any) consequences there could be. Consequently, the purpose and scope of this study was explained to the participants in the language they understood. This included, the types of questions which were likely to be asked, the use to which the results will be put. Thus the researcher disclosed to them that the data and results would be used for academic purposes only. They were educated on the main components of the research design and estimated duration of the interviews. Participants were then asked whether they wanted to participate in the research or not. For those who decided to participate, a date, time and location were agreed on. Interviews were conducted at secured places, which were convenient for the participants.

Before the interviews, I sought consent from participants to record and take notes. If they accepted, the interview was recorded. Apart from the key informant, all the spouses agreed to the recording of the interview. The treatment of the data was also explained to them. For instance, they were assured that pseudonyms would be used in the analysis instead of real names or positions of individuals. This was to conceal their identity thereby ensuring that confidentiality and anonymity is complied with. No participant was coerced by any means to take part, since they participated at their own freewill. In terms of benefits to the participants, the researcher explained that the research would generate knowledge, which will be useful for academic purposes and policy making.

Finally, since IPA studies often involve the exploration of intensely personal experiences, it is possible that interviews can lead participants to feel awkward, ashamed, angry or even emotional,

which can present researchers with a range of ethical dilemmas. Since this research concerns experiences of spouses, some questions may involve the invasion of participants' personal lives and they may find some discomfort in answering them. The researcher ensured that she constantly monitored the effect of the interviews on the participants such as discomfort and anxiety and made room for an immediate ending of the session or withdrawal of the participant from the study where necessary.

3.8 FIELD PROBLEMS

The main issue I have come across in taking a phenomenological (or any qualitative) approach in a commercial or organizational setting is people not understanding what it is, and expecting similar parameters to apply as for quantitative research. For instance, in my quest to find out the history of the Ministry and the role of spouses during posting, my key informant assumed it was a quantitative study and asked for the questionnaire. I explained that it was a qualitative study and that I will use an interview guide based on the objectives of the study. Therefore, this requires that subsequent questions will be asked as the interview progresses. Even with this explanation, my informant was skeptical about the interview and asked me to state the objectives of the research on paper, which will be forwarded to the appropriate authorities for approval before the interview can be granted. I did exactly that and after going through the processes, approval was given at a later date.

Another area of emphasis was in phenomenological approaches being good at surfacing deep issues and making voices heard. This is not always comfortable for participants or funders, particularly when the research exposes taken-for-granted assumptions or challenges a comfortable status quo. It is often sensitive research so far as it is more likely to uncover sensitive material

about stakeholders and sites, and if this poses symbolic or material threats to participants or institutions then it can jeopardize the project (Lee, 1993). For instance, in my attempt to get spouses to participate in the research, one spouse was sceptical about it and asked whether it was research being conducted by the Ministry. After I told her that it was my own research for academic purposes and not that of the Ministry, she told me she would find out from her husband before deciding to participate and call me later. She never called again. I tried calling back, but she never picked her calls. I got the sense that being a sensitive Ministry, she was apprehensive about telling me of her experiences as an accompanying spouse since it might affect the husband's job or expose certain taken-for-granted assumptions. Moreover, as she realized the research, is not being conducted by the Ministry, I assumed that this heightened her fears as she felt it was inappropriate to speak about her experiences.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the research methodology, the rationale for the research methods, and the use of purposeful and snowball samplings in collecting the data. The procedure for data analysis was demonstrated using the IPA approach. As with all phenomenological research, IPA is interested in exploring the world as directly and subjectively experienced by the individual, producing 'insider' meanings of what the lived experience feels like for the participants involved (Finlay, 2014). The use of the IPA, helped the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and how these experiences interconnect to shape the decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings and its impact on the family. Considering that no one in the world has better knowledge than participants themselves regarding their lived experiences, all the measures adopted by the researcher in this study ensured that the findings are as close to what the participants mean as

possible and in a more realistic and practical sense. “The idiographic nature of IPA that sees participants as representing a perspective rather than a population” (Smith et al. 2009) allowed more individualized perspectives of spouses and their decision to be and not to be accompanying spouses to emerge.

Overall, I found the process stimulating and rewarding, as it enabled me to hold a grasp of the philosophy underpinning the methodology, strong interviewing skills and the ability to commit to a systemic and meticulous analysis of accounts of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs.



CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of the field of diplomacy and international relations to set the context for the entire study. As the pillar and the main process of relations among nations, this chapter discusses the history, nature of diplomacy and the ways in which modern diplomacy is conducted. The aim is to provide an understanding of how missions work, particularly missions representing Ghana through the MFA & RI and the functions of diplomats or FSOs. As the main objective of this study is to explore the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs during postings, an overview of the posting process is given. It outlines the training and support provided to diplomats and spouses in preparing them for posting, the role of spouses during posting and how this role translates into what we call the “representation” side of the work of the FSO. Given that, the role of the spouse of the FSO is shaped by his or her partner’s role as a representative and spokesperson for the Ghanaian government, this chapter highlights the duties and responsibilities that arise as a result of being a spouse of a Ghanaian FSO.

4.2 DIPLOMACY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The origin of the term ‘diplomacy’ is from the Greek verb ‘diploun,’ which means ‘to fold.’ ‘Diploun’ evolved into ‘diploma’ in the time of the Roman Empire when ‘all passports, passes along imperial roads and way-bills were stamped on double metal plates, folded and sewn together in a particular manner.’ These ‘metal passes’ were referred to as ‘diplomas,’ a name that also applied to ‘less metallic official documents, especially those conferring privileges or embodying arrangements with foreign communities or tribes’ (Callus & Borg, 2001: 254). The term ‘diploma’ consist of two words: *diplo*, which means ‘folded in two,’ and *ma*, signifying ‘an object.’ The folded document conferred a privilege, normally a permit to travel on the bearer,

and the term came to signify documents through which princes granted such favours. Subsequently, it applied to all solemn documents issued by chancelleries, particularly those containing agreements between sovereigns (Marks & Freeman, 2023). The value of a ‘diploma’ grew in such a manner that it became a travel document for royals, which is similar to the modern diplomatic passport. It later became an official document which signified international agreements, and eventually developed into the practice of international relations.

Although diplomacy has been explained in various ways by many scholars (Neuman, 2005; Sharp, 1996; Gore-Booth, 1979), for Nicholson (1950: 15),

“Diplomacy is the management of international relations by means of negotiations; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys the business or art of the diplomats.” —Harold Nicholson (1950:15)

However, in the contemporary world, the concept of diplomacy is used in terms of relationship between states, which can be achieved, bilaterally or multilaterally (Freeman & Marks, 2016).

Ronald Peter Barston explains the main concerns of Diplomacy in this way:

Diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and other actors. From a state perspective, diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. As such it is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as other actors, articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchanges of view, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities. (Barston, 2013).

From the above definitions, diplomacy in international relations is basically the interaction between states on a daily basis usually through the use of negotiations and discussions or the conduct of relationships, using peaceful means, by and among international actors, such as governments. Many a time, leaders may fail to agree on foreign policy, trade policy or other important issues pertaining to them but diplomacy is often encouraged as an alternative for using

violence to settle the dispute. Diplomacy is therefore the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and people through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures, devoid of war or violence (Marks & Freeman, 2023).

Although there are several definitions, one thing they all have in common is that diplomacy is not the goal but the means to an end; thus the instrument used to achieve the targets of a country's foreign policy. Diplomats therefore serve as the main instrument in diplomacy and primary practitioners of it, besides other tools involved in the process such as international summits, conferences, international activities, and informal inter- governmental relations. It is imperative to note here that diplomats have enjoyed a special status throughout the history of sovereign nations. Their function to negotiate agreements between states, demand certain special privileges. "An envoy from another nation is traditionally treated as a guest, their freedom from coercion and subjugation by the host nation treated as confidential, and their freedom from coercion and subjugation by the host nation treated as essential" (Sharp, 1996: 1).

As the main instrument for the implementation of the foreign policy of a nation, it is important to distinguish between the term diplomacy and foreign policy since both have been used interchangeably (Nicolson, 1939).

4.3 DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Diplomacy is often used interchangeably with foreign policy, but the terms are not synonymous in any way. According to Padelford & Lincoln (1977), "A State's Foreign Policy is totality of dealings with the external environment. Foreign Policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests." The foreign Policy of a country is therefore the

strategies and procedures for dealing with other nations. Its aim is to maintain peaceful relations with other countries through diplomatic, military, or trade relations.

The political leaders of sovereign states, who devise foreign policy, pursue what they perceive to be the national interest, adjusting national policies to changes in external conditions and technology. The responsibility for supervising the execution of policy may lie with the head of state or government, a cabinet or a nominally nongovernmental collective leadership, the staff of the country's leader, or a minister who presides over the foreign ministry. He or she directs policy execution, supervises the ministry's officials, and instructs the country's diplomats abroad.

Diplomacy on the other hand, encompasses a “method or technique whereby states conduct their relationships with one another”. It is the main instrument of foreign policy, which represents the broader goals and strategies that guide a state's interactions with the rest of the world. According to Childs (1948), “The foreign policy of a state is the substance of foreign relations, whereas diplomacy is a process by which policies are carried out.” In his study ‘The Congress of Vienna (November, 1814-June, 1815),’ Nicholson postulates that “foreign policy is based upon a general conception of national requirements ... diplomacy on the other hand is not an end but a means, not a purpose but a method ... it is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war.” Diplomacy is the main substitute for the use of force or underhanded means in statecraft; it is how comprehensive national power is applied to the peaceful adjustment of differences between states. It may be coercive (i.e., backed by the threat to apply punitive measures or to use force) but is distinctly nonviolent. International dialogue and negotiation are its primary tools which are mainly conducted by accredited envoys (a term derived from the French *envoyé*, meaning “one who is sent”) and other political leaders. Contrary to foreign policy, which normally is enunciated publicly, most diplomacy is conducted in

confidence. While the formulation and adoption of policy is the responsibility of leaders and ministers, its implementation or execution is the job description of public servants and, in the case of foreign policy, diplomats. In distinguishing the two terms, one can therefore say that foreign policy is ‘what you do’ and diplomacy is ‘how you do it.’ Drawing from the above, one can sum up in the words of Uddin (2013) that “foreign policy is ‘what a country does’ and diplomacy is ‘how it does it.’”

As aforesaid, foreign policy represents the substance of foreign relations whilst diplomacy provides the personnel and the machinery for the implementation of the foreign policy. The diplomats are therefore not directly connected with the formulation of the foreign policy but are concerned with its implementation as they are posted to the various diplomatic missions across the world. A diplomatic mission is a representative office of a national government located in another nation's territory. The two main types of a diplomatic mission are an embassy/high commission and a consulate. “Shaw (2001: 6) describes them as follows:

- Embassies – These are missions with full ambassadorial status.
- Consulates – These are missions headed by a Consul-General.”

Before explaining the two types of a diplomatic mission, it is important that a distinction is made between Embassies and High Commissions as these two terms are either used interchangeably or are used to infer more or less similar concepts. Diplomatic missions sent to non- Commonwealth countries are called Embassies, while High Commissions are diplomatic missions sent to Commonwealth countries. The “head of mission” at the Embassies are called ambassadors while that of High Commissions are called High Commissioners (UK Visa Bureau, 2011). The Commonwealth of Nations (Commonwealth countries) implies the group of 54 countries, which

were part of the British Empire in the past. It is a free association of sovereign states which consists of the United Kingdom and a number of its former dependencies that have chosen to maintain ties of friendship and practical cooperation. The British monarch is recognized by these states as symbolic head of their association (Luebering, 2023). A High Commission functions no differently from an embassy in a non- Commonwealth country, apart from the name. With regard to diplomatic missions themselves, the terms ‘Embassy’ and ‘High Commission’ refer to the buildings in which those missions are based (UK Visa Bureau, 2011).

In distinguishing between the two types of a diplomatic mission (embassy/high commission and a consulate), the location of an embassy and a high commission is normally in the capital city at the destination country. Its main function is to handle all diplomatic government-to-government issues. For instance, if there are trade negotiations to be done, or if one government wants to complain about some action by the other, the embassy handles that. Also, if an official delegation from one country intends to visit the other, the embassies or high commissions will make the necessary arrangements. A consulate on the other hand, is situated in any (usually major) city. It represents the sending country in cities outside the national capital or seat of government, especially in large economically important ones like New York or Sydney. A consulate provides consular services for individuals or businesses and can usually provide visas for foreigners planning to visit their country. They also provide passport services, marriage registrations, birth and death registrations, and other sorts of advice or assistance for their own citizens. If you need advice about local regulations with regard to your business, your consulate is a good source. Nonetheless, many embassies or high commissions also provide consular services. This means they can also do all the things a consulate does. The activities of a consulate are governed by the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963.

Functions of Diplomatic Missions

In order to perform their work, diplomatic missions must have a firm grasp of the politics, society and culture of the host country. The work and positions of diplomatic missions are governed by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961. “It is an international treaty that defines a framework for diplomatic relations between independent countries” (Bruns, 2014). It specifies the privileges of a diplomatic mission that enable diplomats to perform their function without fear of coercion or harassment by the host country. This forms the legal basis for diplomatic immunity. According to Marks and Freeman (2023), the functions of a diplomatic mission as specified in “Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961 include:

- (1) the representation of the sending state in the host state at a level beyond the merely social and ceremonial.
- (2) the protection within the host state of the interests of the sending state and its nationals, including their property and shares in firms.
- (3) the negotiation and signing of agreements with the host state when authorized.
- (4) the reporting and gathering of information by all lawful means on conditions and developments in the host country for the sending government and
- (5) the promotion of friendly relations between the two states and the furthering of their economic, commercial, cultural, and scientific relations.”

Beyond these functions, diplomatic missions provide their nationals with public services. This includes acting as a notary public, issuing passports and papers for military conscription, providing

electoral registration, referring injured or sick nationals to local physicians and lawyers, and ensuring non-discriminatory treatment for those charged with or imprisoned for crimes. While junior and consular staff provide services to citizens and the local public, specialized attachés engage in protection and promotional activity. The ambassador is assigned to carry out all the tasks of the diplomatic mission through subordinates or personal intervention with local authorities when required. Most ambassadors are now actively engaged in the promotion of trade and provision of assistance to private companies in commercial disputes. The head of mission, the spouse of the head of mission, and the deputy spend much time entertaining visiting politicians and attending receptions. This provides a platform for some business to be conducted and information is collected but representation also entails explaining and defending national policy as well as lodging official or informal protests with the host government. However, the most demanding daily activities of diplomats are negotiating, analyzing, and reporting.

One of the main duties of the ambassador is to predict a developing crisis. This is normally accomplished through the gathering of information from various sources and the use of expert knowledge and experience to identify, analyze, and interpret emerging key issues, patterns and their implications. It is the duty of the ambassador to advise and warn the government about such issues. He or she is also expected to brief the government in detail and without distortion about the content of his conversations with the host foreign minister, the prime minister, and other key officials and politicians (Marks & Freeman, 2023).

4.4 THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Background

Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in 1957 with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, as the first Foreign Minister. As Ghana became independent on 6th March, 1957, a historic foreign policy

pronouncement was made by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. “The concept of free, proud, confident Africa was to dominate Ghana’s foreign policy. Ghana had at its disposal, competent diplomats who had been selected and trained in 1955 to implement her foreign policy.” (MFA & RI, 2023). Under his personal direction, Dr. Nkrumah established an autonomous African Affairs Secretariat basically with the aim of promoting and carrying out his vision of African Unity; a foreign policy issue, which normally should have fallen within the purview of the Foreign Ministry. Eventually, the Secretariat was incorporated into the Ministry after his overthrow in February, 1966.

The Ghana Foreign Service consists of the ministry and its diplomatic missions abroad, charged with the control, direction and coordination of Ghana’s external relations. Honorary consulates are also established to complement the work of diplomatic missions in the promotion of investment, trade and tourism as well as the discharge of consular functions in areas with significant Ghanaian communities. It is important to note however that although the Ghana Foreign Service is technically and legally part of the Ghana Civil Service, it is peculiar and specialized. Its modus operandi is different in a manner that requires a peculiar setup to cope with its multifarious functions. As it operates in the international arena, it has perforce to conform to some international practices and procedures (MFA & RI, 2023).

Over the years, the Ministry’s name has undergone various changes. Its current name, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFA & RI), was designated in 2009 to emphasize the importance of regional integration as a foreign policy objective (MFA & RI, 2023).

Mandate of the Ministry

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFA & RI) is the main organ of state responsible for the initiation, formulation and management of Ghana’s foreign policy (MFA &

RI, 2023). As stated in the service charter (2016), the ministry derives its legal mandate from “chapter six of the 1992 constitution on the Directive Principles of State Policy,” which provides in Article 40 that “In dealing with other nations, as far as Ghana’s foreign policy is concerned, the Government shall:

- Promote and protect the interest of Ghana.
- Seek the establishment of just and equitable International economic and social order.
- Promote respect for international law, treaty obligations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.
- Adhere to the principles enshrined in or as the case may be, the aims and ideals in the following:
 - a. The Charter of the United Nations
 - b. The now Constructive Act of the African Union
 - c. The Commonwealth
 - d. The treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
 - e. Any other International Organization of which Ghana is a member.”

It is important to note that the drafters of the 1992 constitution of Ghana in the provision on international relations or foreign policy seem to have been guided by the conduct of international relations of Ghana since 1957 when we gained our independence from colonial rule.

Structure of the Ministry

The MFA & RI “comprises the Headquarters, fifty-one (51) Diplomatic Missions, six (6) Consulate-Generals and fifty-eight (58) Honorary Consulates” (Service Charter, 2016). It also includes “three (3) Subvented Organizations; The Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), the National African Peer Review Mechanism Governing Council

(NAPRM-GC) and the All African Students Union (AASU)” (MFA & RI, 2023). Article 73 of the 1992 Constitution also enjoins the Government “to conduct Ghana’s international Affairs in consonance with the accepted principles of public international law and diplomacy in a manner consistent with her national interest.”

“The Ministry operates at the Headquarters through the Offices of the Minister and Deputy Minister as well as the Directorate and Staff of the various Bureaux. At the top of the Ministry is the Office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and her or his Deputies, with their respective secretariats. Next, is the Office of the Chief Director, to whom the following Bureaux headed by Directors report and whose competences are defined by their geographical, institutional or functional areas of coverage:

- Policy Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
- Administration
- Finance and Accounts
- Protocol
- Legal and Consular Affairs
- ECTIB (Economic Trade and Investment Bureau)
- Passport
- Information and Public Affairs
- Estates and General Services
- Africa and Regional Integration
- Americas
- Europe
- Middle East

- Asia and Pacific
- Multilateral Relations
- Accra International Conference Centre (AICC)
- ICT Unit
- Inspectorate and Internal Audit
- Diaspora Affairs”

Gore-Booth (1978: 16) “mentions that in every country, the foreign minister is assisted by trained staff that under his or her guidance, constitutes the foreign office or Ministry for Foreign Affairs.”

In order to effectively execute Ghana’s foreign policy, the ministry employs staff at both its headquarters and diplomatic missions abroad.

Functions of the Ministry

The functions of the MFA & RI “are to:

- Initiate, formulate, coordinate and implement Ghana’s Foreign Policy Objectives.
- Advance Ghana’s economic interest by working with other MDAs for the promotion of “Made-in-Ghana Brand” and expansion of trade, tourism and inward investments.
- Coordinate Ghana’s contribution to regional integration for the promotion and protection of the national interest.
- Develop and coordinate Ghana’s position at multilateral fora to ensure that the outcomes serve Ghana’s interest to the greatest extent possible.
- Develop and maintain cordial bilateral relations with friendly countries in all fields of endeavor.
- Develop institutional frameworks, including Joint Commissions for Cooperation and bilateral consultation mechanisms for the conduct of productive and mutually beneficial

relations.

- Collaborate closely with the Attorney General’s Office for the establishment of an integrated legal service within the Ministry and maximize Ghana’s representation and participation in international legal fora and related bodies.
- Improve the quality of Consular Services provided by the Ministry and its Diplomatic Missions and Consular Posts and maintain close contacts with Ghanaian communities around the world, including immigrant groups.
- Contribute to greater public awareness of Ghana’s international rights and obligations.”

4.5 GHANA’S FOREIGN POLICY AND MISSIONS ABROAD

The MFA & RI and its diplomatic missions, are responsible for conducting Ghana’s foreign policy. For this reason, the ministry is the Principal Advisor to the Government with regard to the formulation of Ghana’s foreign policy. It makes recommendations to the Government on appropriate initiatives, options and responses in view of unfolding domestic and international events and situations (MFA & RI, 2023). The basic principles that guide Ghana’s foreign policy are contained in article 40 of Ghana’s 1992 Constitution as mentioned earlier. In executing Ghana’s foreign policy, the Ministry takes note of all the factors that impinge directly or indirectly on the national interest. This involves protecting and defending the territorial integrity of Ghana, ensuring peace and stability for Ghana and the sub-region, contributing to wider international peace and security, cultivating a favourable image of Ghana abroad and defending that image (MFA & RI, 2023).

Globally, Ghana maintains diplomatic relations with countries and international organizations through its “fifty-five (55) Embassies, High Commissions and Consulates-General. To complement the work of the Missions, fifty-nine (59) Honorary Consulates have also been

established. Several of the Missions are also concurrently accredited to countries where Ghana does not have resident diplomatic presence” (MFA & RI, 2023). “The global distribution of Ghana’s Diplomatic Missions is as follows:

1 Africa - 25

2 Europe - 13

3 Middle East and Asia - 11

4 Americas – 6”

In order for Ghana’s diplomatic missions to function, diplomats or FSOs are posted to these missions to implement Ghana’s foreign policy.

4.6 GHANA’S FOREIGN SERVICE

Functions of a Foreign Service Officer

The interaction one state has with another is considered the act of its foreign policy. This act takes place through interactions between government personnel through diplomacy. These government personnel are called diplomats (FSOs) who are part of foreign services and diplomatic corps of various nations of the world. A Foreign Service Officer (FSO) is therefore someone who is appointed by a nation state to represent and protect that nation's interests abroad. The FSO “serves to promote peace, support prosperity and protect citizens who are travelling abroad. The FSO represents the government and people of his or her home country in foreign countries and with international organizations” (Betterteam Pty Ltd, 2023).

FSOs perform many important roles but their main functions centre around the representation and protection of the interest of nationals of the sending state, as well as promotion of information and friendly relations. The work of a FSO can look quite different depending on where they serve and

what they specialize in. A Ghanaian FSO represents the government and the people of Ghana, by conducting relations with foreign countries and international organizations. Their specific responsibilities depend on the branch of the Foreign Service in which they serve. These branches are: Branch A (the Administrative class), Branch B (Accounting class) and Branch C (Secretarial class) (www.mofep.gov.gh). They may also inform their home country of political and economic developments in their host country or assist fellow citizens who are travelling abroad, evacuate refugees, or explain or defend their country's foreign policy.

According to Glen (1966), "as career diplomats (FSOs) perform their diplomatic and consular functions, they undoubtedly assume a unique role in a foreign country as compared with their fellow Americans overseas." Similarly, in conducting the business of the Ghanaian government in the host country, their relationships with local people take on an inevitable official significance. Additionally, their diplomatic status calls for participation in the activities of the local multinational diplomatic corps. The result is a special set of conditions on which Foreign Service life overseas is based (Glen, 1966). While some diplomats remain in their home countries, the majority are posted to overseas embassies and consulates in various places across the world, but a diplomat's work will take them outside of the office. Often, a diplomat will only spend a period of approximately four years in one country, but this can vary depending on the available vacancies. Most diplomats will serve in at least one developing country, where there are higher rates of disease, harsh climates, or social unrest. Some home comforts or amenities might become very difficult to come by, and family or spouses who accompany diplomats are not often entitled to work. However, diplomats are often considered members of an exclusive and prestigious occupation, and a state will often give a lot of support to the high status, privileges and self-esteem of its diplomats in order to maintain its own international image. Since diplomats

are very carefully selected, they are held in high regard by members of the community. International law grants diplomats, special privileges and immunities as specified in article 29 to 36 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961.

The Nature of the Posting

Once an ambassador or a diplomat has been selected for postings abroad, it is necessary, as part of the process of preparation, to take him or her through an orientation at the diplomatic academy. In Ghana, the FSO attends seminars before the foreign posting to complement his or her growing knowledge of the Foreign Service. Also, this is to polish up his or her skills and assure the Foreign Service that the diplomat possesses the essential or fundamental skills necessary in order not to create an embarrassment for the country and useful for achieving the mission with which he or she has been tasked by the appointing authority (Agyeman, 2018: 64). The diplomatic school normally take diplomats through the protocols of diplomacy, topical international issues and the national positions on those issues, national imperatives, country studies relating to his host country, the direction of the country's foreign policy, as well as some competence- based refresher training necessary for the postings abroad (Agyeman, 2018: 65). The main objectives of the course are to increase knowledge and skills of the participants in diplomacy and international relations and to prepare them for their overseas assignment. The emphasis is specifically on their role and responsibilities representing the country under the leadership of the Ambassador. Moreover, it is also necessary for the diplomat to familiarize himself or herself with the post report of the host country to find out matters that may pertain to his personal wellbeing and comfort at post. These include the climate patterns, medical facilities, schools, if he or she has children.

Arrival at Post

The diplomat's arrival at post is characterized by notifying the host Ministry of Foreign Affairs in

conformity with the provision of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961. In accordance with Article 10, “the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the receiving State (host) shall be notified of the appointment of members of the mission, their arrival and their final departure or termination of their functions with the mission.” In the same way, “the arrival and final departure of a person belonging to the family of a member of the mission and, where appropriate, the fact that a person becomes or ceases to be a member of the family of a member of the mission shall be communicated.” In most countries, it has become a tradition for the respective regional groups of the diplomatic corps, led by their doyen, to receive, with the Chief of Protocol or his representative, a new colleague, either at the airport or at the Embassy of the concerned ambassador (Agyeman, 2018: 65).

Within diplomacy, courtesy calls after arrival at post is still considered courteous and useful to enable the diplomat quickly widen his network of friends and contacts. The two major kinds of calls are the official and social calls. The official call is the face-to-face encounter either at the office or official residence of the person on whom the call is being made. It is the most common form of call. On the other hand, the social call, is the call made to a person’s home (Agyeman, 2018: 67). While other diplomats, who are not heads of missions are not expected to call on their counterparts in other diplomatic missions, it is generally appreciated if they decide to do so. A third person Note is issued to all other diplomatic missions and consular posts upon the arrival, particularly of senior officers. Others may be notified in the diplomatic list when it is updated. A departing colleague from whom a diplomat is taking over may also decide to take his successor to meet with the relevant officials of the host State with whom he is well acquainted with and who may prove useful for the effective performance of the work of his successor. By virtue of the supportive role of spouses in diplomacy, they may accompany the diplomat on the now rarely

initiated social calls or seek, as part of becoming accepted within the social settings of spouses, to make social calls on other spouses. The rule of strict protocol require that social calls are returned within a week or two. However, depending upon local custom, social calls may or may not require return calls (Agyeman, 2018: 67).

Once posted abroad, diplomats must learn about the culture, politics, policies and personalities of the host country as quickly as possible. They must cultivate friends and interlocutors and earn their respect, trust and confidence. However, they must do so without allowing their understanding of and sympathy for the host country's policy override or undermine their own country's interests and policies (Hoffman & Bozo, 2005). In as much as foreign postings are necessary to understand foreign countries, postings back to one's own capital are just as necessary so as not to lose touch with one's own nation, society and government.

Conditions of Service

As a member of the Foreign Service, your spouse, children, and in some cases, dependent parent(s) should travel with you to your post, except to those places designated "unaccompanied" or in cases where there is imminent danger or civil unrest. Joining the Foreign Service, by law, comes with benefits and entitlements, which flow to and through the employee. Family members normally enjoy privileges, such as payment for official travel, housing and schooling. Thus, together with his or her family, the FSO can expect government-paid housing, allowances which will cover travel, cost of living, education and at many posts, there are American-curriculum and/or international schools that your children may attend. Although the Foreign Service does not guarantee your spouse or partner employment, for some countries, there are programs and services to assist in identifying employment options. For instance, the U.S. Department of State makes every effort to support family life abroad. This is evident in the dedicated team they have in

the Family Liaison Office (FLO) to help you manage the transition to the overseas lifestyle. “FLO serves all U.S. Government direct-hire employees and their family members (from all foreign affairs agencies under Chief of Mission authority) serving at home and abroad.” The goal of FLO is to improve their quality of life through advocacy, programs and services. It does this by extending its services to communities overseas through the worldwide Community Liaison Office (CLO) program at more than 200 overseas missions. “The CLO program is the backbone of community support for employees and their family members at embassies and consulates and is often the first point of contact for newly assigned or arriving employees and family members. It provides pre-arrival information, orientation, and assistance with settling in at post (American Foreign Service Association, 2023).

Since its establishment in 1978, “FLO works to effect policy changes and create programs and services for the benefit of the Foreign Service family. It provides guidance and strives to expand opportunities for family member employment, offers information and support family education choices. The FLO also assists with re-entry to the United States after a tour abroad, provides guidance and referrals to those experiencing personal challenges such as an unexpected departure from post or divorce, and offers support and resources to employees and families affected by an unaccompanied tour” (American Foreign Service Association, 2023).

Although the Ghanaian FSO has similar conditions of service, it is quite different when it comes to the issue of family members of the FSO. Assistance to family members is minimal since there is ambiguity in the policy to create programs and services for the benefit of the Foreign Service family especially the spouse when the issue of employment and allowances arise. More often than not policies are geared towards promoting the welfare of the FSO and the children such as allowances for their education.

4.7 ROLE OF THE MFA & RI TO SPOUSES BEFORE POSTING

Orientation

FSOs have a choice of whether to relocate with their families or not. According to Spies (2005:206), “spouses of families who accompany FSOs abroad are regarded as part of a representational ‘package’”. In other words, their conduct, appearance and utterances while abroad reflect the image of their sending state as those of serving FSOs. It is for this reason that the ministry extends training or orientation to them. The training includes cross-cultural adaptation, etiquette and protocol amongst others.

Ghana’s Foreign Ministry offers a pre-departure orientation seminar for spouses of FSOs as an introduction to the Ministry’s resources and services. The spouse orientation officially welcomes spouses to the Foreign Service life and introduces support services and regulations important for families joining this internationally mobile lifestyle. The training comprises seminars on "Requirements and Responsibilities of Foreign Duty", "Protocol Rules". It is therefore expected that spouses should attend a pre-posting course in the form of orientation before joining their partners at post. The aim of the training seminar is “to prepare the spouses of Foreign Service personnel on the important points in pre-departure preparation, and arrangement, upon arrival at post. It also discusses personal and family security, the role of spouses, some essential tips in protocol and an overview of the immunities and privileges accorded to the family by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961.”

4.8 ROLE OF SPOUSES DURING POSTING

The Symbolic and Traditional Role of Spouses

“Beyond just following their partners around the world, what kind of role should be performed

by a person being married to a diplomat?” This is an opening question by Hendry (1998). The role of the diplomat’s partner is emphasized in the diplomatic activity, as he or she is also a subject of preparations and training topics before going abroad. “The main expectation of diplomats’ partners is that they should be educated, pleasant to talk to and being great hosts” (Petric, 2010: 330) when necessary. When career diplomats relocate to other countries, their families accompany them. As members of the diplomatic community, spouses are invited to dinners, receptions and national festivals, and are also expected to host events in their own homes. When spouses host other members of the diplomatic community, they are expected to share their culture with these delegations. This process could involve offering cuisine, playing music and displaying paintings and books that are celebrated in their countries. Performing the function of a cultural representative within their homes, diplomatic spouses can personalize foreign policy. Generally, diplomatic spouses are often present during interactions among diplomats and their participation can further or hinder progress towards foreign policy objectives. They therefore offer the opportunity to have personal and cultural conversations outside official state-related duties.

In Ghana missions, it is expected that the newly- arrived diplomat’s spouse should make a courtesy call on the Head of Mission upon arrival and before he or she leaves the post. Once posted abroad, spouses of FSOs play an important role from participating in official functions to running events of the local diplomatic community and from being in charge of official entertainment to running the household. Spouses must quickly acquaint themselves with the local places of interest, shopping malls, restaurants and any other related things that may be useful in carrying out their roles. When it comes to women accompanying diplomats abroad, expectations can easily be too high, not to mention stereotypical. The role becomes especially crucial when the FSO is heading a mission or post. Keeping the embassy residence (official residence of Ambassador) in a good

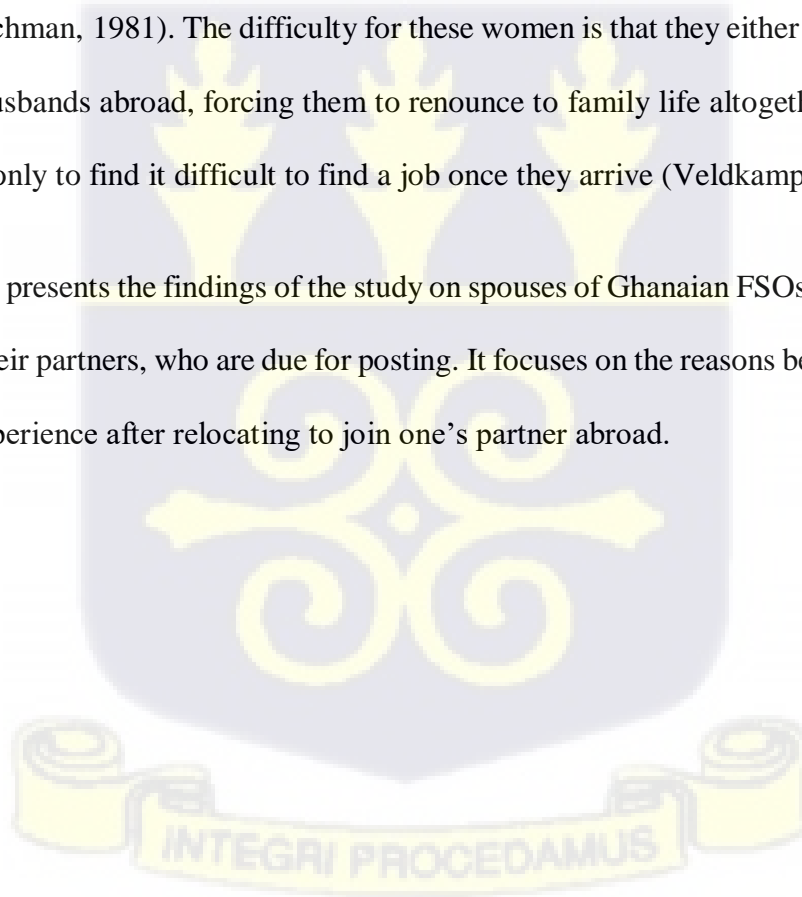
condition at all times or managing the residence staff are not easy tasks and without the spouse's support, it is difficult for FSOs to manage these alone. Several spouses, therefore, sacrifice their career as their Foreign Service spouses get to occupy senior positions. This is because to the diplomatic community, a spouse is primarily known as 'the wife or husband of the FSO.' This erodes the professional identity, if any of the spouse. Coles (2008) describes a 'patriarchal structure of diplomacy' in which the labour of accompanying wives remains unpaid despite being embedded in the very organisation of everyday diplomatic practices. The term 'incorporated wife' has been used to refer to the accompanying spouses of transnational professionals, including diplomats (Callan and Ardener, 1984; Coles and Fechter, 2008) and still remains particularly relevant for diplomatic wives today. The preservation of patriarchal boundaries in 'expatriate' mobility is to be understood within a historical context and in terms of colonial continuity. Parallels can be drawn between the role played by wives of colonial officers and wives of corporate 'expatriates' with regard to embodying the ideologies of the organization they represent (Leonard, 2010).

Societal Changes and the Evolution of the Role of Spouses

In highlighting the importance of diplomatic spouses and the generally unequal role they are assigned, Enloe (2014) argued that "modern diplomacy relies on a certain kind of heterosexual marriage and "the diplomatic wife", who is expected to contribute to her husband's diplomatic mission without pay, while giving up her own career. These expectations include hosting social functions and creating an environment in which male ambassadors and their counterparts can develop important relationships" (Enloe, 2014). Thus, the role of the diplomatic wife became increasingly defined in terms of the metaphor of an 'official family' which emphasized the importance of domesticity and hospitality (Wood, 2005). However, the vast majority of spouses of diplomats today are still women but they are no longer content with playing housewife roles.

They want to be independent, be their own person and have their own career since the Foreign Service does not guarantee a spouse's employment. "Currently, the concept of the supporting (female) partner is considered as increasingly outdated but still present among Western Foreign Services" (Fliege et al., 2016). In recent years, spouses have come together to protest such practices, claiming that foreign offices should not obtain "two employees for the price of one". As a result, the State Department of the United States of America passed a set of directives, which prohibited any such demands being placed on spouses. The directive opened up more choices for Foreign Service spouses but provided no real solutions. This is because wives who enjoy the diplomatic role find that they still receive neither compensation nor recognition for their jobs (Churchman, 1981). The difficulty for these women is that they either have to decide not to follow their husbands abroad, forcing them to renounce to family life altogether, or they decide to follow them, only to find it difficult to find a job once they arrive (Veldkamp, 2015).

The next chapter presents the findings of the study on spouses of Ghanaian FSOs when they decide to accompany their partners, who are due for posting. It focuses on the reasons behind this decision and the lived experience after relocating to join one's partner abroad.



CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of this research, based on the objectives. The purpose of this study was to qualitatively examine the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs with regard to the posting of their partner. Applying a phenomenological approach, this study aimed to understand the experience of relocating as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO with regard to the posting of their partner. Specifically, it examined the reasons why spouses decided to accompany their partners during the first posting; explored the experiences of spouses during posting; examined how the experiences of spouses interconnected to influence the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings and finally examined the impact on the family bond when spouses decide not to accompany their partners anymore.

This chapter focuses on the first and second objectives. Using hermeneutic phenomenology, the findings were analysed through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which I believe begins to address a gap in the literature, as the multiple experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs remain unexplored in the literature (Whitley et al., 2009). Through semi-structured interviews, it unravels the complexities of choice and relations between genders by exploring the reasons behind the decision to be accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. In addressing the second objective, the chapter elucidates the lived experiences of accompanying spouses as they decide to relocate to a foreign country. The reliance on spouses' memories and reflections helped participants revisit their experiences (Crotty, 1998). The results are presented in the form of summary and verbatim quotations of what the participants said. According to Shaw (2001: 151) "verbatim quotations allow for voices to be heard, giving the reader an opportunity to add his or her own interpretation."

This is in line with IPA, which involves detailed analysis of verbatim accounts of a small number of participants (Smith: 2004). The use of IPA allowed for the claim of participating spouses to be contextualized, positioning their accounts with regard to various aspects of their individual identities, while making sense of how they each make sense of their lived experiences with relocation abroad (Connor, 2009; Mertens, 2015). Two major themes emerged from the data based on the objectives: Decision to be an accompanying spouse and experiences during posting. Each theme has five subthemes, which is presented followed by a participant quote to demonstrate grounding in the data.

5.2 DECISION TO BE AN ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE

Spouses of diplomats choose to accompany their partners abroad for different reasons and with different expectations. However, our understanding of the motivations of accompanying spouses remains somewhat limited, especially given their loss of personal, professional, and social resources during the relocation. As I explored the reasons for relocating as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO, participants in this study stated various reasons for their decision to relocate. Five subthemes emerged, namely; supporting their spouses' career, exploring the host nation, raising a family and those who agreed to relocate not necessarily because they wanted to, but due to family, friends and spousal pressure. Although gendered societal expectations weave throughout the decision-making process and are discussed within both, it must be noted that these reasons are not monolithic as many of the participants expressed more than one reason as to why they decided to relocate. However, these categories are useful in analyzing how gender ideologies weave with the decision to relocate, and how spouses' considerations and preferences are taken into account during this process.

Supporting the Career of FSO

Although there is often considerable bargaining and compromising involved in relocation decisions among couples, the decision making on whether to embark on the first posting, or a long-term professional life abroad is taken within gendered contexts. In most cases, it is the husband's career that necessitates the move abroad. Accompanying spouses move abroad for their partner's job and career, mainly because their partner was sent abroad by their employer. Normally, the husband's job is only marginally better paid or has slightly more career potential than the wife's job or it may even be a reversed situation. Nonetheless, in such negotiations, the result is often that the husband's job is prioritized, while the wife's career is put on hold or disrupted. Some spouses in this study felt their partner's job was paramount so they had to sacrifice their career in favour of that of their spouse. Thus, they decided to advance their partners' career at the expense of theirs. After careful consideration, Yaw took the decision to accompany his spouse in order to advance her career. This was because at that moment, he considered his work in the private sector as less stable and secure than the public sector where his wife works. He did not want to jeopardize her career.

It was more like her job was more paramount at this point because for me, at that time, she had a more stable job because she was working in the public/civil service. I was working in the private sector so there is that possibility that anything can happen within that short period of time. So secure her job but think about yours later. (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Although the literature suggests that work-related family migration is predominantly husband-centred for married couples (Zvonkovic, Greaves, Schmiegem and Hall, 1996: 97), Yaw's decision adds a new dimension to the literature. Having careers in either the public or private sector played a major role in his decision to relocate. As a public servant and particularly, a FSO, it is an obligation that one goes on posting. It was therefore incumbent on the spouse of Yaw that she goes

on posting. As Yaw compared the two sectors, taking into consideration employment benefits like job security and stability, his spouse's job stood out. Since he worked in the private sector, there was no guarantee that his job was secure compared to that of his spouse. This persuaded him to accompany her when she was due for posting.

Sophia described the relocation as an inevitable part of her husband's professional development and therefore as a fundamental part of their relationship.

Before we got married, I had conditioned my mind that he will definitely go one day. So we were looking forward to it (Sophia, civil servant, 1st posting).

It was common among spouses to feel that supporting their partner in the relocation process is part of the relationship contract, especially being newly married couples and going on posting for the first time. Thus by not moving they might explicitly or implicitly threaten their marriage. This corroborates Chen's (2009: 224) findings in a study of International Graduate Students' wives in the USA. She found that some participants took the decision to accompany their husband's to go overseas as a must, based on the belief that "women need to compromise" or "women need to follow their husband's whenever husbands go." Besides, spouses who participated in the orientation before going on posting were told by the ministry to support the FSOs as they performed their diplomatic duties. They were left with no choice but to support their spouses' career while putting theirs on hold. Ama attended the orientation and commented that:

It's funny. We were told that, 'you are going as a spouse and that you should go and support the person (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting).'

Ama's comment further affirms the argument by Wood (2005) that "the role of the diplomatic spouse is defined in terms of the metaphor of an 'official family' which lays emphasis on the importance of domesticity and hospitality." Considering that diplomatic spouses are mostly

women, expectations are normally high and stereotypical, especially in patriarchal societies. According to Nash (2020), “patriarchy is a system of relationships, beliefs and values embedded in political, social and economic systems that structure gender inequality between men and women.” Attributes regarded as “masculine” or pertaining to men are privileged whereas attributes seen as “feminine” are undervalued. Patriarchal relations structure both the private and public spheres, ensuring that men dominate both. Given that Ghana is a patriarchal society in which social organization is marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family and the legal dependence of wives and children, it is normal for female spouses to support their partners in both the private and public spheres. This probably explains why the MFA & RI expects spouses especially females to support their FS partners during posting thereby perpetuating a ‘patriarchal structure of diplomacy’ in which “the labour of accompanying wives remains unpaid despite being embedded in the very organization of everyday diplomatic practices” (Coles, 2008).

Exploration

Some of the spouses decided to accompany their partners in order to explore a new culture; thus to learn a new way of life and experience something new. The idea of travelling was exciting to some of the spouses, especially those that had travelled before. Having experienced different cultures before, they were anxious to know and learn more about the host nation. Their partner’s job therefore presented this opportunity. Both Mary and Sophia were excited about the idea of travelling since they had travelled before. As a businesswoman and hairstylist, Mary was always looking forward to going to a good country where at least she could put her job into practice and explore.

I was happy because I was praying for him to go to a good country. Because when you get a good country, you get to see nice places and things (Mary, hair stylist/ business woman, 1st posting).

So also did Sophia.

... and actually I loved travelling, so when the opportunity came, I just decided to go with him (Sophia, civil servant, 1st posting).

Unlike other spouses, Sophia has been travelling before she got married. She has been going to the United Kingdom on a number of occasions, particularly during school vacation. She therefore had that experience of travelling and was excited about the host nation and finding out more about it.

Raising a Family

Others chose to stay at home and focus on raising their families. As newly married couples, most of the spouses decided to accompany their partners in order to raise a family since staying behind will prevent them from achieving this. This was the priority of most families in this study as they saw an opportunity in making use of their partners four years of posting. Thus having their children and devoting only to them during this period, so that at the end of the tour they can focus on other aspects of their life. They can return to Ghana and continue with their career, schooling or venture into other businesses. This corroborates gender-role theories that argue that while women are often socialized to place family ahead of personal goals and to have responsibility for reproductive activities, men are expected to assume the position of primary breadwinner (Shihadeh, 1991; Olson, Frieze et al., 1990; Gilbert, 1993; Moya, Exposito et al., 2000; Hochschild & Machung, 2003). This was the case for Sophia who aside the excitement of exploring the host nation, also wanted to use the period to raise her family although she was a career woman before the posting.

I wanted to explore and also wanted to use the period to raise my family because we were newly married and leaving us behind was not an option. So I just took advantage of it because I had just started my career so I decided to put it on hold for the next four years; have my family so that when I come back, I just continue from there. (Sophia, civil servant, 1st posting).

Similarly, Akosua thought raising her family together was best for her since the children were young. She did not want to raise them alone.

My kids were small and I thought it was best if they were with their Dad, as a family (Akosua, civil servant, 1st posting).

Akosua's reason for joining her spouse on posting buttresses the argument that "historically, women were believed to migrate primarily for marriage or family reunification both internationally and internally. Although married men may move to join family members, women are more likely to move for their spouses" (UNDESA 1993, as cited in Martin 2004). Also, "twice as many women immigrate to the United States for spouses than men, and family reunification is the main cause of women immigrating to Australia, Canada, Europe, New Zealand, and the United States" (Ghosh, 2009).

In the case of Korkor, she wanted to pursue schooling after marriage but had to put it on hold in order to raise a family. Being newly married, her priorities changed after discovering that she was pregnant. She now had to focus on raising her family within the four years that her husband was at post. Thereafter, she will pursue her schooling when she arrives in Ghana after the tour of duty.

Before marriage I was in school and after marriage I still wanted to pursue schooling. I was doing a course at the British Council. I also got admission into the nursing school. I was about to go to the nursing school in September but we got married in September. I decided to visit him after he left for posting and then come back to school but I got pregnant so we had to put it on hold. (Korkor, fashion designer/make-up artist, 1st posting).

Family and Friends Influence

On the contrary, a few spouses were not enthused about accompanying their partners since they were pursuing further education or working at the time of posting. They did not want to interrupt their studies or work. However, after pressure and persistence from family members and friends about the need to be together as newly married couples, they eventually gave in. Ama found herself in this situation when she was torn between studying for her Law degree and accompanying her spouse. She finally deferred her degree programme to join her spouse after pressure from her

parents and friends.

Aside that, we had just got married (about three months) and he was to leave in July. I decided to stay but after a while there was parental and friends influence. They kept on reminding me about the fact that we had just got married and that it wasn't good to leave him alone and that you can always come back to school. I then decided that may be what people are saying is true (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting)

Spousal Pressure

Besides influence from friends and family for spouses to accompany their partners on posting, spousal pressure also played a role in their decision. This was the case for Abena who initially had no intention of following her husband to the host nation but also wanted to have her third child. However, after two months at post, her spouse decided that she, together with their two children should join him.

I didn't intend following him since I was working at the UNHCR. I was having two kids before he left in August. By November, he decided that I should join him. I was therefore torn between the third born and joining him. (Abena, Lawyer, 1st posting).

Although Abena was working before the posting of her spouse, she chose to put her career on hold based on the decision by her spouse for her to join him. Apart from that, the expansion of her family was taken into consideration at that point in time based on the fact that it could not materialize if she did not accompany her partner. Ama on the other hand did not only have to deal with pressure and influence from family and friends but also her spouse.

Also whenever he called, he complained that "I am lonely, I am always eating MacDonalds... It is only rice I can plug. It is not easy." Although I valued my education, I realized he needed me. McDonald's in the morning, afternoon and evening. I was feeling bad so I decided to join him (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Ama's reaction to her spouse's complaints suggests that spousal pressure emanating from the interpretation of gender roles in the home and the internalized understanding of the role of the

woman in marriage influenced her decision to join her spouse. This supports the theories on marital power (Strauss and Yodanis, 1995; Rahman & Rao, 2004), which argue that a spouse can have a strong influence on the partner's decision-making process. In this case, her relative confidence in spouse, willingness to please and need for approval leads to husband's dominance.

From the above, it is evident that in most cases of couples it is more often the woman who gives up her job, which is often as good as her husband's. This confirms the findings of authors that "women are often socialized to place family first and personal goals second when it comes to critical household matters" (Shihadeh, 1991: 433). Again, "women are whom to be asked to sacrifice their well-paying jobs in accordance with traditional gender-role beliefs" (Bielby and Bielby, 1992). Most of the spouses in this study, are very skilled and had a very good job or were schooling in higher institutions before marrying, but did not succeed in keeping it or continuing when they decided to accompany their partners' abroad. As indicated in the literature, women have in the past often appeared more willing than men have been to accompany their spouses abroad, even if it includes uncertainty about the future of their own career. The spouses in this study expressed a sense of powerlessness with regard to the decision. However, that powerlessness was mostly self-imposed rather than being the result of an authoritative husband. Maybe the powerlessness can best be described as culturally or structurally imposed by the gender role ideology discussed earlier in the literature. Female spouses internalized their powerlessness by expressing their view that their reproductive role in the family is subordinate to their husband's role in the working world. The gender role ideology created a belief that the husband's position as primary earner was sacrosanct, even in dual-career families. The stories of some of these spouses were not those of men who came home and demanded that their families accompany them when due for posting but rather stories of spouses who did not believe that they deserved a say at that point in time.

5.3 EXPERIENCES DURING POSTING

This section presents the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs when their transferee partners are posted abroad. In addressing the second objective of this study, it begins with how the participants viewed the definition of an accompanying spouse and how it challenged their sense of identity. The spousal experience was the focal point of their descriptions of their time abroad and how it greatly influenced every aspect of their lives. For many couples, the first posting was a great opportunity and represented the start of something amazing. As a team, couples embarked on this adventure together, whether willingly or unwillingly. There is a sense of mixed feeling or excitement that persists throughout the preparations, the journey and the settling into their new home. It is what comes next that, for many, causes some difficulties, especially when most of them did not attend any orientation before accompanying their partners. This was expressed as part of the narrative of the lived experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSO when they decided to accompany their partners on an international assignment. Five emergent themes from the semi-structured interviews and a description of the essence of the collective experiences of the interviewees are presented as follows: language, culture, social support, career development and children's education. During the interview, I was able to see how the themes interacted. Each theme regarding spouses' experiences was influenced by one another.

Language

According to the literature, knowledge of the host country's language is one of the crucial elements of successful adjustment abroad (Briscoe and Schuler, 2004: 247; Scullion and Collings, 2006: 65). However, the mission of posting is more often than not a place where one does not understand the language. As indicated in the previous chapter, the MFA & RI has a total of 55 missions abroad. Out of this number, about 18 are in English-speaking countries making it unlikely to be

posted to an English-speaking country or at most one throughout the posting of the FSO until he or she retires. Indeed, this was a problem for spouses in this study as the inability to speak the host-country language made adjustment difficult for them. Generally, accompanying spouses, unlike their working partners use the local language in their daily routines such as shopping or bringing children to doctors (Shaffer & Harrison, 2001). Poor language skills represented an important obstacle in their daily routine as reiterated by Ama during her second posting. Ama had a terrible experience with language when she took her daughter to the hospital. She also faced a similar situation when she was sick. Both scenarios were frightening to her since any wrong diagnosis due to miscommunication can have dire consequences.

I take my daughter to the paediatrician. She has this asthma and allergies and he (the doctor) is like “do you mean this”. Sometimes, I have to control myself. You can tell he is not getting you, that is, what you are saying and I am like this is a health issue. I don’t want to be doing this thing with this people. Because of language, someone will go and give you wrong medication (Ama, lawyer, 2nd posting).

I had a terrible experience with the language, especially with the hospital. There was a time I had ulcer (Inflammation) and I will go to the hospital several times. Communication was something. You are saying this and the person is not getting it right and will ask you this and you are like hmmm... There are times I have to google and turn it to the nurse or doctor for him to know the Czech version of what I’m saying (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

It is important to note that most of the spouses in this study did not receive any formal language training from the mission or MFA & RI. This according to them should have been part of their orientation or on their arrival at the host nation.

The language became a problem because the kind of French I spoke was the West African French. Theirs were more refined and had a slang to it. That for me should have come with the orientation, especially language because here is a young couple, my wife is pregnant and we have to go to the hospital. You have to speak French when you go to the hospital (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Yaw could speak the host-country language, French at the rudimentary level since it was one of

the subjects he studied in school whilst growing up. However, since he was not fluent in the French language, there was difficulty in a clear understanding of the communication that ensued in the hospital. It is therefore not enough to learn the language at the rudimentary level when one is faced with certain situations like health issues. Language fluency gives spouses a sense of power and freedom in the host-country (McNulty, 2012). For those who learnt the language of the host nation at the rudimentary level, it was done privately and on their own accord. Since there was no language training for accompanying spouses by the MFA & RI or the various Ghanaian missions, some spouses took the initiative to undergo language training.

For the language, I went for language course for a year. That is how come I understand a bit of the language and could speak a bit of it. It was private (Yaa, civil servant, 1st posting).

These findings, supports the argument in the literature that knowledge of and the ability to speak the language of the host country is one of the fundamental elements of successful adjustment abroad. Not only will learning a foreign language enable one to communicate better but also helps one to appreciate the cultures with which one is interacting with. It also helps one to gain rapport, respect and appreciation from the people of the foreign culture. Moreover, in many countries, local language plays a crucial role for social network development and is essential for communication with the local people. This confirms the studies of Cho et al, (2013) and Mohr & Klein, (2004) who proved that language barriers create difficulties for spouses. Yaw, further expressed his frustration with the language of the host nation during an encounter with a pharmacist.

When you want to buy things and one of the things I remember very well and I will never forget is I went to buy drugs for my wife by then, I spoke English to the pharmacist and she told me in French that she doesn't understand English. So I spoke back to her in my broken French. So for the four years, I was forced to speak French. At the end of the tour of duty I went back to this same pharmacist again to buy something and I spoke to her again in English and she spoke perfect English. So I asked her why she did that and she said "because you are in my country, I thought you should speak my language." (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

According to Yaw, this should have come at the beginning of the tour where at least a course is organized for the spouses in language. As far as he is concerned, he does not know if the FSOs have language training before they go on posting but he feels that the spouse should also go through such training. This corroborates Briscoe and Schuler's (2004) assertion that language training should be included in the pre-posting preparation for spouses. Indeed, Scullion and Collings (2006: 123) state that "spouses, who mastered the foreign language, at least at rudimentary level, were more likely to have had a positive experience whilst abroad." Spouses who underwent language training of the host country realized it did help them in their interaction and adjustment process. Although Bauer & Taylor (2001: 137) advise companies to offer language courses and intercultural training for spouses, it appears spouses of Ghanaian FSOs do not undergo any language training of the host nation that their partners are posted to. As a result, their experience with the language was unpleasant especially in non-English speaking countries. This prevented them from going out regularly since the difficulty in reading labels on items in the supermarket to know what one was buying became apparent. Apart from this, boarding transport and knowing where to alight was a dilemma. Most of them got lost during the first few months of arrival while others had to rely on taxis in order to avoid getting lost. However, in some countries taxi drivers were hesitant or did not pick them because they did not understand the local language.

The taxi drivers do not like foreigners because of the language. They feel you will waste their time because you cannot speak the language (Mary, hairstylist/businesswoman, 1st posting).

Most of the spouses emphasized the significance of communicating with the local population in helping to adjust in the host country's culture. Increased communication with the local people assists the spouse in understanding the local cultures, values and norms prevailing in the local society and acceptable conduct and behavior. This enables smooth adjustment in the culture of the host country.

Culture

When different cultures meet, communication is not always easy. People might have different values and beliefs and behave in a different way. This can lead to miscommunication or misinterpretation and consequently to unsympathetic and hostile feelings towards each other (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). The phenomenon that can occur is 'culture shock' (Oberg, 1960; Pedersen, 1994) which is a state of shock and disorientation experienced when relocating to an unfamiliar environment. In order to overcome this shock, spouses must learn to navigate in the new environment they find themselves in. How they do this, is what this study tries to find out since the mission of posting is often where one does not understand the language and culture.

A change in cultural environment can be extremely stressful as it involves a reorganization of cognitive maps, learning new rules for interaction, changing previously learned behaviours and acquiring skills needed to perform in the new situation (Gullahorn and Gullahorn, 1962; Torbiorn, 1982; Bochner, 1986). Although these spouses have risen to the challenge of relocating to a new country and find the differences they encounter interesting and stimulating, they do not yet identify with anything within the culture around them and felt that they had to live in isolation, surrounded by a world they have no part in. The level of cultural difference often indicates the amount of stress or acculturation difficulty a person may experience (Sheehan & Pearson, 1995). If the new culture involves differences in language, the process of acculturation is often more difficult. However, although there were no differences in language between the home country and host nation, Ama experienced cultural difference in terms of sexual orientation, which was alien to her culture.

Yes, there was cultural difference, which had to do with sexual orientation where I started working. There was a man who said his name was Tracy I said Ah? It was strange that I did not know how to relate to him. Here you are at a place where you are expected to treat them equally. I almost got into trouble because he was a guy who was behaving like a lady (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting).

Ama's experience attest to the fact that culture clash can happen when expatriates are assigned to similar cultures because of the small nuances of differences between the countries. While the awareness of dissimilarities is higher during assignments to distant cultures, expatriates in similar cultures report as many adjustment issues as expatriates in more distant cultures (Selmer, 2007). Additionally, previous expatriate experience could influence the intensity of culture shock that one experiences. Sophia, who had previously lived and worked abroad, felt her experience helped her in the country of posting. Since she had moved before and had experienced different cultures, she knew she could do it again this time.

I have been to the U.K and other countries but I wanted to also experience China, the other part of the world. I had that experience and was excited about China and to find out more about China (Sophia, civil servant).

What seems to be vital is having realistic expectations. Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) state that "having accurate expectations reduces uncertainty. In the end, this improves adjustment." As Sophia has been travelling before the first posting, she knew that it was going to be difficult and that she would feel alone in the beginning. She would have to get used to a lot of things, but she was confident in herself and this consequently eased her transition. Ultimately, life as an accompanying spouse broadened her horizon. The value of travelling is that one gets to experience different cultures first-hand. Travelling therefore made Sophia more understanding of different circumstances people live in.

Social Support

While diplomats and their families are generally keen to see and experience the world around them, a posting can introduce more pressures than a relationship can handle, especially the isolation and distance from an individual's support network. Having social support and building a social network is one of the most important steps to feeling at home in a new country. However,

when relocating to a new country, employees and their family members will need to adjust to the new environment, culture and habits. This is because everything you knew and was familiar to you is suddenly no more: new house, new rules, new language and new neighbours. One needs to be strong to adapt, to get to know the insides of this kind of life and be able to make the best out of it. Although organizations recognize that they need to support the employee in the relocation process, they often forget that the assignment will also affect the life of the accompanying spouse. The assignment policies and practices of the organizations have a significant impact on the spouses, even though they are not employed by the organization themselves.

In this regard, being an accompanying spouse in a foreign country has its own set of difficulties, including losing the support network in your home country. This movement is always hardest on the accompanying spouses, as they have less support and routines in their lives when they move to a new country to help them adjust to the new environment. While the serving spouse takes on a new job, with new bosses and responsibilities, the accompanying spouse struggles to cope with a foreign environment without any of the usual supports of work, family and friends. Although it is suggested that organizational support should also be extended to the spouses (McNulty 2012: 420), this is not always the case. As I explored the social support spouses received after relocating, the following patterns emerged.

Social support for spouses of Ghanaian FSOs came in three forms; serving spouse, mission's staff and informal networks external to the mission. Participants acknowledged that support systems for families posted overseas were not as easy to locate and often required perseverance to find something that worked for them. On arrival in their new host country, the prevalence of support networks varied. Some participants described being provided with formal support networks by their spouses.

Honestly, I wasn't going out. Anytime I want to go to the supermarket, I go with my spouse because he had stayed there for sometime. I think they had been trained in the language so he could just say the basic ones so I go with him. We pick and go and pay. Even to the market, I go with him. Anywhere, if I have to buy something I go with him. I wasn't going out on my own (Sophia, civil servant).

It is not surprising that most spouses relied on their partners for support. This is due to the fact that as part of the posting policy in the MFA & RI, the FSO is expected to have settled into his or her new home before their respective families join them. This gives them enough time to explore the host country before their families arrive. They are therefore able to offer social support to their spouses, but this normally last for a short while due to the busy nature of their job. The work is very hectic and requires them to keep pace with the dictates of each day. Thus, arriving early, closing late, the weekend duties, the emergency and unexpected protocol requirements.

While the serving spouse was considered to be the first line of support, forming a social network was recognized to be a key initial step of establishing an extended support system on the foreign posting. For this reason, others in addition to their spouse relied on FSOs in the missions especially the females or other families in the location. This often included gestures such as showing them where to buy groceries, escorting new families around their new community, introducing them to locals who are willing to provide support and helping with enrolment in school (for those with children of school-going age). This kind of practical support was very effective in aiding their transition. Ama reiterated that:

Support came from my spouse and when he introduced me to the staff of the Embassy. For instance, the secretaries; they then say "Ehh if you need African food, you can get it here. It is your own interaction with the people that will inform you. If you are not the outgoing type you will be left alone. Thus rely solely on your spouse (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Although organizational support provided to spouses is one of the most important antecedents of spouse adjustment during international assignments, most Ghanaian missions hardly provided the

support that spouses needed. This according to McNulty (2012) involves various activities directed towards successful professional integration of a spouse such as career counseling assistance with work permits, seminars on job search, local legislation and job application assistance. Apart from these, the company may provide help with social integration of spouses by providing information about different clubs, clubs for expatriate spouses and other platforms for communication. However, this was not always the case with Ghanaian missions. Majority of the spouses were dissatisfied with the level of support provided by the missions during the adjustment process. The evidence suggests that in the area of family-related matters, the missions were not providing adequate support for spouses.

Nothing, and that is one of the problems. They (referring to the mission) do not tell you anything. You always hear from your spouse. You don't seem to know anything. It is like you are just hanging in there until he comes with the information about what is happening (Afua, make-up artist, 1st posting).

You don't seem to know anything, so if your spouse is the one that doesn't share, then you are just there (Sheila, businesswoman, 1st posting).

In the absence of support from Ghana Missions, individuals who were mostly female FSOs at the various missions provided support for these spouses. However, it was limited due to the busy nature of their job. When Dede was introduced to one of the staff at the Embassy, she offered to assist her whenever the need arose but that was done occasionally.

Due to the nature of their work, sometimes you will not get them for a full day. Sometimes she comes around and picks you out and that's it and she will say oh! Next time I will come and pick you out but you know they are busy and if she doesn't come, you can't call her and ask why she didn't come around (Dede, civil servant, 1st posting).

Female staffs at the Ghana Embassies had busy schedules just like the FS partners of spouses. They worked long hours and had little time to spare for others. Most of the time, they were not able to fulfill their promise of taking spouses out to know places like where to shop. Spouses are left with no choice but to rely on informal support networks such as other diplomatic spouses or

locals. In the first posting, Mary's spouse was posted to a French-speaking country. Although she had learnt French in secondary school and attended Alliance Française, she was not fluent in the language. Mary explained that she had learnt it a long time ago and had forgotten most of the vocabulary. She therefore relied on her house help who is a native whenever she had to go to the market and for her daily activities.

That place, everybody (Embassy staff) has house help who speaks French. They come to work in the morning and go in the evening. So when I am going to the market, I will go with her. When maybe I buy something that I cannot speak French, she will speak for me (Mary, businesswoman/hair stylist, 1st posting).

Receiving social support was described as being extremely important, particularly for a sense of companionship and support that comes with friendships. If spouses are not able to find friends among home-country nationals (HCNs), they look for support in expatriate communities or from parent-country nationals (PCNs). For those who had relatives and friends in the host country, it made the transition easy since they were available to help. During his first posting, Yaw was fortunate to have a relative in the host nation who assisted him in exploring places where he could buy things.

There was no social support from the Embassy. My spouse tried but it looked like I knew the place more than her because I had support from a relative. I got to know more places than she did (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Lily on the other hand, did not have relatives or friends in the host nation. She however made friends whenever the Diplomatic Spouse Association held meetings, organized programmes and parties, which she attended.

You just have to look for your own support system. If you find other women who are in the same position as you, whose husbands are diplomats, and the Diplomatic Spouses Association had a strong presence there like in the host country, you had a few friends in them because they organize stuff for you to attend. I think all the Ambassadors were male; of course that is how it is but their wives were proactive so they were always there guiding you and organizing programmes for you to attend. It didn't feel so lonely otherwise it is very lonely (Lily, Fashion designer, 1st posting).

Lily's friendship with other spouses lends credence to Scullion & Linehan's (2005: 238) assertion that "it is advisable for spouses to avoid social isolation and establish social networks such as membership of a Diplomatic Spouses' Association, which is exclusive to spouses of diplomats from various countries of the world."

Also worthy of note is the importance of host-language proficiency and social support/network in the adaptation process of a spouse in a foreign country. The sojourner adjustment framework (Church, 1982) states that, "host-language proficiency allows one to establish and maintain interactions with host nationals, which contributes to one's adaptation to the host country. In turn, social connectedness with host nationals protects one from psychological distress and facilitates cultural learning." This was evident in the experience of Ama, the only participant whose spouse was posted to an English-speaking country during her first posting. Being in an English-speaking country enabled her to communicate effectively, which made adjustment in the host nation easy. As there was no language barrier in the host nation, access to information concerning her daily routine was not difficult. Ama's movement was not restricted to her spouse taking her round places of interest as she had support from host country nationals (HCNs), relatives and friends in the host country, which eased the feeling of isolation and loneliness.

There was no language barrier because it is an English-speaking country. There was no difficulty in accessing the bus system. I relied on my friends and go to this website and you will get the bus schedule because it was in English. One thing is that I had lots of my mates in the U.S. They were really helpful. I dealt with them. Since it was an English speaking country, everything was fine. There was opportunity to go to school and support was there (spouse, old mates, and friends). There was no point that I decided that I want to come. I didn't want to come when the tour was over (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting).

However, in most cases as expressed in the literature, expatriates are often assigned together with their families to culturally distant countries and thus, when exposed to an unfamiliar culture,

require support in the adjustment process (Teague, 2015). As mentioned, all spouses, apart from Ama were posted to countries with different cultures and languages during the first posting which required support in the adjustment process such as exploring local transport routes, buying groceries and finding people to talk to. Several spouses described the burden of isolation and loneliness that comes with being away from Ghana and living in a country where one cannot speak the language. Nonetheless, for those who had babies and toddlers who did not attend school, they were not alone since caring for them kept them busy. Lily, who gave birth to her two children during her spouse's first posting stated that:

It could get lonely at times but with two babies, you could have your hands full (Lily, fashion designer, 1st posting).

It is noteworthy that without emotional support from extended family or a network of intimate friends and community, adjustment may be extremely difficult for spouses. This is particularly so for spouses who did not have children during the first posting. It was more difficult to find informal support, which made them spend a greater part of their time in the house alone. Although social support at the beginning of the assignment from the staff of the Embassies has been very helpful to Ghanaian spouses and their families, it has usually been limited to the initial stages of the posting. After the first few months of living in the host country, the spouses may find themselves having to figure things out on their own. Moreover, the assistance is generally geared towards the employee, thus the FSO and not the spouse. The expatriate or diplomat is the focus of his or her organization or ministry and abundant resources are normally expended to ensure that he or she has a soft landing. This is to ensure productivity can be achieved as quickly as possible. This led spouses to seek assistance and support from other sources such as friends from Ghana residing in the host nation, relatives and sometimes the international community as indicated by Shaw (2001: 214). Shaw identified that “spouses of diplomats, not only relied on the mission

(Embassy) support system but found that the international community provides a ready-made, support base, although temporary.” She further places an emphasis on the mission as either an intermediary between the person and his foreign environment or as a hindrance. She cautions that a supportive mission in a difficult country goes a long way in helping spouses to adjust better.

Career Development

Of the many changes that moving with the Foreign Service causes, spouses of FSOs are most often startled by having to give up their careers. Although some spouses have the opportunity to telework, the rest are catapulted into a new country where they are unaware of how the local job market works. In this study, several spouses said the difficulties of being an accompanying spouse, was compounded by not being able to find work. When a couple relocates for a posting, the FSO arrives with a predetermined job and a role whereas the spouse has to give up his or her career. Some spouses are of the view that there is a danger of "losing a sense of identity" when they are unable, for practical reasons, to follow their own career goals. As explained by diplomatic spouses, employers are often looking for a serious commitment whether in the host or home country. They want to have a steady worker and someone who is there on a long-term basis, not just for two or three years. In expressing her views on career development, Gifty explained that:

Because even when you have an education and you give up four years, there is no employer who is going to employ you with so many gaps in your C.V. So it is difficult (Gifty, university graduate, 1st posting).

Some also felt that the skills and certificates or licenses that they had, were of no use in the host nation. Spouses in this study who are mostly highly educated and had intentions of working or pursuing their career had their hopes dashed as language barrier, qualification to ply their skills in the country they were posted to made it impossible. This was the situation in which Akosua found

herself in as a worker in the civil service, and she recounts it this way:

The only challenge was you not finding anything to do. Not even the mission trying to engage you in this administrative or clerical duties' (Akosua, civil servant, 1st posting).

When you move, not only do you leave your family and friends behind, but also, most often, your career and job. Maintaining a career as an accompanying spouse can be difficult. Not only is the spouse required to move to a new location, but also it is not always on his or her terms. This means that the individual may be forced to leave all that they have ever known including their workplace, family and friends. Notwithstanding the high academic level and training that most of diplomatic spouses have, many of them are still regarded as 'housewives', who try to reinvent themselves, and try to stay professionally relevant. 'Housewives', because it remains the case that diplomatic spouses and partners are still mostly women (Aggestam and Towns, 2018).

Many a time relocations are most difficult for couples where both individuals are working professionals. This is because in order for one person to accept a new opportunity far away, the other person may have to give up his or her job to accompany the other. In this regard, becoming an accompanying spouse can mean putting your career on hold for that of your other half. As evident in this study, accompanying spouses of FSOs tend to be well educated, with many having completed university degrees in their home countries and having prior employment experience. Nevertheless, one problem many of them encountered after moving to the host country is difficulty pursuing their own career goals because of language, legal or family constraints. Often times in a country in which another language is spoken, the accompanying spouse may wish to work. However, there may be language issues such as fluency and inability to communicate in the local language that make finding work difficult. Also, the terms of the diplomatic visa such as spouses of Ghanaian FSOs being classified as 'dependents' in their travel passport, does not permit them

to work if they decide to. Before long, resentment can build over the career that the accompanying spouse has left behind. Indeed, many spouses have left their careers behind and become financially dependent on their spouses in the Foreign Service. However, in our current world, where identity is associated with career, implying that ‘what we do’ for a living has significance for our sense of ‘who we are’ (Kenny et al., 2011), the accompanying spouse’s loss of a professional life after relocation can initiate a profound loss of self and manifest itself with symptoms similar to culture shock. Ama expressed her frustration with regard to her career as a Lawyer, when she accompanied her partner to a non-English speaking country.

We (referring to the country, Ghana) do not have a bilateral working agreement with them (host country). You cannot work there because of the language barrier. I was idle. I was just in the house. You can’t go to school, you can’t work and the social life is non-existent because once again, language barrier (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

This confirms the point stressed by Cole, (2011) that after relocation, the most common problem spouses of expatriates are faced with is the impossibility to find the desired job position. The most common barriers are the following: impossibility to get a work visa (as spouses of diplomats are classified as dependents in their travel passport), insufficient knowledge of host country language, lack of available jobs, lack of recognition of foreign qualification, preference to hire local employees, sufficient amount of qualified local staff and cultural issues. Also as the literature suggests, in most cases, the accompanying spouse, is a woman. However, only a few of women who were previously employed held a job during their time as an accompanying spouse. With changing gender roles and social expectations, it is becoming more and more difficult for Foreign Service spouses to give up their own professional success for their partner’s career. As mentioned earlier, there may be many external factors that prevent a spouse from pursuing a career abroad. The lack of a work permit (that is, no bilateral working agreement with the host and sending nation), unaccredited qualifications, the language barrier and a competitive local job market are

just some of them. In this study, it was mainly the lack of work permit, coupled with spouses' 'dependent status' and language barrier that hindered their career advancement. Spouses whose partners were posted to countries, which had no bilateral working agreement with Ghana, simply could not work.

I thought I could work there but upon arrival, I realized the Governments of the host country and Ghana did not have any bi-lateral working agreement. I decided to do my personal work. Thus trading, I was trading in wigs and bags. I buy it in the host country and sell it in Ghana (Yaa, civil servant, 1st posting).

On the whole, much of what spouses of Ghanaian FSOs described was akin to situations that are often expressed by stay-at-home parents such as giving up meaningful work, lack of routine and the desire for a set schedule. However, unlike being a stay-at-home parent in their home country, sometimes the choice to stay home was not made by them but the Mission. The same opportunities to work outside the house were not there for the spouses overseas due to lack of demand in their chosen field or numerous other reasons, such as language deficiencies and the inability to obtain work visas. Generally, finding work or activities that provide one with a sense of routine is much more difficult than it would be for someone who stayed in their home country.

For other spouses, traditional gender roles, involving the desire to support the Foreign Service spouse and the assumption of primary responsibility for child rearing, limited their opportunities to pursue work outside the home. This reinforces the assertion that "women's devotion to child-care, legitimates the very social order that stratifies men above women since it affects employer expectations and career prospects as well" (Lorber, 1994). As most of the spouses were newly married, their aim was to start a family, although some were still interested in pursuing their career and aspirations. However, their inability to work in the host nation paved the way for them to raise a family instead. Spouses therefore had to take time away from their job in order to raise a family.

After deciding to join her husband during the first posting, Abena gave birth to her third child. However, since the desire to work was still being entertained, she decided to apply for a job, two years after having her child. Although she succeeded in getting a job offer, it was in a different country. This meant that she had to leave her family to work in another country. She declined the offer since she could not leave her family behind.

I applied for a job at UNHCR. However, it was a non-family duty station and I was supposed to go to Hong Kong. I did the interview on-line and had the job but finally they said it was a non-family duty station so I declined since I cannot leave my kids in the country of posting and go to Hong Kong. (Abena, lawyer, 1st posting)

Abena's decline of the job offer is consistent with the assertion that "women's allegiance is to the home and family and it is presumed that women, unlike men, will take time away from the job to raise children or take time off for family commitments" (Correll, Bernard et al., 2007; Budig & England, 2001). Also, her decision not to leave her family behind for her job supports the evidence that "stereotypes about gendered sex roles have not changed very much even as people perceive marriage to be more of an egalitarian institution" (Wharton 2005; Spencer, Deaux et al., 1985). "It is recognized that women are still socialized into the importance of their role in domestic family life and are continuously exposed to images of femininity and domesticity" (Gilbert, 1993; Olson, Frieze et al., 1990; Pfof & Fiore, 1990). Following the increase in dual-career couples in the expatriate population, it is important that work should be considered to some extent in spousal adjustment. If the spouse, did have a job in the home country and had to give up their career for the international assignment, it will have some form of impact on their identity reconstruction and consequently, on their adjustment (Andreason, 2003; Cole, 2011; McNulty, 2012; Shaffer & Harrison, 2001). Having worked in Ghana (UNHCR) before relocating to join her husband, Abena applied in the third year during posting. This was after having her third child and applying on-line for a job at UNHCR (Italy). As mentioned earlier, she declined the job offer of a non-family duty

station and applied a second time for another job.

I applied in my third year and wrote an exam but since it was almost time for the end of tour, I decided not to take that job since I could not go back to work in Italy after coming to Ghana (Abena, Lawyer, 1st posting).

Education of Children

Although Foreign Service parents have the opportunity to offer their children the chance to learn about and explore cultures around the world, the diplomatic way of life can present problems for children of these families. First and foremost, relocating a child and moving from school to school every two to four years can be emotional and disruptive. While some Foreign Service children thrive in this dynamic environment, others find it difficult to adjust to the constant changes brought on by each new assignment. Deracinating children every few years can deprive them of a sense of belonging and may make it difficult for them to maintain friendship. As parents want the best possible for their children, they may naturally feel uncomfortable about their choice to recreate their lives in a new country (even temporarily) if they have the impression that they are compromising their children's chances for "normal" and uninterrupted educational progress and social interaction. Many parents are therefore reluctant to move when their children are teenagers. This is because when children are younger than eight, the prospect of uprooting them is much less daunting. However, as spouses in this study were newly married couples, most of them had babies and toddlers who were yet to attend school. Even at that age, some had already decided on where they want their children to be schooling, taking into consideration the cost involved, continuity in education and the language of the host nation. They also reckoned that the MFA & RI do not sponsor children's education fully but pays a percentage while the rest is paid by the FSO if children are enrolled in international schools.

My child was two years when I went there. He didn't start schooling there because of the language. When you want to send your child to school, your child has to go to International school and it costs a lot of money so we decided not to enrol him (Mary, hairstylist/businesswoman 1st posting).

The literature on family adjustment during international assignments suggests that couples with children are most likely to have different experiences than single couples. For instance, Shaffer & Harrison (2001) found out that “pre-school-age children were important predictor of adjustment for non-working spouses. As children at this age are very dependent on their guardians, the parents feel highly responsible for them at the same time feel more comfortable at their new home in a host- country environment.” Despite not being able to speak the language of the host nation, Yaa was comfortable at her new home since her children were young. She did not have to worry about the school to enrol her children and the cost involved.

I didn't have much thought about that because my kids were small and I thought it was best if they were with their Dad, as a family. Since they were young, it meant there was no need to look for school for them (Yaa, civil servant, 1st posting).

However, for the relocated family with children, schooling in an entirely new educational context was an issue. Indeed, where there are school going children in the family, there is often concern that problems with the language and different education system will result in the repeating of a school year, retarding their progress or putting these children in a disadvantaged position with regard to their peers. Ama was anxious when her child had to start schooling in a non- English speaking host nation.

She started International school at the age of three. The Public school was in Czech language, which we did not want her to attend since it would not help her when we come down (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Similarly, Mary was worried about the language of instruction and continuity in education for her children if she decides to relocate to host country during the second posting.

If you send your child to a local school, then it means he or she will learn French. If you want the child to learn like how they are learning then you have to send your child to an international school (Mary, hairdresser/businesswoman, 1st posting).

Mary's sentiments are in line with the argument that Foreign Service children have a unique opportunity to learn several languages, a portable skill they will carry throughout their lives. However, owing to their transient lifestyle they are consistently forced to start and stop languages, if they attend public schools. As they become proficient in one language and accustomed to being taught in that language, they may change countries and find themselves required to begin again on another language, which can lead to difficulties studying and confusion with grammatical rules. As they return home after the tour of duty, this poses a challenge to them, as they may find it difficult to fit into their country's educational system.

Inasmuch as parents want to be able to evaluate what the education system in the new environment has to offer, and form an opinion of how their children are adapting to and progressing within the new system, it becomes burdensome. Having no experience of education in the host nation, themselves, there is no reflection of their own school years to relate to. Parents may feel cut off from their children's experience, incapable of assessing the situation and unable to help their children effectively or be involved with their education to the extent that they would like. Despite reassurance that this is not necessarily the case and that a multicultural and varied education is if anything, an advantage, does not always allay these fears.

Mutter's research (2017), based on 21 interviews with sailor spouses, also looked at the school of the children influencing expatriation. The findings indicated that couples with high-school aged children (in comparison to pre-school aged children) are not likely to choose for expatriation since high-school aged children will more consciously experience the changes. Similarly, spouses in this

study were mostly newly married couples during the first posting and did not have to worry much about their children's schooling. Most of them had babies and toddlers who were yet to enroll in school. However, it became a problem for them during their second posting as the children had started schooling in Ghana. Most spouses in this study were worried about stability and continuity in their children's education due to the constant relocation of the FSO. Apart from that, if children attend public schools in which the language of instruction is not English, it will be difficult for them to fit into the Ghanaian educational system after the end of the posting. It is interesting to note that regardless of how young the children were, spouses felt that being posted mostly to non-English speaking countries would not be in the interest of the children since stability and continuity in education cannot be ensured. Korkor, reiterated this by saying,

‘...and then I had two small kids that I wanted to give stability to (Korkor, fashion designer/make-up artist, 1st posting).’

Most spouses indicated that in both situations, whether the child was of school-going age or not, the type of school (public or private) had an influence on the decision whether to relocate or not. As FSOs relocating to a new country, their spouses will be the ones who are most involved in getting their children enrolled in a new school and helping them adapt to their new neighbourhood. The stresses these children face will impact the entire family. For those who did not yet have children at the time of posting, it is easy to overlook these considerations. However, as most spouses in this study had plans to raise a family during the first posting, it was worth their time to research these concerns now. They were therefore anxious about the school systems in the host nation; thus, what are the private and public school opportunities and what type of social activities are available for young ones?

From the above arguments, it is notable that the Foreign Service strives to assist parents to meet

the educational needs of their children, both financially and with the advice and information about schools and educational programs. It does this by defraying the costs of educating children abroad through education allowances. The education allowance enables children receive a level of education comparable to that provided without charge by public schools in Ghana. This allowance is designed to cover the costs of tuition at the least expensive adequate schools at post. However, spouses in this study complained about the inadequacy of the allowances provided, especially when the country of post is where English is not the national language. One then has to enroll the child in an International school. This puts a strain on their financial resources since the fees are above the allowances provided by the MFA & RI for children's education.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Being an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO during an overseas posting presents a unique journey. It could be a one-off opportunity in your life and it could mean the beginning of a very special phase that determines your purpose, forms your personality and opens new doors of opportunities. This chapter sought to analyze the various aspects of the phenomenon of relocation as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. The study revealed that the reasons are diverse and multifaceted as spouses chose to relocate abroad with great expectations. These included supporting the career of the FS spouse, raising a family, exploring the host nation and for those who were reluctant to move, pressure from family, friends and spouses eventually forced them to succumb. Although many of them were highly qualified or trained, the move was most of the time undertaken in relation to the male's employment and often corresponded with a family formation stage for the couple. Any posting abroad which resulted in employment difficulty for the wife may have provided a natural opportunity for family formation or expansion. This led most of them who had young children, to devote only to them. These spouses claimed that their period abroad was

worthwhile, as they could devote their time to their toddlers for several years instead of the normal six months immediately after birth. Others decided to devote their time exclusively to themselves and their hobbies so that they could finally do what they always wanted.

With regard to the experience of living abroad, it is noteworthy that spouses had to sacrifice their professional goals. This was mostly due to their inability to speak the language of the host nation, obtain a work visa (due to their 'dependent' status or because the host nation did not have bi-lateral working agreement with Ghana) or have the ability to get a job in their field in the new country. Also, having left supportive family members behind, whether parents, siblings or other relatives, the marriage is sometimes strained by the isolation of a new place, where the couple only has each other for company. Children can also suffer the loss of their familiar surroundings and social ties during a move abroad. They often become more dependent on the parent who is around the most, which can be difficult for the said parent. These spouses who cannot work in the new country became the sole caregiver for the children as the FSO focused on his or her career. These made them feel even more isolated from other adults. While the FSO has the structure of work and colleagues to ease the transition, the spouse does not. All these experiences inadvertently led to loneliness due to isolation from familiar people, loss of identity and resentment towards the posting. When these spouses followed their FS spouse on assignment, but had no assignment of their own, they felt aimless and disconnected from all the things that previously made up their life. This led most of them to reconsider their decision to accompany their FS spouses again during subsequent postings. The next chapter examines the reasons why spouses of Ghanaian FSOs are refusing to accompany their partners on subsequent postings after the previous one. Could their previous experiences abroad be the reason why or are there other reasons?

CHAPTER SIX

DECISION NOT TO RELOCATE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FAMILY BOND

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the decision of spouses of Ghanaian FSO not to accompany their spouses after the first or subsequent postings and the impact of this decision on the family bond. It explores the reasons why spouses of Ghanaian FSO decide not to accompany their spouses after the first or second posting despite the difficulties that this decision might bring to family life. Although it is the expectation of the MFA & RI that spouses accompany their FS partners, this study examines how these factors interconnect to influence the decision not to be accompanying spouses and how it impacts the family bond. In line with the third and fourth objectives of this study, two major themes emerged from the data, namely: decision not to be an accompanying spouse and impact on the family bond with six and two subthemes respectively.

6.2 DECISION NOT TO BE AN ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE

There are various reasons not to be an accompanying spouse. Studies conducted by Tung (1982: 67) and Hill (2003: 612-613) as cited by Vogel (2005: 5) stressed “the inability of the spouse to adjust as the main reason for failed international assignments in American and European managers.” As quoted by Scullion and Collings (2006: 122) in Linehan & Scullion (2001), “an international assignment undertaken as a family unit usually requires the spouse or partner to forfeit the accustomed structure and continuity of his or her life, which can be problematic for the expatriate family.” This is coupled with the fact that the spouse often faces an unstructured arrival in the host country, as opposed to the expatriate or diplomat who in addition, may have received language training; one that spouses are rarely offered.

Rosenbusch and Cseh (2012) used family systems theory and expatriate adjustment as theoretical knowledge base to study cross-cultural adjustment of expatriate families in a multinational organization based in the United States. As part of their findings, overcoming cultural differences, grasping the art of a new language and being understood by host country nationals were found to be big challenges in the adjustment process of expatriate families. Challenging were also physical health (i.e., weight gain), physical stress, feelings of loneliness, struggle to maintain a sense of stability and comfort within the family unit, attempts to make new friends and to keep in touch with old ones.

In reference to the literature, which suggests that accompanying partners' dissatisfaction with migration is often due to their experiences abroad, the responses in this study indicated a combination and interconnection of factors related to their previous experiences during posting. These were mainly language, social support, career development, stability and continuity in children's education. These four factors were notable with language being the principal factor running through the other three. This became apparent since out of Ghana's missions abroad numbering 55, only 18 are English-speaking countries. It is not surprising that majority of spouses in this study, accompanied their partners to non-English speaking countries. Also noteworthy are lack of recognition from the missions and the MFA & RI as well as the ministry's inability to reintegrate spouses after posting. These factors emerged as reasons for spouses not relocating again.

Language Barrier

As spouses of most participants were posted to non-English speaking countries, they realized how difficult it was to interact with the locals. Simple tasks such as the use of the transport system and buying groceries became a daunting task. It became difficult to go shopping since they could not

read the labels and ingredients on the items they were buying.

The transportation system, I could not read it since the language was the main problem (Tracy, civil servant, 1st posting)

For some, it was a boring experience due to their inability to speak the language of the host nation.

It was boring sometimes because it wasn't like a country that you could speak their language. The language was different. It was really a challenge (Sophia, civil servant, 1st posting)

Ama, could not hide her frustration during her second posting. This was because of the sharp contrast between her first posting, which was to an English-speaking country and a non-English speaking country during the second posting. Unlike the country of first post, which was similar to her home country in terms of the language, the cross-cultural difference between the two countries during the second posting, made adjustment difficult. She was therefore not enthusiastic about accompanying the husband on any subsequent posting.

Because of my experience in the Czech Republic. It's a beautiful country but with the challenge in language, no support base or support system. Honestly, I am not enthusiastic about going on any posting again (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

As aforementioned, Ama experienced difficulty with the language of the host nation, especially, anytime she had to consult with the Doctor. After numerous visits to the doctor amidst miscommunication with regard to her health and medical report, Ama felt that she was not safe in the host country. She expressed her frustration this way:

So for me as I said, the language, language, language made everything difficult... This is a health issue. I don't want to be doing this thing with this people. Because of language, someone will go and give you wrong medication (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Similarly, Akweley had to return to Ghana after the birth of her third child. One of the children had a health condition which required them to move back to Ghana since the therapy session was not in English and the private one was expensive.

We had issues to deal with because he (the child) had a speech delay so we had to organize a therapy session for him but the therapy session they were organizing was not in English. So the doctors advised that either we had to seek a private one which was very expensive so that made us take the decision to come back home (Akweley, civil servant, 1st posting).

The issue of language was also significant for couples with school going age children. The MFA & RI as indicated earlier provides allowances for children of FSOs who are in school. However, this allowance is good enough for children attending public schools, as international schools are expensive. Besides, in public schools the language of instruction is in the host nation language, which made it difficult if not impossible for couples to enroll their children. Although International schools seem to be the best option since the language of instruction is normally in English and guarantees some form of stability and continuity, spouses had to contend with the expensive fees.

In a place like where I went to, there is no way you can send your child to a public school since everything is taught in their language. If you do that at the end of the four years, if you come back where or how is the child going to continue. By the time you come back, you might have spent thousands of Euros. So it is challenging (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

This response buttresses the point on continuity and stability for children in terms of their education. In most cases, the country of post is a place where one cannot speak the language. Children are therefore sent to International schools for their education since the language of instruction in public schools of the host nation is normally in their native language. However, educating your child in an international school is quite expensive compared to the public schools, especially when it is not fully funded by the Foreign Ministry. In the case of the Ghanaian FSO who has to pay the school fees with some support from the MFA & RI, it becomes difficult due to the expensive nature and the fact that the whole family depends on only one source of income. This explains why in addition to ensuring continuity and stability, some Ghanaian FSOs prefer to go on posting without their families when the child is of school going age.

Loss of Social Support and Social Network

When relocating to a new country, Ghanaian FSOs and their family members will need to adjust to the new environment, culture and habits. Although the MFA & RI recognizes that the employee need to be supported in the relocation process, the ministry often forgets that the assignment will also affect the life of the accompanying spouse and the family as a whole. The assignment policies and practices of the organizations have a significant impact on the spouses, even though they are not employed by the organization themselves. Most spouses in this study expressed concern about the inadequate support from the MFA & RI and the home missions. Also FSOs, whose spouses thought they could rely on in adjusting to the new environment, were not living up to certain expectations in the family. Indeed, spouses relied on their partners for support since they had undergone some language training and had mastered the language at least at the rudimentary level. However, due to the busy nature of their work, FSOs spend too little time at home and with their families. Expectations from spouses and children are simply left unfulfilled.

It was a busy Mission and my spouse did not have time for me because of work. I did not have the support. I couldn't attend programmes because my daughter was young (3 years old). I was at home alone from morning to evening. He didn't have time for me. That is, taking me round. The T.V and walls are your companion. It was frustrating. That place was like a prison (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

So lots of times we were on our own, so it used to be frustrating for me and I said "Look, I came to accompany you on a mission but you don't even have time and the place too, I can't do much for myself. I'm just suffocating here so I want to go" (Lucy, civil servant, 1st posting).

You don't make time for us. I am going to leave because if I can't have a social life (to move around, work) at least I should have you to laugh with, chat with, spend some time with and we do things together so that I can release or ease the stress, frustration but you are also virtually not there (Dede, civil servant, 1st posting).

The above comments indicate the frustrations of spouses throughout the adjustment process.

Support was not forthcoming, from their spouses because of their busy schedules. The missions also did not engage them much apart from occasions like Independence Day where they are invited to celebrate the event. They were alone and virtually non-existent as far as the missions were concerned. As part of her experience, Ama was displeased about the unsupportive role of the mission and MFA & RI in the relocation and adjustment process of spouses.

The Ministry didn't do anything. It looks like you have escorted someone somewhere and it is the person that works. You don't really matter because the way the other women from other countries whose husbands work in other missions (representing other countries) talk about the kind of perks and allowances they were getting. Their kids' school fees being paid. When you talk to these people, you realize that you are just an escort; you don't really count. It is not made known to you. You are not told but every indication you get is that you are just escorting him there. So if you escort him there then it is your business (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

For participants like Yaw, who were fortunate to have friends or relatives in the host nation, they relied on them in their day-to-day schedules. They got to know places and where to go shopping through these friends and relatives.

I think I went to the mission five days after I had arrived and that was it. There is nothing. I just went there to say hello to everybody and that was it. It was only on occasions that you go and meet them (mission officials) or sometimes they have these private parties and then you go to meet other spouses. Other than that, there is nothing else. So there was no association, so you tend to make your own friends outside the mission, which I think it is not good because you know Foreign Affairs and all these issues about security (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Career Advancement

Many spouses of FSOs, including those in this study are highly educated, professionally qualified and have high expectations of utilizing their skills throughout their lifetime. However, spouses often find it difficult to follow a traditional career pattern since it is not always possible to find employment in some countries. It is common that spouses face de-skilling or are unable to engage

in paid work in the host country (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007). Although the spouse's career does take a back stage to the FSO's career, that does not mean the spouse cannot have some fulfilling experiences or continue with their career. However, they have to expect it not to be normal and expect change. This depends on many factors that can be out of your control and extremely exasperating. For instance, the spouse's type of career he or she wants to pursue or continue with, security issues, the government and social climate in the country of tour. Also, where there is a bilateral work agreement, they faced huge barriers to employment such as lack of access to a work permit, labour markets that do not recognize their qualifications, an inability to commit to long-term job tenure, language and cultural differences. Sometimes things are difficult even though the spouse puts in a lot of effort, and this can be hard for him or her to understand. This can stress a relationship emotionally and financially. Ama was unhappy about not being able to pursue her career as a lawyer but rather helping the husband to build his career. For Ama, so long as she is not able to do anything meaningful for herself during posting, she will not accompany the husband on international assignments again.

The language; so everything was just frustrating. I told myself 'look, this thing, I am not doing this thing again. When I leave this place, I am not following anybody anywhere. Unless it is a place where I can do something for myself. You know, have a life. I am following someone building his career... So it was really frustrating (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting),

Despite the fact that most spouses in this study had a career, were schooling or had completed university education, they could not pursue their career or schooling once they decided to accompany their partners. Over the years, the dual-career issue has been a major factor hindering accompanying spouses' adjustment. Typical of many is that they are university graduates, career focused, independent and unwilling to give up their own careers to support someone else's. This was worrying for most spouses in this study when they realized that it is virtually impossible to

maintain continuity of employment. While the FSO arrives at each new post with a job that fits into his or her career path, FSO spouses are forced to start the job search afresh with each new assignment. One may have a great job at one post and find that there is no prospect of similar employment at the next or even on arrival in Ghana after the end of the posting. Even when a spouse does manage to find satisfactory employment, he or she is often forced to start from scratch in terms of salary history, accumulated vacation, and other benefits that mark the difference between holding a series of jobs and having a steady career. This was reiterated by Ama when her spouse was due for the third posting. Based on her previous experience, she was concerned about her level of education, profession as a lawyer and the fact that she will not be able to put it into practice.

... and I am a career person. I've gone to school. Law school is not a joke. So many years of learning and now the thought of going to sit, just being in a room somewhere. In fact, I'm just thinking (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting)

It is obvious from Ama's statement that although her spouse is about to go on the third posting, she is uncertain about accompanying him. Her experience during the second posting accounts for this, particularly, since she is not willing to give up her career for her husband's job. This corroborates the literature that "because women have become more economically independent due to their increased participation in the labour force, they may be unwilling to give up their long-term independence for the international relocation of their spouse" (Stroh et al., 2000). Spouses, like Ama who identify strongly with their careers, will regard relocation as less favourable because it poses a threat to their own careers (Challiol & Mignonac, 2005). Another spouse expressed her concern in this manner:

I had started making a life for myself because when you come back, it is hard to integrate. This is because you have to start all over again and it is difficult. Actually, I had started a life for myself; I had a small business I was building a small customer base, which I didn't want to leave behind (Korkor, fashion designer/makeup artist, 1st posting).

Korkor's husband was on his second posting as at the time of this study. However, after accompanying him on the first posting, she decided not to go again based on her experience with the language and the desire to do something for herself. According to her, if she accompanies him again, she would not have anything (career and income) after the posting ends. This is particularly so when the marriage allowance due Ghanaian FSOs is inadequate. Lily and Yaa were also apprehensive about their inability to secure a job or earn an income during subsequent postings.

If I give up everything and go and stay there, by the time I come back, I do not have anything. So if at least they were even paying us something, then you know that by the time you come back at least you have something little to start something (Lily, Fashion Designer/ make-up artist, 1st posting).

The Ghana government does not provide you with anything and in the country where my spouse was posted, they even make it more difficult for the diplomat's wife to do anything. It's more difficult since they barely regard you there. You cannot do anything (Yaa, civil servant, 1st posting).

Considering that Ghanaian FSOs rarely have a preference for their foreign postings, one cannot choose a station in order that the spouse would be able to make the best use of his or her professional qualifications. The options in such cases would be either to stay with the FS spouse and family and take a break from one's career or pursue one's career staying away from the FS spouse. Yaw took a break from his career as his superiors assured him of returning to his job after the end of his tour.

I took a long study leave before going on posting. I think they understood my issues. You have just gotten married; your wife is pregnant; you can't stay away from her. My bosses were like, 'it is better for you to go because in your mind, you will not even concentrate on what you are doing' (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Yaw was fortunate to have superiors who not only understood his situation but also secured his job. This meant anytime he comes back, he could have his job back. This was a rare case since employers will normally employ another applicant to fill the vacant post. However, as the contractual obligation of the FSO is to repeatedly relocate, one wonders how long Yaw's superiors

will be able to secure his job during each post if he decides to accompany his partner. He expressed this concern and was not sure whether the same company would decide that he should work with them again if he decides to accompany his spouse on the next posting. However, his concerns about securing his job was not a bother anymore since he had already decided not to relocate as an accompanying spouse again. Based on his experience during the first posting, Yaw had no intention of relocating again when his FS spouse was due for the second posting. Indeed, as at the time of the interview, his spouse was due for her second posting. He was concerned about the language since once again the host country is a non-English speaking country. Apart from that, the swap in gender roles, stability for the children's education, inability to earn his own income and career prospects back home, influenced his decision not to go.

The language was Korean. To me, Korean was very difficult and I remember I made a remark that when you cross Asia, where again will they speak Korean and the children had to stay in school. At least move up a bit so that was the reason; and when you come back home, what will you do. I am not sure the same company would have decided that come and work again (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

The dual-career issue for males who accompany their spouses is even more crucial, not because they are necessarily uncomfortable with their role but because people around them, especially family members find it difficult to understand their status. This can then greatly affect an accompanying spouse's inner life, including their self-esteem, identity, confidence and self-worth.

This was reiterated by Yaw:

Now, I become the full time caregiver in the house and I am a man. Now here is the thing; there again culture dictates. You are outside. People back home expect something from you. You are not the one earning the money so cannot say that 'my mum come and take \$100. If my mum were not to be educated at that time, she wouldn't have understood it, and say you are in Abrokyire (abroad) and you cannot send anything.' So for me, that was luck (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Dwelling on the Ghanaian culture that socializes men to be breadwinners, Yaw felt awkward about his new role as the full time care-giver in the house. He stressed on the fact that he is a man and

people back home including his relatives expect him to send remittances to them. This, stems from the fact that traditionally in Ghana, men have had the responsibility for supporting their families economically (financially) while their women counterpart have had the responsibility for nurturing the family (day to day care such as cooking, cleaning). As a patriarchal society with pockets of matrilineal values, men are therefore expected to provide, lead and protect their families while women are expected to do housework and care for children. However, the status of women in Ghana and their roles in Ghanaian society has changed over the past few decades (Dzorgbo, 2016). Although women are traditionally expected to perform housework, studies have shown that they are increasingly participating in work outside the home. As the number of women who work outside the home increases, it appears that the traditional notions of gender practice in the household will no longer be feasible. Studying the current expectation of male spouses of Ghanaian FSOs, provides an opportunity to consider male spouses' potential appropriation of new norms and a chance to look at tension arising between new fathering norms and dominant ideals of masculinity in the Ghanaian context. Thus, as an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO, when you go to a country where you are not allowed to work, you stay at home. This poses a challenge, especially for men like Yaw, who are expected to provide for and take care of their families. Male accompanying spouses often deal with changing family roles as well as the general challenges of relocating to another country. Male spouses of FSOs must become the primary caregiver for their children, a role that requires significant adaptation for some. This reversal of traditional gender roles can create discomfort for the unprepared male spouse. Also, without access to the resources and support systems typically available for female spouses, men can find themselves dealing with changes alone. For instance, their inability to work in order to earn income to send part home to support the extended family is a worry to them. For Ghanaian male spouses, work outside of the home country is extremely important and that they strongly expect organizational support in this

regard. It can be much harder for them to take a break in their career and to accept the role of a homemaker as social norms dictate a breadwinner role for men. No matter what their psychological fortitude, couples must endure formidable external pressures individually and together. However, not all couples can withstand these societal constraints. They often pay a high price in the negative response from others. Reactions of family and friends in the areas of remittance and assistance may well be the most trying part of the upheaval, especially for the male spouse.

It is also worth mentioning that the beliefs about gender that we acquire in childhood, can affect us throughout our lives. For instance, sons are often exempted from performing domestic duties such as cleaning, cooking and other household tasks that are considered feminine. Daughters are expected to be passive, nurturing and assume domestic responsibilities. Nevertheless, as adults, our beliefs about gender may grow more nuanced and flexible as in the case of Yaw's mother. This is expressed in how she appreciated her son's new role as a homemaker, although it was at odds with the socialization process in the Ghanaian culture where men as part of their roles, earn an income while women are homemakers. This explains why Yaw considers himself lucky since his mother understood his situation and did not complain. He attributed it to her being educated. This supports previous literature which found that "children are more likely to internalize egalitarian views in terms of gender when mothers are educated and employed" (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Fan & Marini, 2000; Harris & Firestone, 1998), and "mothers who themselves hold egalitarian views are more likely to have children who do not embody gender- stereotyped roles" (Myers & Booths, 2002).

On the whole, it is notable that there is a trend towards more women entering diplomatic services and as a result, an increase in the ratio of male to female spouses. Hendry (1998) indicated in her research on diplomatic spouses that two trends are emerging; one of which had to do with more

women entering diplomatic services resulting in an increase in the ratio of male to female spouses. For instance, the overall percentage of males in all the EU Associations taken together is now 15%, rising to 37% in the case of Denmark; 25.5% in the case of the Netherlands, and 13% in that of the United Kingdom. The situation is no different in the MFA & RI as the growing ratio of male to female spouses presents its own challenges. Although it is easy to say that male and female spouses present the same problems and face the same challenges, practically, the question is more complicated. At the moment, male spouses, and indeed couples, are far less prepared for the male partner to compromise his career prospects in order to follow his spouse around the world as indicated in this study. Yaw was sure a lot of men cannot handle this situation of the female FSO going to work, whilst the male spouse stays at home, taking care of the children and doing household chores. He noted that had it not been his Christian principles, he is sure there would have been chaos in the house.

I want to maintain a very good balance in the house. She has to go to work, then you take It was quite difficult for me. I am sure every man will feel the same. The swap; you are being level headed. I thought I was being level headed because she was the one working, going and coming. I had to do most of the job at home. Psychologically, it wasn't sitting well with me but I am forced to do that because them (children) to school, bring them back and sometimes go and pick her from work. You can imagine if you are doing this for four years (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Yaw's comment is an indication that men are not intensely increasing their role in domestic work and caregiving activities. Male spouses tend to feel less obliged to participate in the activities traditionally associated with diplomatic spouses. This is as a result of the gender socialization process that teaches individuals how to behave under the social expectations of their gender, known as gender roles. Traditionally, parents as one of the agents of gender socialization have held certain expectations for their children's future based on gender. For instance, boys were expected to become providers for the future families while girls were expected to become mothers and

homemakers. However, family dynamics have changed significantly in the past half-century. The two-parent home with the father as breadwinner and mother as a housewife is no longer the standard. While some parents and society still have traditional expectations, others hold a more equal and unrestricted expectation for sons and daughters. With the growing number of female FSOs in the MFA & RI, one should expect a change in gender roles so long as the male spouse decides to accompany his partner during posting. After accompanying his wife on her first posting, Kofi felt very bad anytime the wife tells him that the money is his at the end of every month when she receives her salary. This is because he felt that he did not do anything for him to say she should give him the money.

It was quite complicated. So if you want something, you have to ask her and sometimes you do not want to ask because of the stereotype role of 'I'm a man' and she has to guess that you need this (Kofi, businessman, 1st posting).

Kwame also noted that:

There was a time I remember when she said, 'The credit card is in your hands'. Then I said, 'Take it, if I need something, I would ask you.' But she could tell that I needed something but I didn't want to ask. It was tough but manageable (Kwame, civil servant, 1st posting).

The comments above reiterate the main concerns aired by the few researchers on male trailing spouses. These are highly gendered concerns about how males will cope with their change in identity. Since social role theory posits that socio-cultural norms view men as primary breadwinners (Haas, 1986; Eagly, 1987; Haas, 1991; Brett, Stroh et al., 1992), the limited academic research on male spouses presumes that adjustment will be more difficult for a male trailing spouse than a female trailing spouse. As revealed in this study, the adjustment process was indeed difficult for male spouses than females due to a change in identity and gender roles. Although stay-at-home fathering is becoming more common, it still remains a difficult decision for most men. Many people believe that stay at home fathers have crossed the boundaries that are

considered gender appropriate and tend to be distrusted by others, men and women alike. This is because men are taught to be powerful, that is economically successful, therefore staying at home to look after children is perceived as submissive or dependent. As they follow their wives for work, men would be challenging those same culturally prescribed roles. The assumed head of the household would have to be relegated to the background, forfeiting the power and control traditional roles bequeath him. This may lead to men being worse off as accompanying spouses than women have been because they are charting new territory, with no cultural means of support. Relying on a woman's income makes them appear particularly unsuccessful since women's work is devalued in many societies and as such stay-at-home father/s are devalued too (Wood, 2003).

Kofi sums up this way:

The spouses are not going because of work; because when you go to a country where you are not allowed to work then if you are a man you stay at home. This is difficult (Kofi, businessman, 1st posting).

Stability and Continuity in Children's Education

In this transient lifestyle, the education of children of FSOs must be thoroughly thought through since mistakes in child placement, once made are difficult to rectify. Spouses are concerned about their children's educational experience abroad since the issue of relocation does not encourage continuity in their education. The main concerns for parents of children in this study, was the language of instruction, stability and continuity in education. The constant relocation due to the nature of the job of the FSO compounded rather than addressed these issues. Just as adults, children had problems understanding and communicating in the language of the host nation. Ama complained about her daughter's frustration in her inability to play with children from the host nation anytime she went out with her.

Even as little as she was at that age (three), I remember you take her to MacDonalds, the kids will come to her. They are nice and want to play with her. She comes to me and says “Mummy, they are trying to say something to me but I do not understand. They also don’t understand me. What country is this? I cannot play with them.” Even at that age, the frustration was there. How much more an adult? We then decided to send her to an international school so that she can interact, so she will be more happy and interact (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Korkor, who did not accompany her partner when he was due for his second posting cited education of the two children aside language, as one of the reasons. She was anxious about the inadequate support given to children’s education by the ministry, thereby paying the fees themselves if they decide to enroll their children in international schools.

Also when you go with the kids, you have to pay the fees yourself. It is the most difficult part and in a country where they do not speak English (Korkor, fashion designer/make-up artist, 1st posting).

In looking for a school for her daughter, Ama was surprised at the extent to which other countries support the family of the FSO.

One thing I recall when we looked for a school for my daughter, we were asked at the administration how we were going to pay the fees. They asked us whether they should send the bill to the Embassy and we said ‘No’ we will be paying it ourselves; and they asked why? And they said oh oh, ok and they apologized. They asked because most of the diplomats, the missions pay the fees. That is why they wanted to send the bill to the Embassy. So at that point I’m like really! So this is how far some countries go. Why won’t an officer go with his family? (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

The above comments on paying of school fees of children of Ghanaian FSOs was significant in this study with regard to the decision not to accompany one’s spouse during the next posting. As indicated earlier, one of the primary concerns for FS families is the education of their children. Fortunately, as has been the practice, the Ghanaian Foreign Service offers allowances for families serving overseas. While the MFA & RI gives families the freedom to choose the school that they

think is the best fit for their children, there are limitations on the allowances that will be paid for school expenses. For instance, the Government of Ghana through the MFA & RI makes provision for children to attend public schools in the host nation, but what if the host nation is a non-English speaking country? A popular option for many FS families, are International Schools if the host nation is a non-English-speaking country. These schools are independent and have their own admission policies. Most parents enrol their children in international schools with a British or an American curriculum because they believe this may positively impact their children's transitions over time. However, for the Ghanaian FSO, who chooses to enrol his or her child in an International school, the extra cost will be borne by the FSO, as international schools are more expensive than public schools. Attending these schools come at a high price, which puts a strain on the finances of the FSO since the entire family is dependent on his or her income. In situations, particularly in this study where the children are young and the host nation is a non-English speaking country, parents decide that they should school in the home country. This is to avoid the situation of children not fitting into the Ghanaian educational system on their return from post. Although scholars argue that parents seem to resist moving, as their children grow older (Brown & Orthner, 1990), while parents with younger children, are more willing to move (Munton & Forster, 1990), this is not the case with spouses of Ghanaian FSOs. A combination of factors, like the country of post, which was mostly not Anglophone, the cost of education in international schools, stability and continuity for children's education influenced the decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings. Regardless of the ages of the children, spouses were not willing to relocate so long as these factors were not favourable.

Although many spouses realized that some foreign schools are excellent in terms of the opportunity to meet and study in a culturally mixed environment, they acknowledged the difficulties thereof.

For instance, a foreign syllabus can present problems for entry into Ghanaian secondary schools, and children may encounter problems at all levels of transferring credits. This involves having to catch up through tutoring, vacation classes or having to repeat a particular grade. Such difficulties can be detrimental to a child's self-confidence and development. Spouses were therefore of the view that problems do not end when children move overseas but they also face major issues when they go back home after completion of their parent's assignment. When children return to their home country, it can be more difficult for them to adjust to their domestic peers. This, in turn, can influence the relocation decisions of the expats and their spouses (Mutter, 2017). This was reiterated by Ama, who had to deal with the issue of her daughter not being able to adjust after the end of tour. The marked difference between a developed country's educational system and that of a developing country like Ghana soon became a challenge for her daughter.

When we returned from our first posting, my daughter was about seven years old. I then enrolled her in a school but she kept on complaining about the school environment. Having started schooling in a developed country, she was expecting a similar environment in Ghana (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting).

Generally, spouses of Ghanaian FSOs are no longer interested in accompanying their partners during postings unless certain conditions are favourable. These are mainly fluency in the language of the host nation, career development, and stability and continuity in children's education.

When the children are old or independent enough to take care of themselves and maybe he goes to an English speaking country where I can work side by side; but otherwise "No", I don't think so. It is the work and the kids getting to go to school that is the problem (Korkor, fashion designer/ make-up artist, 1st posting).

These factors (language fluency, career development, and education of children) as indicated in the present study determined whether spouses would accompany their partners in subsequent postings. However, this seems to be difficult to achieve since all three factors cannot be conducive at the same time. For instance, one may be posted to an English-speaking country but there is no

bi-lateral working agreement between the two nations. According to spouses, all these factors together with lack of support from the various missions made it difficult if not impossible to accompany one's partner in the next posting. Lily was emphatic in her response to accompanying her husband again by stressing on the fact that she must have a job in addition to them being able to pay their children's school fees. These two factors should be mutually inclusive.

There was no way; even if we could afford to pay the fees, there was no way I was going to stay home again. If I can work and the kids getting to go to school is the problem (Lily, fashion designer/make-up artist).

Recognition and Remuneration

In addition to the above factors, spouses complained about the lack of recognition by the MFA & RI and the missions. Although an unexpected finding but an integral part of this study, the issue of recognition which was sometimes associated with remuneration, significantly impacted the reasons why Ghanaian spouses are not willing to relocate when their FS spouses are due for posting. Generally, spouses were unhappy about the ministry and the missions not giving them the needed attention since everything was focused on the FSO. This begins from the time of posting, during posting and back to Ghana after the end of tour. Nothing is heard about spouses since the missions do not engage them, except for the occasional parties organized by the ambassador and the diplomatic community during posting. In response to the ministry's role in engaging them throughout the posting process, Yaw retorted sarcastically that:

I'm not sure they even know I came back. Probably, the only thing that would make them know I came back was the plane ticket. It is so painful with that because it is like you are not recognized (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Similarly, Dede stated that:

There is no recognition given to you as a spouse except for your passport, which suggests that you have joined your spouse and that you have arrived in the country after the tour. There hasn't been any follow-ups (Dede, civil servant, 1st posting).

The issue of recognition dates back to January 15, 1982 where it was published after a meeting in Washington on January 14, 1982 with the title "On spouses, Diplomatic: Embassy Row". The symposium held by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University focused on the diplomatic wife and her problems. Years down the line, reverberations are still being felt as the publication resulting from the ideas explored at that gathering makes the rounds of Embassy Row. This is evident in reports that Canada has ordered about 125 copies of "Diplomacy: The Role of the Wife." The Swedish Embassy has asked for a tape of the symposium, attended by representatives from 18 foreign embassies (Crossette, 1982). The outcome is that many foreign governments have only recently become concerned about restless, unhappy diplomatic wives, a problem the State Department has been watching for some time. For years, the Foreign Service couple was envisaged as two for the price of one. An associate to her husband, the Foreign Service wife as in the case of the United States of America, was expected to show up at receptions and musicals. She should also participate in educational and social welfare activities, play innkeeper for United States visitors and entertain graciously. Indeed, she was considered an integral part of the diplomatic team, and her performance was rated in her husband's annual evaluation performance report. However, a minor revolution that took place in 1972 resulted in an issuance of a directive by the State Department declaring that spouses were "private persons" and no longer to be treated as associate employees. Nevertheless, in recent years, American diplomatic wives have won a little more in the way of recognition, but not without cost. Although the 1972 State Department directive freed many wives of required social duties, it also made others feel they had been deprived of their usefulness. The State Department is now considering compensating diplomatic spouses for what has usually been unpaid service. The Eagleburger proposal would permit a supplementary allowance of up to 40% of the employee's salary to be paid to a spouse who agrees to carry out representational responsibilities. The Yugoslavs and Japanese already

provide special allowances when wives help at a post, and the Israelis actually pay a few top spouses a salary. In the Netherlands, the ministry pays for the spouses' pension and pays the spouses tuition abroad to make it easier for them to find work when they return to Holland (Crossette, 1982).

Despite the fact that countries like the U.S.A, Japan and the Netherlands have made certain changes with regard to the role of the spouse, allowances, payment of pensions and spouses tuition abroad, this is somewhat not the case in Ghana. Over the years, Ghana has made some changes in its Foreign Service policy and regulations but these are mostly geared towards the FSO and children. Policy on the spouses of FSOs have not been clearly spelt out leaving them in a dilemma as to what their role is and what they stand to gain by accompanying their spouses. Although the MFA & RI pays marriage allowance to the FSO, it has been a source of conflict between some spouses and their partners. This is because of the ambiguity in the term 'marriage allowance' as against 'spousal allowance' as pertains in other countries that mostly pay it to the spouse. Some spouses felt they were entitled to it and not the FSO. However, it was explained that it is just 'marriage allowance', which makes payment to the FSO appropriate. Besides, it is nothing to fight over since the amount is meagre. Nonetheless, it was revealed during the interview that there have been instances where some female spouses have fought their partners because of the marriage allowance. They felt cheated when they discovered that such an allowance existed because their partners never told them. However, they were disappointed when they realized the amount was negligible and could not cater for their needs. Some still did not believe the amount was that small.

It is not much yet they fight over it. The Foreign Service in its orientation for spouses have cautioned them on the need to behave themselves and not fight their partners over marriage allowance (Kwabena, civil servant/FSO).

Kwabena however stressed that there was very little the ministry can do about this situation, since it was up to the couple to solve this problem amicably without bringing the name of the MFA & RI into disrepute. The foregoing analysis indicates that although the policy of the MFA & RI on marriage allowance is probably to motivate spouses to accompany their partners during posting, it is a disincentive and does not reflect the expenses of spouses. The meagre amount, which is paid to the FSO, does not serve its purpose since the amount is not stimulating and has the effect of deterring spouses with better jobs. Despite this reality, the MFA & RI has not taken any steps to review it since the amount has remained the same over the years.

Although the life of FSOs has been seen as one of status and glamour, the impact of the Foreign Service life on the spouse cannot be overemphasized. For Suutari and Tornikoski (2001: 398), disadvantages related to spouses “such as the loss of salary and pension contributions of the spouse during the international assignments” cannot be ignored. Indeed, to an entire new generation of spouses, life in the Foreign Service can represent an almost total loss of the economic freedom and self-determination they had learned to take for granted. These spouses find themselves swept into an institutionalized role as unpaid adjuncts to their husbands or wives. However, the notion of “serving one’s country” in the capacity as a helpmate is becoming outdated, especially among millennial generation. In the opinion of many diplomatic wives, the 1972 directive opened up more choices for Foreign Service spouses but provided no real solution. Theoretically, it offered freedom for women who frequently found they had to continue to put in long, exhausting hours. This has prompted many of the wives of diplomats to call for their roles as spouses to be more recognized, if not rewarded with pay. The difficulty here is that “either the role of spouses needs to evolve, or it will disappear altogether” (Veldkamp, 2015: 4). Thus, spouses will no longer be willing to accompany their partners when due for posting as expressed by spouses in this study.

I think they should give us a little credit because it is like we do not really exist. I think they should give us a little credit because we are the support system so they should regard us at least a bit. If we decide that we are going to give up everything and go and live with our spouses, they should give us a little consideration. Otherwise, that is how the men will keep going by themselves. They should just think about us a little because it is like we don't really matter; we don't count (Lily, fashion designer/make-up artist, 1st posting).

Whatever role spouses of Ghanaian FSOs choose to serve overseas, it is clear from this study that these spouses want some sort of recognition or remuneration in the form of allowances from the MFA & RI and the missions for their supporting role and inability to work. However, unlike their counterparts in the western world whose welfare needs are already being catered for, emphasis was both on their welfare and compensation which was mostly ignored by the ministry and missions. Most spouses stated that their welfare should be of interest to the ministry and missions since they are the support system for their FS spouse. In seeking their well-being, they were of the view that this could be in the form of providing information and support services to spouses and families of Ghanaian FSOs, bilateral reciprocal work permits with other countries and functional training. There is the need for functional training since there are many countries where even with a work agreement, the opportunities for employment simply would not exist for many careers. Spouses can therefore be trained for possible embassy jobs, either as consulars or in budget work. Apart from these, the MFA & RI can offer career counselling for spouses to locate possible jobs both overseas and in Ghana. In areas where employment is simply out of the question, the MFA & RI, together with the missions can work to provide university and other educational opportunities. This will enable spouses maintain or improve their job skills during their tours of duty. For those who are not interested in pursuing their partners' careers, they emphasized the special stresses their husband' or wives' careers place on their own job hunt. Employers are reluctant to hire them because they know that they could be moved anytime.

Reintegration

Not only do accompanying spouses feel left out in the host country, but also on their return from post. After a prolonged absence from their field of work, a lack of skills update and changes in their sector many require considerable effort to reintegrate successfully into the workplace and to pick up their career. In extreme cases, careers had to be changed or abandoned in order to have enough time to take care of the children.

When I came back, I was supposed to go back to school, but since my children were very young and I wanted to care for them myself, I had to put my schooling on hold. This gave me the chance to be able to be with the kids most of the time (Korkor, fashion designer/make-up artist, 1st posting).

For those who were schooling before the posting, they deferred their courses. On return they realized they had to continue with a different batch of students since their mates were ahead of them or have graduated.

I was like I had sacrificed. My mates are three years at the bar ahead of me. I had to do new bar with a totally new group of students. Everything was stressful. I wasn't ready to step out (Ama, Lawyer, 1st posting).

Ama's experience with a break in her schooling made her unwilling to follow her partner in the next posting. Moreover, she was enjoying the pupillage in her home country after the first posting. This was as a result of the law firm being a flexible one, and she was gaining the experience and enjoying the practice. As far as his job was concerned, Yaw was generally worried about his return to Ghana if he decides to accompany his wife on subsequent postings.

What would you do when you come back to Ghana and there are no jobs for you, and even when there is a job, you are starting from the scratch. So before I went, I was with people who were at the same level with me. Now when I came back, I am starting below them. You are sent backwards. You are way behind now in your career (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Others had to abandon schooling in order to spend more time with their children, as they were still

young. Lily, who had her two children during posting, returned to Ghana after the tour, only to realize that she could not continue with her nursing school. This was because the children were still young and needed her attention so she had to discontinue schooling and focus on a flexible job to enable her spend time with her children.

To tell you the truth, I do not even know. For instance, when I came back I told you I was supposed to go to nursing school. However, I came back, with just the kids. I had to think of doing something else that is totally different from nursing. I changed my mind and did something else that will give me the chance to be able to be with the kids (Lily, fashion designer).

Korkor on the other hand had to wait for her children to be old enough before she could start working since they were very young when she returned from the first posting.

Now that they are even older, it makes it a bit easier. If you have a job somewhere, you can leave them for a few hours. At least, it is working out because when I came back in the first two years, I wasn't doing anything because they were so young. I had to wait for both of them to be in school first before doing anything (Korkor, fashion designer/make-up artist).

Generally, most of the spouses admitted that the ministry did not help in reintegrating them back into society, especially in areas of work and education of their children. They were expecting follow-ups on their welfare after the end of posting but this was not forthcoming. In their opinion, the entire posting process was basically about the FSO rather than perceiving it as a family unit.

Nobody comes to say 'we want to talk to spouses'. I told my spouse that the ministry should be a little bit involved because it is a family thing (Becky, university graduate, 1st posting).

In view of the above responses, one would expect that in a future Ghanaian Foreign Service, the FSOs would either be expected to remain single or go on posting assignments, and leave their spouses at home. For instance, Guasch (2016) argues that there are situations when the diplomat and the spouse decide to live apart: one in the new destination, the other back home. The reasons underlying this decision are manifold, but what happens to a couple when they choose a two-home

family model is the final question this research seeks to answer from the spouse's perspective. It looks at how the decision not to be an accompanying spouse impacts the family bond.

6.3 IMPACT ON THE FAMILY BOND

When spouses of Ghanaian FSOs decide not to accompany their partners during subsequent postings, they inadvertently transform into transnational families. Transnational families are a common feature of migration ranging from global professional elite to poor migrant workers and are linked to the increase in migration worldwide but also overall globalization of production (Zontini, 2007). The term 'Transnationalism' is defined as 'the process whereby people establish and maintain socio-cultural connections across geopolitical borders' (IOM, 2011 in ACP Observatory, 2011). Transnational families can therefore be understood as collective kinship relations with 'residential nodes' (Bjeren, 1997: 237). The definition of 'transnational families' developed by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002: 3) indicates the need for a common link and bonds between members of a family that are dispersed in more than one country.

As expatriate families or temporary, privileged migrants (Baldassar, 2016: 24; Farrer, 2018: 197), the decision of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs to live apart considers noneconomic effects such as the impact of migration on the well-being (defined as psychological, educational and health outcomes) of family members who live apart. Families in western societies are understood as at least two members of a household living in the same residence, related by blood, marriage or adoption (Bauman, 1997). Whereas a western concept of family tends to include only small, nuclear units centered on the married couple in many African societies, communities and cultures 'family' may extend to a large kinship network in the same village or community. According to Nukunya (2003), "family is a group of individuals related to one another by ties of consanguinity, marriage or

adoption the adult members of which are responsible for the upbringing of children.” In explaining the three types of families (nuclear, extended, monogamous or polygamous), Nukunya (2003) refers the nuclear family as a married couple and their children. Such a unit is also referred to as the monogamous family. It should be noted that ‘family’ for the purposes of migration policy and this study is conceptualized as a traditional nuclear family comprised of a married couple and dependent children under 18 years of age. This is in line with how the ministry defines family in relation to the FSO. On the basis of this, the phrase “members of the family” would include at least the wife and minor children. Outside that, it is very much an issue of State discretion as to whether a particular person is classified as a “member of the family.” Older children still dependent on the parents for some specific reason, as well as more distant relatives having a particular relationship with the officer, might well be included in his family by the receiving State.

From the concept of family practices, the term “doing family” is derived (Morgan, 1996, 2011, 2013). “Doing family” is based on the assumptions that neither are families fixed structures (sets of positions and statuses) centred around a physical place like a common household, nor does the family exist (Morgan, 2013: 36). Instead, it acknowledges the diversity and fluidity of families and emphasizes the need to “do” them (Morgan, 2011). Families are therefore understood as a set of practices and social activities. They are “always in motion” and according to Murray et al, (2019: 2), ebbing and flowing through space and time. “Transformations in family relations, including, for example, the imprisonment of members, divorce, re-marriage or migration are therefore not regarded as fragmentations or breaks, but rather as rhythm, as process of change, adjustment and re-routing” (Murray et al, 2019: 2). Despite being considered valuable actors of state practice based abroad, diplomats are rarely perceived to be affected by mobility. Nevertheless, when diplomats move abroad to execute a country’s policy without their families the impact on the family bond

cannot be overemphasized. According to Hugo (1987), the absence of particular family members, either on a permanent or temporary basis, influences the structure of the family, both in destination and origin areas.

The Bond between Children and Parents

The decision of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs not to accompany their spouses has its impact on the family and children in particular. The separation of the family across transnational space can affect the well-being of children. Absence of spouses due to the temporary separation normally leaves a void in their own families. This void is usually filled by various family members like fathers, mothers, older siblings, grandparents and extended family members who perform maternal care responsibilities. After Yaw decided not to accompany his partner on the second posting, he had two children to care for. Looking at the huge responsibility and the fact that he was working, he relied on his mother-in-law, house helps and a driver to keep the home running.

My mother-in-law stayed with us for the entire four years, so that was a big support. I'll be checking on the driver to ensure that they (children) are picked after close from school; and then when they come back home, I will be calling them to check on them. So when you have work to do in the office, I now have to make sure that at least they see me before they go to bed. You check their homework (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Yaw's temporal separation from his wife as a result of her posting necessitated undertaking domestic tasks that he would not have otherwise done. The support he had from his mother-in-law, house help and driver corroborates the literature that when fathers take on nurturing roles other family members often provide additional assistance. Grandparents in particular, grandmothers, can take on a care role in nurturing their grandchildren until they are reunited with their parents. Depending on their availability, health and work they are engaged in, grandparents may in certain cases be of support to both parents, particularly if the father stays behind, and the grandchildren (Chelanu-Andrei et al, 2011). Also, some left-behind families enlist the help of

extended family members (usually female), or even friends, to undertake the main caring and nurturing tasks left vacant by the migrant mother (Gamburd, 2000; Parrenas, 2005a, 2010). However, such situations can emotionally disturb ‘left-behind’ children and create distressing feelings for the child and family as a whole. For instance, the absence of their mothers may give rise to children's resentment, and a reduction in the quality of family nurturing and marital tensions between women migrants and their stay-at-home career husbands (Gamburd, 2008). On the contrary, Yaw bonded with his two daughters in the absence of their mother. Although he decided not to relocate when the wife was due for her second posting, the experience according to him was rewarding.

It was worth it because up to today I have a close relationship with my children. I think they are closer to me than their mother and to the extent that even though they are girls, they tell me a lot of things that they do not tell their mum which I think is due to the time I spent with them and the second posting. I was with them and she had left for posting. It is something that I see as very positive (Yaw, marketer/ media person, 1st posting).

Yaw's bonding with his children in the absence of their mother contradicts the findings of Parrenas (2005) that children experience more emotional problems when their mother migrates compared to when their father migrates because of traditional gender norms related to care. Yaw's experience with his children rather confirms the assertion that “family life can also offer men to break-out of the traditional discipline-based relationships to care and establish an emotional bond with their children. This could be considered more modern and progressive than traditional father-children ties” (Pribilsky, 2004).

The absence of migrant fathers can also result in children feeling estranged despite their fathers' effort to retain regular communications and the presence of grandparents and/or siblings. Ama, who is so passionate about family, found it difficult separating her kids from their father. She mentioned that her daughter is so attached to the father that anytime he travels, she is low-spirited.

I remember one time I went to pick her at school and the teachers called me and asked when the father is coming back and I am like, 'what is it?' and they said she does not concentrate in class and you can tell something is not right. She said the father had travelled and it is bothering her. She wants him to come back. She is just not happy (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

Ama's daughter's reaction to her father's absence demonstrates the negative effect that the separation of the family has on children staying behind (GFMD, 2010). This can include psychosocial difficulties such as feelings of abandonment, low self-esteem, anger, depression and/or material obsession that could result in behavioral problems (Bakker, Elings-Pels and Reis, 2009). Poeze (2019), notes that undocumented Ghanaian fathers, unable to make trips back and forth to Ghana to visit their left behind families, worried about failing to fulfil their social role as fathers. Therefore, as parents separated from their children, both women and men experience extreme loneliness and alienation. It creates void in the family, which can emotionally disturb 'left-behind' children and create poignant consequences for child and family welfare (Lam and Yeoh, 2019; Poeze, 2019; Gamburd, 2008).

The Bond between Spouses

The temporal separation among couples can have its toll on both parties, especially when one spouse (male) is dependent on the other with regard to household chores such as cleaning, cooking, shopping and caring for children in the family, which is typically patriarchal. All the three male spouses who participated in the study admitted that they experienced some challenges in all the four main household chores since they were all socialized in gendered division of labour. One of them commented that:

It is quite difficult to perform household chores as a man. The most difficult situations I faced in the absence of my wife is cleaning the house and cooking for the children (Kofi, businessman, 1st posting).

Yaw who had two infants to take care of when his wife was away on her second posting indicated that:

Taking care of the children overburdens me since I had to go to work at the same time. I couldn't travel for the work since you had to rush back to ensure that they were fine. So for that four years, I'm sure I missed deadlines or I slept late. I come home with work. When they are sleeping then I do my work (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

These sentiments expressed by left-behind husbands were expected because in the Ghanaian society, males are not socialized in household chores. Male spouses who decided not to accompany their spouses are therefore bound to experience some challenges when performing such tasks. However, this means that when female spouses go on posting it provides the opportunity for some husbands to learn some household chores that could gradually minimize the existing division of labour based on gender. "This is consistent with other studies, which found that when wives migrate, their left-behind husbands take over domestic activities such as taking care of the family, shopping for food items, cooking and cleaning which hitherto were the responsibilities of their wives based on the gendered division of labour in the household" (Evans, 2010; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Despite the fact that extended family members, nannies and drivers assisted in taking care of the home and taking children to school, participants stressed that a lot depended on them as parents.

Even though there was support, a lot depends on you as a parent. That makes it difficult (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

On the other hand, most female spouses found this arrangement convenient since they could pursue their career or go to school while taking care of the children. Unlike male spouses, they had no difficulty taking care of the children as they have been socialized into the importance of their role in domestic family life despite most of them being economically independent. Others were worried about their spouses living alone overseas since they harboured traditional beliefs about themselves as the homemaker. Ama, who felt that her upbringing might have contributed to her being

passionate about family cohesion found it difficult living apart.

So with all these things, I'm like well sometimes, it affects her (daughter) and myself. I am uncomfortable. Like I said, my husband is not the type who can really cook. He can eat rice 24/7. He cannot do things for himself apart from cleaning (Ama, Lawyer, 2nd posting).

In spite of the difficulties of living apart, Ama was determined not to accompany her spouse because she was not ready to give up her career as a lawyer. Having suffered isolation, depression and loss of identity, during her second posting, she was not ready to go along that path again.

Kwame on the other hand complained about the burden placed on one spouse when the other is going on posting.

One of the things is that when the spouses are going, there is a burden on you. Sometimes you do not realize. In your mind you have to work and take care of the children. But when your spouse is here, there is the assurance that if you are not there, she is there. That's another wahala. So there is support alright but psychologically you are not yourself. You are in two worlds. You are also checking up on her and make sure she is ok (Kwame, 1st posting).

Another problem with the temporary separation of families that some spouses complained about was keeping the marriage alive despite living apart from each other and remaining faithful to the partner during the long absence.

If I was staying here and there was no one to check on me, there was not my mother-in-law, then it means me and the kids, and my wife is sitting in Korea. If any girl crosses me now, right now, trouble. Any man crosses the woman, trouble (Yaw, marketer/media person, 1st posting).

Yaw's sentiments confirm what authors noted that the negative experiences that husbands had to cope with in the absence of their wives led to loneliness, high level of stress, divorce and extramarital affairs (Pallikadavath et al., 2016; Lam & Yeoh, 2018). Yaw, explained further that marriages are collapsing because of the separation and the fact that the ministry is oblivious of that side of their lives.

As Ghanaian FSOs relocated every few years, spouses had to find new ways of maintaining a healthy relationship as a result of the temporal separation from each other. Aside strengthening of social networks through information technology, the focus was on how the family can be together occasionally, to make up for the lost time while functioning as a family unit. As the decision was made not to accompany one's partner abroad, spouses made up for the temporal separation by visiting during school vacations when children were free to travel. The number of visits and length of stay varied depending on the arrangement of each family. Alternatively, FSOs visited their families in Ghana whenever they take an annual leave from work. This became a routine until the FSO ends his or her tour.

We normally visit during the long vacation. At least we get to spend some time together as a family. He also visits us here when he is on leave (Abena, Lawyer, 1st posting).

I visited him every vacation. On the average, that is three times in a year; Easter, long vac. and Christmas (Mary, businesswoman/ hair stylist, 1st posting).

It must be noted that this arrangement of visiting was possible and frequent due to FSOs status and social privileges they enjoy together with their families under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961. Article 37 is specific on this point as only families of the diplomatic agents (head of the mission or a member of the diplomatic staff) and the members of the administrative and technical staff are entitled to privileges and immunities. "The basis for extending privileges and immunities to these families is the same as that of those extended to the officer himself; namely, functional necessity." The prevailing explanation of diplomatic immunity, means that "the diplomat should have such privilege as conforms with the purpose for which he is accredited." Pressure brought to bear on his family would undermine that objective as much as direct pressure on the officer concerned.

6.4 CONCLUSION

In line with the above discussion, life for the Ghanaian FSO is much the same wherever the post may be as he or she has the structure of work and colleagues to ease the transition. However, for the families of FSOs, each new post brings dramatic changes such as their identities being shaped by the professional commitments of their partners to the Foreign Service, the reality of actually living in a foreign culture, and the emotions maintaining a family and private life. These changes eventually shaped their decision not to be accompanying spouses in subsequent postings. The study revealed that most spouses were unhappy about their lived experience during the first posting and this influenced their decision not to relocate in the next international assignment. They cited language barrier, lack of support from the missions, inability to pursue their career and, stability and continuity for children's education. In all these factors, language played a major role as they tried to adjust to their new environment, which was mostly, non- English speaking countries. One significant factor that most spouses kept stressing on was the issue of recognition. This was a new insight into the study, which broadened our understanding of what spouses expect from the missions and the MFA & RI. In most cases, they felt unrecognized and sidelined throughout the posting process. On arrival in Ghana after posting, spouses were also of the view that the ministry did little to reintegrate them into society. In exploring the impact of the decision not to be an accompanying spouse on the family bond, the difficulties of spouses living apart became apparent. Male spouses, who decided not to accompany their partners, were saddled with the issue of maintaining the home, caring for the children and working. Aside nannies and drivers, they mostly relied on extended family members, especially grandmothers in taking care of children and maintaining the home. Children were not left out as far as the separation of the family was concerned. While some bonded with left-behind spouses, especially fathers, others were not receptive to the absence of their fathers which affected them psychologically and emotionally. In

order to maintain the bond as a family unit, left behind spouses occasionally travelled to visit their FS partners. These visits occurred during school vacations, Christmas or Easter. On the other hand, Ghanaian FSOs visited their families back home whenever they take their annual leave.

Undoubtedly, the findings of this study demonstrate the reactions of accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs to international assignments. There is a clear indication that spouses of FSOs are prone to significant distress throughout a foreign posting, particularly if the family is not adequately supported. The potential health and wellbeing implications of a Ghanaian Foreign service spouse not successfully adapting to a foreign posting cannot be overemphasized. This is because it has significant impact on the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. In this regard, greater provision of resources by the MFA & RI to support the Foreign Service spouse, both prior to relocation and on arrival at the foreign posting, would facilitate the transition for the entire family. The Foreign Service has to take note of, for instance, the number of spouses who wish to work or pursue their careers whilst living at post, in addition to support for children's education and language training. Additionally, a more significant involvement by Ghanaian missions abroad during this period would allow spouses to regain some control of their new lifestyle. This could also signify a greater appreciation by the Foreign Service of spouse's role in supporting the service person. These and other possible interventions are elaborated on in the next chapter to aid policy makers.



CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary and conclusion of the main issues relevant to the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs when they accompany their partners during postings. It considers how these experiences interconnect to influence their decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings and its impact on the family bond. The chapter also gives recommendations to the findings of the research objectives for future research and policy-making. By qualitatively analyzing the interviews conducted with twenty participants, consisting of nineteen spouses and a key informant, the relevant questions which were explored are: What are the reasons for relocating as an accompanying spouse; how did spouses experience the posting abroad; how did these experiences influence their decision not to be accompanying spouses during subsequent postings and how did the decision not to be an accompanying spouse impact the family bond.

7.2 SUMMARY

In line with the objective of this research project, a gap is filled in the otherwise scant literature exploring this topic within a Ghanaian context. There is no doubt that the decision to move abroad and work as a FSO significantly impact an assignee's spouse and family. By taking into consideration the gender role ideology, the host country cultural and social traits, this present study sought to comprehend the decision to be an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO. It explored the reasons for the decision to be an accompanying spouse and how the experiences during the adjustment process in the host nation influenced the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. Finally, it examined the impact of the spouses' decision not to relocate

for an international assignment on the family bond. Using phenomenology as a theory and method of approach, IPA was utilized to design the research project and analyze the data. This allowed for detailed exploration of the participants' experiences.

In reference to the first objective of this study, gender role ideology was found to have a strong impact on the reasons for being an accompanying spouse. This was expressed in spouses, specifically females, deciding to relocate in order to raise a family. As most of the participants were young married couples at the time of their first posting, they felt the need to raise a family. The traditional views of gender roles that emphasize women's capacity for nurturance and men's leadership capabilities was translated into the expectation that women are best suited for domestic tasks, such as childcare and housework, while men should be primary breadwinners. Although there are changes in traditional gender roles with the participation of women in occupational activity (Eagly et al, 2020), the equivalence in the sharing of domestic duties could not be achieved. Due to this, the woman still works both at home and at work. This was observed in this study, as some spouses were hesitant to relocate due to their career and education. However, pressure from spouses, family and friends suggesting that their partners needed their company, eventually pushed them to decide to relocate. Another reason was to advance the careers of their partners even when they had a job before relocating. Their inability to work in the host nation paved the way for this since they were taking care of the home and the children. This corroborates the literature which suggests that "there are specific efforts to define the husband's role as primary breadwinner and the wife's role as primary home caretaker, even when spouses work equal hours outside the home" (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). However, it is important to note that male spouses in this study accompanied their partners not necessarily because they wanted to but the situation at that moment left them with no choice than to relocate. While one accompanied his partner because she was pregnant at the time of posting and needed assistance another relocated because of the sector he

was working in. It was in the private sector which is owned, controlled, and managed by private individuals or a group, unlike the public sector which is owned, controlled, and managed by the government. He considered his spouse's work to be more stable and secure than his since he was working in the private sector and could be laid off at any time. This added a new dimension to the gender-role ideology where some male spouses considered the sectors in which both spouses worked in before deciding to relocate. Others relocated in order to explore their new environment. Having travelled before, the idea of relocating was exciting to a few in their search for adventure. Nonetheless, as most spouses in this study had never travelled before, some saw this as an opportunity to get to know places and learn about the culture of the host nation although they were not sure of what to expect.

The findings of the second objective of this study provided a rich and detailed description of the lived experience of spouses as they accompanied their partners on an international assignment. Their experiences with language, culture, social support, career development and children's education were significant. Although the results are mostly consistent with those of previous studies, the interrelations between these factors and how they eventually shaped the decision not to be an accompanying spouse makes this study distinctive. As a dominant factor in this study, learning the local language was a big step towards coping with the experience of an overseas move. Ghanaian spouses' experience with language was critical as it permeated all the other factors. As most spouses in this study had their FS partners posted to non-English speaking countries, the inability to speak the language of the host nation made the adjustment process difficult. Simple tasks like buying groceries, boarding public transport and seeing the doctor became a burden. The inability to communicate in the language of the host nation also made it difficult for spouses to interact with the locals. It took away their independence, as they always had to be accompanied by

an embassy staff, relatives, friends or the locals who have to translate for them since they were not fluent in the language. However, a few spouses that learnt the language of the host nation at least at the rudimentary level, realized that adjustment became easier since they could communicate to some extent in the host country's language.

Culture and the process of cultural shock were also issues spouses had to contend with as part of their lived experience in the host nation. This involved reactions to cultural distance, differences in physical space and the process of acceptance and adaptation. The study showed that spouses in countries where the culture and other environmental factors were different from that of Ghana, experienced difficulty in adjusting. As almost all the spouses had their partners posted to non-English speaking countries, they were exposed to more frequent interactions with the local culture, making it more difficult for them to adjust. The inability of spouses to adjust to a foreign culture due to language barrier placed a high level of stress on them, culminating into resentment and eventually their decision not to accompany their spouses during the next posting

With regard to social support, the three types were support from the FSOs as the family tried to adjust to the new environment; the role of the mission staff in assisting families to adjust; and the role of new friendship and community in the adaptation process. When it comes to support from the FSO, spouses relied on the FSO spouse for support on their arrival at post. This is because Ghanaian FSOs depart ahead of their families, which contributes positively to the successful adjustment of the spouses. When FSOs arrive earlier in the host country, they are in a position to orientate and assist their spouses to settle quicker. This is attributed to the fact that when spouses arrive, FSOs have researched and found schools and accommodation. They are familiar with the surroundings and have some level of understanding of the country's processes and procedures.

However, spouses explained that they had support from them, but it was mostly at the initial stage of the posting. As time went by, they saw less of them at home since the nature of the work of the FSOs required them to be away from home for long hours. Spouses felt lonely since they could not go out on their own because of language barrier. Support from the missions was also minimal since staffs were not always available to help them navigate the new environment. Most of them did not also take part in social activities such as Diplomatic Spouses' Associations, charity work or church organizations in order to build relationships and networks with other spouses. Consequently, they were virtually left on their own with some keeping to themselves and staying indoors, most of the time.

The fourth was career advancement, which highlighted the difficulties spouses faced in an attempt to continue with their career in the host nation. The frequent relocations in particular make it difficult for FS spouses to obtain and establish a career abroad. Where there is the possibility of working, language, work permits and the status of being a spouse of a FSO hindered their efforts at gaining employment. The MFA & RI in classifying spouses as 'dependents' inadvertently exacerbates the situation since this status connotes not being able to work in the host country. This makes the situation worse since traditionally, spouses of FSOs have been expected to give up their own career upon relocation (Groeneveld, 2008; Wood, 2005). Spouses who thought they could work or practice their careers in the host nation realized how difficult and impossible it was since the missions did not offer much assistance in this regard.

The last focused on how the education of children of these families, suffer setbacks, such as continuity and stability, due to repeated relocations. Children of Ghanaian FSOs have the opportunity to be educated in the country of post since the MFA & RI makes provisions for that.

However, these provisions are just enough to enroll the child in a public school. The problem then arises when the country of post is a non-English-speaking country. Spouses stated that it would not be prudent to enroll their children in public schools since the language of instruction is in the host nation's language. Besides, after the tour of duty, they wondered how such children would be enrolled into the Ghanaian educational system. They would rather enroll them in international schools to ensure a smooth transition. However, most complained about how expensive international schools are and the fact that the whole family depends on one income. Although the literature suggests that relocation is easier for parents when children are young compared to when they are old, especially in secondary schools, this is not the case in this study. Regardless of how old the child is, spouses of Ghanaian FSOs were not willing to relocate. They were rather interested in their children having a smooth and uninterrupted education.

In analyzing the findings, all the themes pertaining to the lived experience of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs during an international assignment were found to be an intricate network of experiences. The complex nature and interrelatedness are shown in how a factor like language permeated all the other factors, thereby making adjustment difficult. This brings to the fore the third objective, which sought to find out why spouses are refusing to accompany their FS spouses after the first posting. The researcher sought to find out whether their experiences during posting may have influenced their decision not to relocate during the next posting and how. As indicated in the literature, the most common reasons expatriate postings are unsuccessful is an unhappy spouse, children, who have difficulty adjusting to their new environment and inability to pursue one's career. An accompanying spouse of a FSO may have made career sacrifices to enable the move, and may not be able to find work in the new country of residence. This is partly due to the fact that the "diplomatic services have traditionally operated within a hierarchical framework of

conventional gender roles that emphasized the domestic and social qualities of diplomatic wives and made it difficult for female partners to pursue a career.” Although Ghana has bilateral working agreement with some countries, which allows spouses to work, this has been downplayed as far as the various missions and the MFA & RI are concerned. Spouses are not given the necessary support to advance their careers, thereby reverting to the traditional role in the diplomatic world as homemakers and supporting their FS partners. However, the concept of a supporting partner, which is often the woman, is considered as increasingly outdated as more women are into paid work. Instead of there being just one breadwinner, both people are invested in their own professional endeavors. Thus, emphasizing the concept of dual career couples which seems here to stay for the foreseeable future. Spouses in this study who had careers, were schooling or run their businesses before accompanying their partners were not enthused about not being able to pursue their careers, dreams and aspirations during posting. Not only was it frustrating to have put one’s career on hold, but also no longer being able to contribute to the household income weakened their confidence, especially in male spouses. This eventually contributed to their decision not to accompany their partners on the next posting. In her study on how relocation strains diplomatic families, Hannel-Brzozowska (2009), “observes that marriages can be negatively affected if spouses have to give up their jobs and become dependent on the diplomat for a source of income. The dependency builds resentment, as spouses are locked into a situation where they have to keep adjusting for the diplomat’s benefit.”

In almost every case, and as revealed in this study, the FSO is the focus of his or her Mission and abundant resources are expended to ensure that he or she has a smooth transition in the host country. This is to ensure productivity can be achieved as quickly as possible. Spouses and children get far less help adjusting to their new environment. Understandably, the MFA & RI offer practical

support to staff and their families who are relocating. They may provide property services in both the country of departure and the country of arrival, and language classes for FSOs. However, not much is done with regard to providing social support to accompanying spouses. Ideally, spouses should be offered support with language training, building a social network, career counselling and job search prior to the move and once they arrive. However, social support is rarely offered by the Ghanaian missions, as revealed by spouses in this study. Aside the normal introduction to the Ambassador or High Commissioner and staff on arrival at post, not much is done in terms of engaging them in social activities or providing opportunities for social networking. A few spouses and families were fortunate to find themselves welcomed into their expatriate and local colleagues' social circles. These included relatives and friends living in the host nation. However, this does not always occur, especially in non-English speaking countries.

Apart from this, a few spouses also had to assist their children adjust to new environments and schools, even while adapting themselves. In her study on how relocation strains diplomatic families Hannel-Brzozowska (2009), "further argues that children's educational attainment and connections to the extended family are also compromised due to constant relocation and distance from loved ones." Spouses expressed this sentiment especially, with regard to stability and continuity in their children's education. As most of the host countries were not Anglophones, some families had to enroll their children in International schools. However, with the expensive fees paid in these schools, this decision had to be reconsidered coupled with the fact that spouses were apprehensive about the stability and continuity in their children's education. In addition, children with development, behaviour or learning issues, and their parents, especially the accompanying spouse, who may provide much of the day-to-day care may need extra support, which might be difficult to find in English. This was the case of one family where the child had a speech delay. A

therapy session was organized for the child but it was not in English. The doctors therefore advised that either they seek a private one, which was very expensive. This made the couple take the decision to come back home; thus the wife and the children. All these factors eventually affect spouses if they decide to accompany their partners on every posting. The difficulty of adapting to life in a new country can put relationships under stress, compounding any stresses that existed within the family prior to the move. In the end, spouses decided not to accompany their partners on the next posting.

Aside the foregoing factors, spouses bemoaned the lack of recognition and remuneration by the missions and MFA & RI throughout the posting process. This was a new development as far as the reasons not to be an accompanying spouse of a Ghanaian FSO was concerned. Most spouses were unhappy about their recognition limited to them having a diplomatic passport, travelling with it and returning home after the posting. The ministry did little as far as their welfare was concerned during posting and their reintegration back into the Ghanaian society after posting. With regard to remuneration, some spouses were concerned about the marriage allowance. This is because there is no clarity as to what purpose it serves apart from it being paid to the FSO. Most of them were not aware of such an allowance but those who knew about it, complained that it was meagre and did not motivate them. Indeed, there have been instances where some Ghanaian spouses have fought their partners during posting over the marriage allowance. In explaining this situation, it was confirmed that there have been occasions where this has come to the ministry's attention. Nonetheless, there is nothing the mission or the MFA & RI can do about it since it is a family issue. However, during orientation, spouses have been cautioned about it and asked not to do anything that will bring the name of the Ministry into disrepute. Emphasis was rather placed on the how meagre the amount is hence the general advice to spouses during orientation, is not to

fight their partners over the marriage allowance as they accompany them during posting.

Finally, as spouses decided to stay in the home country during the next posting, the impact on the family bond cannot be overemphasized. Male spouses were saddled with taking care of the home which resulted in them relying mostly on family members, house helps and drivers. Unlike males, female spouses managed the home with less difficulty due to their traditional gender role as homemakers. However, left behind spouses played intermediary role between children and absentee fathers and mothers. Some children were resentful about one parent being in another country and not part of the family. As spouses live apart, the burden of responsibility falls mostly on the spouse left in the home country. He or she has to work, take care of the children while maintaining the home with less support from the other spouse. Spouses were of the view that if the other spouse was with them, there is the assurance that if one is not there he or she will step in for you. Unfortunately, this is not the case as the spouse in Ghana is mostly the one taking care of the family and home in general. This sometimes takes a toll on the marriage, resulting in divorce in extreme cases. For spouses, divorce exacts a heavy toll on them as they are exposed to hardship after long years of unpaid government services abroad with no employment record, no modern skills, no social security, no survivor benefits among others. In all this, one begins to question what the future holds for spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and how the Foreign Service is taking into consideration the need to acknowledge the constraints that diplomacy as a way of life imposes on the families of officers.

7.3 CONCLUSION

Diplomatic service is truly a family affair, where every family member is able to contribute to Ghana's diplomatic efforts. While serving overseas, diplomatic spouses are responsible for supporting the diplomatic mission, FS spouse and adapting their family to a new way of life, while

trying to forge their own path. Despite the diplomatic spouse's integral role in Ghana diplomacy, the stresses and rewards of this unique public service often go unnoticed which is of great concern to them. The findings of this study suggest that prior experiences of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs during the first posting interconnected to influence their decision to accompany or not to accompany their partners in the next posting. Although spouses relocated for various reasons, some expectations were not met, living them in a state of awe. Language barrier, lack of social support, inability to develop one's career, stability and continuity in children's education are the reasons why spouses are not willing to accompany their partners when due for posting. The transition was complex since it was a combination of these factors that became a problem for the spouses, rather than one single major factor. Although language had a major influence on the other factors, the issue of recognition and remuneration was also significant for spouses.

Commonly, an overseas assignment is looked at in economic terms. Thus if the FSO is being well compensated financially, the ministry may believe it has done enough. After all, they will be spending only a few years in their new location. The FSO surely can survive a few years of highly compensated long working hours and frequent international travel, but the accompanying spouse and children do not have the distraction and stimulation of assignments, travel experiences and new colleagues with whom to interact. Instead, as revealed in this study, they may experience long periods of separation from the working family member. This is exacerbated, by having few friends and adapting to household management and schooling in a country in which communication in the local language is difficult and cultural mores are unfamiliar. As a result, accompanying spouses of Ghanaian FSOs found themselves struggling psychologically throughout the adjustment process.

An important point to note in the European context and which resonates with this study is that while spouses are rejecting "traditional" patterns of incorporation into Foreign Service life, it is

becoming increasingly true that the questions which reoccupy those in Personnel Management within our Services with regard to recruitment and retention of staff are intimately connected with exactly those issues which involve discussion of spouses, partners and families. The irony here is that, spouses, as in this study, may be beginning to feel like withdrawing, sometimes because of lack of recognition and/or consideration from their Services, at the same time as they are being newly appealed to and asked for their opinions. Whatever the experiences of Ghanaian spouses overseas, it was clear from their responses that they want some sort of recognition or compensation from the MFA & RI for their expected diplomatic role. The issue of compensation is significant since marriage allowance, which is normally paid to the Ghanaian FSO is meagre thereby making spouses totally dependent on their partners. As most spouses realized their inability to work or earn an allowance throughout the posting period, they felt a desire to pursue their career, at least after the first posting. Eventually, this and the other factors (language barrier, stability and continuity for children's education, lack of social support) interconnected and influenced their decision not to accompany their partners during subsequent postings since they want to have a life and earn an income. These factors, according to spouses, should be mutually inclusive and conducive before they will accompany their partners during subsequent postings.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest challenges facing international assignments as opined by Motshela (2001: 90) is that organizations do not only have to contend with an employee but the whole family and their needs and expectations in the relocation process. This means that organizations have to invest time and resources to understand the needs, feelings and experiences of the family. Considering that the lifestyle requires many adjustments, which put a strain on spouses and their families (Fenzi, 1994; Linderman & Hess, 2002; Pascoe, 2000), it is imperative that the Foreign Service supports the family. The experience of the spouse has been chronicled in

popular writing, often referring to him or her as “the trailing spouse” (Fenzi, 1994), “eligible family member” (Linderman & Hess, 2002), or “dependent” (USDOS website, December 2006), and usually carries the main responsibility for meeting the numerous needs of individual family members. These needs, if left unmet, can cause unhappiness and insecurity in the process of changing environments (Pascoe, 2000). With unrecognized and unhappy spouses, the MFA & RI may wish to offer further spousal support in order to meet their needs. Programs to spur social integration should be well established. These include providing classes to learn and adjust to the language and local culture, as well as providing contacts within the domestic expat networks, which could be beneficial for the accompanying spouse. Apart from this, offering professional support to accompanying spouses, such as career counselling (to adjust to or seek out a new occupation) or aiding in necessary paperwork such as obtaining a work permit can ease the stress of not being employed, all of which can lead to better experience and adjustment outcomes. One good example of a country that gives attention to and helps accompanying spouses assimilate into the new environment is the Netherlands. The Expat Center, Amsterdam assists in providing accompanying partners with the professional guidance and support necessary to settle them into Amsterdam (<https://www.iamexpat.nl>).

Finally, as Ghanaian FSOs are posted abroad on international assignments, there is the need for the MFA & RI to keep abreast of the changes in the societies within and between which they operate, if they are to expect spouses to accompany the FSOs for an overseas assignment. It is important to take into consideration the whole family and how this social category has changed over the years. The ministry must decide whether it wants a married service overseas. If yes, then the terms and conditions of service have to contain incentives to make spouses want to go overseas. So long as people continue to marry and have partners and children, the spousal and family

problem will continue to raise challenges when a spouse has to relocate for an international assignment. How conducive these factors are during postings, especially the first, would determine whether a spouse would decide to accompany or not to accompany his or her Ghanaian FSO partner who is due for subsequent posting.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, a number of recommendations are made to help policy makers and the MFA & RI understand the importance of institutional or organizational support during and after FSO postings. The following recommendations were informed by the findings of this study and are therefore not exhaustive. They are focused on improving the conditions of spouses of Ghanaian FSOs in order to make their experiences during posting worthwhile. Through appreciating the said experiences, it is possible that the findings of this study can contribute to assisting in shaping future policies and practices around the needs and expectations of spouses.

Language Training

FSOs sent abroad to represent Ghana need to navigate diplomatic affairs with cultural awareness, and often they need to survive among a population that does not speak English. This is even more difficult for spouses of FSOs since they are responsible for adapting their family to a new way of life, while trying to forge their own path. In their day-to-day activities, language becomes paramount as a means of communication among locals and embracing the culture of the host nation. However, spouses do not undergo any language training to make their adjustment process easy. In this regard, the MFA & RI in collaboration with the various missions should assist spouses to access language training programmes in the host nation in order to facilitate their adjustment process. Spouses of Ghanaian FSOs should therefore take advantage of the prevailing language training programmes available in the host country in order to learn at least the basics of

the local language. This will not only facilitate communication with the locals but also enable spouses to adjust to the local culture.

Access to Information

It is also worth noting that most participants described not knowing what to expect from this journey, leaving them feeling insecure about their future. This was partly due to them being unaware of any orientation organized by the ministry for spouses whose FSO partners were due for posting. Those who were aware and attended the orientation indicated that it was mostly about the security implications of the whole posting process. It was to tell you how to live to avoid anything that would bring shame to the country. However, spouses thought it should have been more psychological. Thus, you are leaving your home country and going to live in a foreign country so all these things should be taught. This should include things like; this is the country; this is how the country is; the popular places you could go to; these are the hospitals you could go to; these are the organizations or associations you could join. The orientation should include more of that than the security implications of why you are going there and the fact that one is carrying a diplomatic passport.

Apart from this, the findings of this study suggest that most spouses experience a lack of information with regard to the impact of postings on their career prospects. To assist in transmitting important information to spouses, there should be pre-posting and post-postings briefings. These should include information on employment options for spouses and all support services available to them. Also, the ministry should be transparent in its policies and provide regular and comprehensive information on all policies or provisions potentially affecting spouses of Ghanaian FSOs and families. If there are no policies in place on the role of the spouse, as this study seems

to suggest, and therefore no expectations to perform duties, the ministry should make this fact known too. Ultimately, the MFA & RI should be clear in its policies and provide regular and comprehensive information on all policies or provisions potentially affecting spouses and families as a whole.

Social Support

The MFA & RI and the missions should assist the FSO's family to connect with other families who are already living or have lived in the same host city. These new connections can offer practical advice about life in the host nation and even more importantly, they can provide emotional support, having gone through the process themselves. It is important to note that even with the most thorough pre-departure training, families cannot avoid experiencing some degree of adjustment stress shortly after the relocation, and therefore some follow-up on the adjustment process after the move is warranted. For example, host country nationals could be considered to assist newcomer expatriate families with learning about the host culture and local customs in the new location (Osland, 2000). In particular, human resources management could add value by providing adjustment assistance within the expatriate communities. This can be achieved by supporting the development of friendships in the new environment such as community groups, workplaces and online social media (Bahn, 2015).

The possibility and availability of psychological support like family counseling in the new location should be discussed with families of Ghanaian FSOs. Partners could specifically focus on how to use their time and resources when abroad (Lauring & Selmer, 2010). Direct communication and support between the mission and accompanying spouses could facilitate adjustment of the whole family, as it is usually accompanying spouses who have to deal more with the stress of relocation (Lazarova et al., 2015).

Additionally, the MFA & RI can establish Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs) in the various missions in host countries. An EAP counselor can listen to the spouse's anxieties and concerns objectively and provide calm reassurance. This type of assistance can be invaluable in smoothing the spouse's adjustment and reinforces the need for support to be personalized since needs differ among spouses. However, they could all benefit from the option of personalized coaching, community liaison programmes or self-development courses. This type of support is important throughout the accompanying spouse's journey considering that the Foreign Service puts great emphasis on the initial relocation stage, but generally neglect the equally challenging repatriation phase. Spouses should be connected to the resources they need before, during and after the assignment. By implementing these initiatives, the missions in conjunction with the MFA & RI will be demonstrating that it cares about the employee's holistic family needs.

Educational and Career Prospects

Ghanaian missions can also offer educational, vocational and career services to spouses. This includes assistance in identifying university or continuing education classes, helping to locate appropriate volunteer activities, and perhaps even helping to find employment opportunities whenever this is possible. As stated earlier, many of the accompanying spouses in this study come from high academic and educational backgrounds while others have practical knowledge profiles. The MFA & RI should acknowledge the importance of gainful employment for spouses and articulate their support for the principle of MFA officer's spouses taking up employment while on posting. They could be allowed to continue their profession during posting depending on the type of profession, and, upon their return home. Thus, "employer provided career assistance and consideration of roles and responsibilities of both partners is needed for accompanying spouses who plan to continue their career in the host country" (Cole, 2011; Lazarova et al., 2015; Mäkelä

et al., 2017). This may include the policy of employing spouses within missions as indicated by a spouse in this study. To prevent partners from being characterized as passive monitors abroad, it would be rewarding to give them better job opportunities, for instance, in the form of part-time employment as suggested by Hendry (1998). Perhaps, this could encourage their employment in the Foreign Service. While the MFA & RI provides employment-related assistance, especially to career-oriented spouses, it is expected that this will boost the motivation to move as an accompanying spouse during postings.

It must however be noted that when it comes to the issue of spouse employment there are no easy solutions. Spouses face job-related difficulties when on posting due to differences in the taxation, social security or legal systems of the country concerned. The MFA & RI and the embassies should work assiduously to try to overcome the challenges that they face in many foreign countries to find suitable employment for these spouses. It is not easy, because in many cases there are impediments such as licensing restrictions for Ghanaian doctors and lawyers who might want to work overseas. The ministry should consider offering assistance in identifying relevant institutions or advisors to provide reliable information. This will enable spouses to take advantage of the prevailing career development programmes available in the host countries.

Marriage Allowance

Although contentious, financial compensation can be given for the spouse's loss of earnings instead of the marriage allowance. This study revealed that 'marriage allowance' as termed by the MFA & RI is paid to the FSO and not the spouse. As the loss of one's own income exposes spouses to economic and social vulnerability, the MFA & RI should explore options to mitigate the impact and compensate for this loss. Perhaps the practice by some countries with regards to compensating

for the loss of an accompanying spouse's income during posting should be considered. For instance, in Estonia, the accompanying spouse of the FSO who does not work during posting, is paid an allowance of double the minimum wage in Estonia directly to his or her account for the posting's duration. This is in addition to spouse allowance paid to the MFA officer (dokumenty-iir.cz). Apart from this, examples from several European countries like Austria, Czech, Switzerland and Finland, show that a number of MFAs either fully or partially cover pension contributions for spouses for the duration of the posting. For instance, "the Austrian MFA provides a pension benefit subsidy for spouses making voluntary contributions to the public pension system. Similarly, the Czech MFA reimburses voluntary pension contributions for accompanying spouses for the posting's duration, provided the spouse has no income of his or her own" (dokumenty-iir.cz).

Adequate Preparation of Spouses for Relocation

The MFA & RI understands it is important that not only diplomats, but also their spouses, are fully prepared to take on the enormous responsibility of representing Ghana around the world. The Ghanaian Diplomat Spouses Program provides them with invaluable skills for local and international etiquette and hospitality. It also covers the ceremonial rules for official functions and explains how to behave on these special occasions. The MFA orientation program for spouses of FSOs provides diplomatic families with the capabilities to effectively represent Ghana on a world stage. However, spouses in this study indicated that they are not adequately prepared for the relocation by the ministry. It is therefore imperative that the ministry should act more effectively in preparing spouses. A realistic overview of the upcoming process can be given in the form of coaching, counseling, reading materials and presentations. This will help identify the main

challenges and resources for coping with them.

In addition, the MFA & RI should provide families who have children accompanying them with a clear picture of the education system of the country or city where they will be relocated. “Children and teenagers could also be prepared for the international assignment through video information about the life in the new school and friendships abroad” as indicated by Weeks et al. (2010).

Data Collection and Spouses Mainstreaming

The findings of this study revealed how public and HR policies impact the lived experience of spouses of FSOs, highlighting the urgent requirement for data in this field. This suggests the need for the MFA & RI to systematically mainstream spouses’ issues into the formulation and review of its HR policies. The interviews that form the basis of the findings of this research are an example of the type of feedback that should be collected from spouses periodically. Such feedbacks should be used to measure the impact of the MFA’s policies and any implications for posted staff. For instance, all of the participants in this study expressed gratification in speaking about their experiences, with some even saying that more research should be done to highlight their situations. Many spouses said that the interview was a rewarding process, suggesting that it felt good to reflect on the years spent accompanying their husbands and wives, while gaining a new perspective and understanding of their experiences.

Spouses of FSOs are affected not only by their MFAs’ policies, but also national and social policies of respective host nations. Thus, while the recommendations set out above are addressed to the MFA & RI, there is the need for these recommendations to be made at the Governmental level. As tied migrants, the families of FSOs ultimately relocate because of, and in the interest of the sending state. As a result, their peculiar situation should be reflected in policy making at the national level.

Areas for Future Research

In future research, it may be beneficial to include male and female spouses in order to discover gender differences in experiences in how men and women in relocated families perceive the process and the influences. Comparative analysis on these variables may further develop and refine our understanding of the decision process, experiences and spouse's decision not to relocate based on gender.

With regard to children's education and adjustment as an essential factor influencing the decision on spouses' willingness to relocate as accompanying spouses, future research should consider including children as a research sample. More research is required on the nature of adjustment of children and teenagers in order to offer clear guidelines on how children facing repeated relocations in their life can obtain some degree of stability when their family moves on international assignments,

Finally, considering the physical, mental and emotional impacts of a temporary separation or a breakup while living the diplomatic life, there is the need to examine how these stressors can place a tremendous burden on relationships and what can happen when they end. Conversations about how we; individually and collectively can openly approach the subject and break the shame and silence of breakups and divorce in diplomacy should begin. This can be achieved if we acknowledge this problem at an institutional and personal level and research into it. This could provide an opportunity to identify how to empower accompanying spouses to build their own portable careers and give them some financial safety at least in the event of relationship breakdown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul Malek, M., Budhwar, P. & Reiche, B. S. (2015). Sources of Support and Expatriation: A Multiple Stakeholder Perspective of Expatriate Adjustment and Performance in Malaysia. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 26(2): 258-276.
- Afsar, R. (2011). Contextualizing Gender and Migration in South Asia: Critical Insights. *Gender and Technology and Development*, 15(3): 389–410.
- Adler, J. E. (2002). *Belief's Own Ethics*. MIT Press.
- Adler, N. J. (2002), "Global Managers: No Longer Men Alone". *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 13(5): 743–760.
- Adler, P.A., & Adler, P. (1994). Observational Techniques. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 377-392). Sage Publications, Inc.
- Aggestam, K., and Towns, Ann E. (2018). *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Agyeman, H. A. (2018). *Diplomatic Protocol: A Guide for Ghanaian Diplomats and Senior Government Officials*. Osu.
- Alase, A. (2016). *The Impact of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) on Small-sized Publicly Traded Companies and their Communities* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation), Northeastern University.
- Albrecht, T. L., & Adelman, M. B. (1984). Social Support and Life Stress: New Directions for Communication Research. *Human Communication Research*, 11(1): 3-32.
- Ali, A. J. (2003). *The Intercultural Adaptation of Expatriate Spouses and Children: An Empirical Study on the Determinants Contributing to the Success of Expatriation*. Thesis fully internal (DIV), University of Groningen.
- Ali, A., van der Zee, K., & Sanders, G. (2003). Determinants of Intercultural Adjustment among Expatriate Spouses. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27: 563-580.
- American Foreign Service Association (2023). Resources for Raising Foreign Service Kids. John K. Naland. *The Foreign Service Journal*, October 2023, 100(8):37-39.
- Andreason, A. W. (2003). "Expatriate Adjustment to Foreign Assignments." *International Journal of Commerce and Management*. 13(1): 42-60.
- Andreason, A. W. (2008). "Expatriate Adjustment of Spouses and Expatriate Managers: An Integrative Research Review." *International Journal of Management*, 25(2): 382-395.
- Arieli, D. (2007). The Task of Being Content: Expatriate Wives in Beijing, Emotional Work and Patriarchal Bargain. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 8(4): 18-31.
- Arksey, H., and Knight, P. (1999). *Interviewing for Social Scientists*. Sage, London.
- Asis, M. M. B. (2003). International Migration and Families in Asia. In Iredale R., Hawksley, C and Castles, S. (eds) *Migration in the Asia Pacific*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp. 99-117.
- Ashworth, P. (1999). "Bracketing" in Phenomenology: Renouncing Assumptions in

- Hearing About Student Cheating. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 12(6): 707-721.
- Babbie, E. R. (1995). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research*. 11th Edition, Thompson Wadsworth, Belmont.
- Bahn, S. (2015). Managing the Well-Being of Temporary Skilled Migrants. *Int. J. Human Resource Manage*, 26: 2102-2120.
- Bailey, P. H. (1996). Assuring Quality in Narrative Analysis. *Western journal of Nursing Research*, 18(2).
- Bakker, C., Elings-Pels, M. & Reis, M. (2009). The Impact of Migration on Children in the Caribbean. UNICEF Office for Barbados and Eastern Carribean, Paper No. 4.
- Baldassar, L. (2016). Mobilities and Communication Technologies: Transforming Care in Family Life. In: Kilkey, Majella/ Palenga-Mollenbeck, Ewa (Eds.), *Family Live in an Age of Migration and Mobility: Global Perspectives Through the Life Course*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 19-42.
- Barston, R. P. (2013). *Modern Diplomacy*. New York: Pearson.
- Bartlett, J. E., Kotrlik, J. W. and Higgins, C.C. (2001). Organizational Research: Determining Appropriate Sample Size in Survey Research. *Information Technology, Learning, and Performance Journal*, 19: 43-50.
- Battistella, G. & Conaco, M.C.G. (1998). The Impact of Labour Migration on the Children Left Behind: A Study of Elementary School Children in the Philippines. *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 13(2): 220-241
- Bauer, Talya N., and Taylor, Sully (2001). When Managing Expatriate Adjustment, Don't Forget the Spouse. *The Academy of Management Executives*, 15(4): 135-137.
- Bauman, K. (1997). Shifting Family Definitions: The Effect of Cohabitation and Other Nonfamily Household Relationships on Measures of Poverty, Poverty – Experimental Measures, U.S. Bureau of the Census, http://www.census.gov/hhes/povmeas/publications/taxes/shft_cen.html.
- Bayraktar, S. (2019). A Dairy Study of Expatriate Adjustment: Collaborative Mechanisms of Social Support. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 19: 47-70.
- Bell, J. (2005). *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education, Health and Social Science* (4th ed.). Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Berger, R. (2013). Now I See It, Now I Don't: Researcher's Position and Reflexivity in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research*, 15(2).
- Berger, R. (2015). Now I See It, Now I Don't: Researcher's Position and Reflexivity in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research*, 15(2): 219-234.
- Berggren, Hakan (2008). In: Aggestam, Karin, Towns, Ann E. (eds. 2018): *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berggren, K. (2014). *Sticky Masculinity: Post-Structuralism, Phenomenology and Subjectivity in Critical Studies on Men*. SAGE Journals.
- Bielby, W. T., & Bielby, D. D. (1992). I Will Follow Him: Family Ties, Gender-Role Beliefs and Reluctance to Relocate for a Better Job. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(5): 1241-1267.

- Biernat, M. and Wortman, C. B. (1991). Sharing of Home Responsibilities Between Professionally Employed Women and Their Husbands. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(6), 844-860.
- Biggam, J. (2008). *Succeeding with your Master's Dissertation: A Step-By-Step Handbook*. Open University Press. McGraw-Hill- Berkshire England.
- Bikos, L., Klemens, M., Randa, L., Barry, A., Bore, T., Gibbs, R., & Kocheleva, J. (2009). First Year Adaptation of Female Expatriate Religious and Humanitarian Aid Workers: A Mixed Methods Analysis. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 12(7): 639-661.
- Biltekin, Nevra. (2016a). In: Aggestam, Karin, Towns, Ann E. (eds. 2018): *Gendering Diplomacy and International Negotiations*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bjeren, G. (1997). Gender and Reproduction. In T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas & T. Faist (Eds). *International Migration, Immobility and Development. Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Oxford: Berg, 219-246.
- Black, J. S, and Gregersen, H. B. (1991a). The Other Half of the Picture: Antecedents of Spouse Cross-Cultural Adjustment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 22: 461-477.
- Black, J. S, and Gregersen, H. B. (1991b). When Yankee Comes Home: Factors Related to Expatriate and Spouse Repatriation Adjustment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 22: 671- 694.
- Black, J. S., Gregersen, H. B. & Mendenhall, M. E. (1992). Global Assignments: Successfully Expatriating and Repatriating International Managers. San Francisco, CA, Jossey- Bass.
- Black, J. S., Gregersen, H. B., & Mendenhall, M. E. (1992). Toward a Theoretical Framework of Repatriation Adjustment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 23(4): 737-760.
- Black, J. S. & Mendenhall, M. (1991). The U-Curve Adjustment Hypothesis Revisited: A Review and Theoretical Framework. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 22(2): 225-247.
- Black, J. S., Mendenhall, M. & Oddou, G. (1991). Toward a comprehensive Model of International Adjustment: An Integration of Multiple Theoretical Perspectives. *The Academy of Management Review*, 16(2): 291-317.
- Bless, C., and Higson-Smith, C. (2000). *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods. An African Perspective*. Cape Town: Juta and Company.
- Bochner, S. (1986). Coping with Unfamiliar Cultures: Adjustment or Culture Learning. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 38(3): 347-358.
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative Research for Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative Research of Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bolzendahl, C. I. & Myers, D. J. (2004). Feminist Attitudes and Support for Gender Equality: Opinion Change in Women and Men. *Social Forces*, 83(2): 759-790, Oxford University Press.
- Bonebright, D. A. (2010). Adult Third Culture Kids: HRD Challenges and Opportunities. *Human Resource Development International*, 13: 351-359.
- Bonner, A., and Tolhurst, G. (2002). Insider-Outsider Perspectives of Participant Observation. *Nurse Researcher*, 9(4): 7-19.
- Borstorff, P. S., Harris, S. G., Field, H. S. and Giles, W. F. (1997). Who'll Go? A

- Review of Factors Associated with Employee Willingness to Work Overseas. *Human Resource Planning*, 20: 9-40.
- Bowen, M. (1978). *Family Therapy in Clinical Practice*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, Inc.
- Brandén, M. (2013). Couples' Education and Regional Mobility: The Importance of Occupation, Income and Gender. *Population, Space and Place* 19(5): 522–536.
- Branden, M. (2014). Gender, Gender Ideology and Couples' Migration Decisions. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(7): 950-971.
- Branden, M., Bygren, M., & Gahler, M. (2018). Can the Trailing Spouse Phenomenon be Explained by Employer Recruitment Choices? *Population, Space and Place*, 24(6).
- Brandén, M. and Ström, S. (2011). For Whose Sake Do Couples Relocate? Gender, Career Opportunities and Couples' Internal Migration in Sweden. Sweden: Institute for Evaluation of Labour Market and Education Policy (IFAU working paper; 2011:3).
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London: Sage.
- Brandful, W. G. M. (2013). *Personal Reflections of a Ghanaian Foreign Service Officer - Whither Ghanaian Diplomacy?* Dorrance Publishing.
- Brescoll, V. L. and Uhlmann, E. L. (2005). Attitudes Toward Traditional and Nontraditional Parents. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29(4): 436-445. Sage Journals.
- Brett, J. M., Stroh, L. K. & Relly, A. H (1992). What is it Like Being a Dual-Career Manager in the 1990s? In S. Zedeck (Ed.), *Work and Family*.
- Briscoe, D. R. & Schuler, B. S. (2004). *International Human Resource Management: Policy and Practice for the Global Enterprise*. Vol. 5 of Global HRM Series. Psychology Press.
- Brown, R. J. (2008). Dominant Stressors on Expatriate Couples during International Assignments. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 19: 1018-1034.
- Brown, A. C., & Orthner, D. K. (1990). Relocation and Personal Well-Being Among Early Adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 10(3): 366-381.
- Bruns, K. (2014). *A Cornerstone of Modern Diplomacy, Britain and the Negotiation of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*. New York, Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bryceson, D., & Vuorela, U. (2002). Transnational Families in the Twenty-First Century. In D. Bryceson, & U. Vuorela (Eds.), *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford: Berg.
- Budig, Michelle J. & England, P. (2001). The Wage Penalty for Motherhood. *American Sociological Association*, 66(2): 204-225.
- Burns, N., and Groves, S. K. (1997). *The Practice of Nursing Research: Conduct, Critique and Utilisation*. Philadelphia: W.B Saunders.
- Bynum, W., & Varpio, L. (2018). When I Say ... Hermeneutic Phenomenology. *Med Educ*, 52(3): 252-253.
- Caarls, K. and Mazzucato, V. (2015). Does International Migration Lead to More Divorce? Ghanaian Couples in Ghana and Abroad. *Population-E* 70(1): 127–152.
- Caligiuri, P. M., Hyland, M. M., Joshi, A., and Bross, A. S. (1998). Testing a Theoretical Model for Examining the Relationship between Family Adjustment and Expatriates' Work Adjustment. *Journal of Applied*

- Psychology*, 83: 598–614.
- Caliguiri, P., & Lazarova, M. (2002). A Model for the Influence of Social Interaction and Social Support on Female Expatriates' Cross-Cultural adjustment. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 13(5): 761-772.
- Callan, H. & Ardener, S. (1984). *The Incorporated Wife*. Routledge.
- Callus, I. & Borg, R. (2001). *Deconstruction and the Undoing of Diplomacy: A Case Study Involving the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*, Diplo, viewed 14 March 2017.
- Candela, A. G. (2019). Exploring the Function of Member Checking. *The Qualitative Report*, 24(3): 619-628.
- Cangia, F. (2018). Precarity, Imagination, and the Mobile Life of the 'Trailing Spouse'. *Ethos*. 46(1), 8-26.
- Carroll, J., & Swatman, P. (2000). Structured-Case: A Methodological Framework for Building Theory in Information Systems Research. *European Journal of Information Systems*, 9(4): 235-242.
- Challiol, H., & Mignonac, K. (2005). Relocation Decision-Making and Couple Relationships: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study of Dual-Earner Couples. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 26(3): 247-274.
- Chant, S. (1992) as cited by Ghosh, 2009 *Gender and Migration in Developing ' Countries* (London: Belhaven Press).
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Chelanu-Andrei, D., Gramma, R., Milicenco, S., Pritcan, V., Rusnac, V. & Vaculovschi, D. (2011). Specific Needs of Children and Elderly Left Behind as a Consequence of Migration. IOM, Czech Development Agency and UNFPA: Chisinau.
- Chen, L. (2009). Negotiating Identity Between Career and Family Roles: A Study of International Graduate Students' Wives in the US. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28: 211- 226.
- Childs, J. R. (1948). *American Foreign Service*. Henry Holt and Company.
- Cho, T., Hutchings, K., & Marchant, T. (2013). Key Factors Influencing Korean Expatriates' and Spouses' Perceptions of Expatriation and Repatriation *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24(5): 1051-1075.
- Christensen, L. B., Johnson, R. B. & Turner, L. A. (2010). *Research Methods, Design, and Analysis*. (11th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Church, A. (1982). Sojourner Adjustment. *Psychological Bulletin*, 91: 540-572.
- Churchman, D. (1981). Foreign Service Wives Seek Recognition for their Diplomatic Work. *The Christian Science Monitor*, Washington.
- Clark, G. (1994). *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. SAGE Publications, London.
- Cobb, S. (1976). Social Support as a Moderator of Life Stress. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 38: 300-314.
- Coe, C. (2011). What is the Impact of Transnational Migration on Family Life? Women's Comparisons of Internal and International Migration in a Small Town in Ghana. *American Ethnologist*, 38(1): 148–163.
- Coghlan, D., & Brannick, T. (2005). *Doing Action Research in Your Own*

- Organization. SAGE Publications.
- Colaizzi, P. F. (1978). Psychological Research as the Phenomenologist Views It. In: Valle, R. S. and King, M. Eds., *Existential-Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology*, Oxford University Press, New York, 48-71.
- Cole, N. (2011). Managing Global Talent: Solving the Spousal Adjustment Problem. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 22: 1504-1530.
- Coles, A. (2008). Making Multiple Migrations: The Life of British Diplomatic Families Overseas. In: *Gender and Family Among Transnational Professionals*, 125-147. New York: Routledge.
- Coles, A. & Fechter, Anne-Meike. (2008). *Gender and Family Among Transnational Professionals*. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group.
- Conboye, Janina (2012). Spouses: From Career Sacrifices – to No Time for Tennis Lessons, *The Financial Times Limited* 2017.
- Congress of Vienna. (1814-1815). *European History*. The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica.
- Connor, D. J. (2009). Breaking Containment-The Power of Narrative Knowing. Countering Silences Within Traditional Special Education Research. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 13(5): 449-470.
- Cook, V. (2008). *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching*. London, UK: Hodder Education.
- Cooke, M. (2000). Women, Religion, and Postcolonial Arab World. *Cultural Critique*, 45: 150-184. University of Minnesota Press.
- Cooke T. J. (2008a). Migration in a Family Way. *Population, Space and Place*, 14, 255-265.
- Cooke, T. J., & Speirs, K. (2005). Migration and Employment among the Civilian Spouses of Military Personnel. *Social Science Quarterly, Southwestern Social Science Association*, 86(2): 343-355.
- Cooper, H. (1984). *The Integrative Research Review: A Systematic Approach*. Beverly Hills: CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Copeland, A. P. (2004). *Many Expatriates, Many Voices: Study of Accompanying Spouses and Partners Relocating to the U.S.A*. Newark, NJ, Prudential Financial.
- Copeland, A. P., & Norell, S. K. (2002). Spousal Adjustment on International Assignments: The Role of Social Support. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26: 255-272.
- Cornille T. A. (1993). Support Systems and the Relocation Process for Children and Families. *Marriage Fam. Rev.*, 19: 281–298.
- Correll, S. J., Bernard, S. & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(5): 1297-1338.
- Cortes, Patricia (2010), 'The Feminization of International Migration and its Effects on the Children Left Behind: Evidence from the Philippines', Working Paper. Boston University School of Management. Boston, MA, USA.
- Crabtree, B. F & Miller, W. L. (1992). *Doing Qualitative Research: Multiple Strategies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative and Mixed Approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Creswell, J. W. (2005). *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting and Evaluating Quantitative and Qualitative Research*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, 2nd edition. SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. and Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39: 124-130.
- Crossette, B. (1982). On Spouses, Diplomatic; Embassy Row. *The New York Times*.
- Crossman, A. (2017). Understanding Purposive Sampling: An Overview of the Method and Its Implications. <https://www.thoughtco.com/purposive-sampling-3026727>.
- Crotty, M. (1996). *Phenomenology and Nursing Research*. W.B. Saunders Company.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in Research Process*. London: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Crouch, M. and McKenzie, H. (2006). The Logic of Small Samples in Interview-Based Qualitative Research. *Social Science Information*, 45: 18.
- Davidson, P., Kinzel, E. (1995). Supporting the Expatriates: A Survey of Australian Management Practice. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources* 33(3): 105-16.
- Davoine, E., David, T., Ginalski, S., et Mach, A. (2012). Elites nationales ou globalises? Les dirigeants des grandes entreprises suisses entre standardisation et specificites helvetiques (1980-2000) *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 38(1): 57-76.
- Davoine, E., Ravasi, C., Salamin, X. and Cudre-Mauroux, C. (2013). A Dramaturgical Analysis of Spouse Role Enactment in Expatriation: An Exploratory Gender Comparative Study in the Diplomatic and Consular Field, *Journal of Global Mobility*, Vol. 1 No. 1: 99-112.
- De Andrade, L. L. (2000). Negotiating from the Inside: Constructing Racial and Ethnic Identity in Qualitative Research, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 29(3): 268-290.
- De Cieri, H., Dowling, P.J., & Taylor, K. F. (1991). The Psychological Impact of Expatriate Relocation on Partners. *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 2(3): 377-414.
- Deere, C. D. (1978). The Differentiation of the Peasantry and Family Structure: A Peruvian Case Study. *Journal of Family History*, 3(4): 422-438.
- De Haas, H. & Fokkeme, T. (2009). Intra-household Tensions and Conflicts of Interest in Migration Decision Making: A Case Study of the Todgha Valley, Morocco. *International Migration Institute*, Vol. 17.
- De Leon, C. T., and McPartlin, D. (1995). Adjustment of Expatriate Children. In J. Selmer, (Ed) *Expatriate Management: New Ideas for International Business*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 197–214.
- DeLyser, D. (2001). "Do You Really Live Here?" Thoughts on Insider Research. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.
- De Singly, F. & Challand, K. (2002). Avoir le "second role" dans une equipe conjugale: Le cas des femmes de prefet et de sous- prefet et de sous-prefet. *Revue Francaise De Sociologie*, 43(1): 127-158.
- Destefano, L. & Colassanto, D. (1990). The Gender Gap in America: Unlike 1975, Today Most Americans Think Men Have It Better. *Gallup Poll News Service*, 54: 1-7.

- Denovan, A. & Macaskill, A. (2012). An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Stress and Coping in First Year Undergraduates. *British Education Research Journal*, 39(6): 1002-1024.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., Eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1-32.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Deutsch, F. M., & Saxon, S. E. (1998). The Double Standard of Praise and Criticism for Mothers and Fathers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22(4): 665-683.
- Dilthey, W. (1977). *Descriptive Psychology and Historical Understanding*. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague.
- Donahue, K. C. & Gulotta, T. P. (1983). The Coping Behaviour of Adolescents Following a Move. *Adolescence*, 18: 391-401.
- Donnan, H. & Werbner, P. (1991). *Economy and Culture in Pakistan: Migrants and Cities in a Muslim Society*. Macmillan, London.
- Dowling, G. R. (2004). Corporate Reputations: Should You Compete on Yours? *California Management Review*, 46: 19-36.
- Dreby, J. (2010). *Divided by Borders: Mexican Migrants and Their Children*. University of California Press.
- Duncan, S. and Phillips, M. (2011). People Who Live Apart Together (LATs): New Family Form or Just a Stage? *International Review of Sociology*, 21(3): 513-532.
- Dwiyanto, A. & Keban, J. (1997). Migration Issues in the Asia Pacific: Issues Paper from Indonesia, in *Migration Issues in the Asia Pacific* Eds. Brownlee P, Mitchell C, Asia Pacific Migration Research Network, Australia.
- Dzorgbo, D. B. S. & Gyan, S. E. (2016). Exploratory Study of the Current Status of the Rights and Welfare of Ghanaian Women: Taking Stock and Mapping Gaps for New Actions: Original Research Article. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 20(3): 136-148.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex Differences in Social Behaviour: A Social Role Interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Eagly, A. H., Nater, C., Miller, D. I., Kaufmann, M. & Sczesny, S. (2020). Gender Stereotypes Have Changed: A Cross-Temporal Meta-Analysis of U.S. Public Opinion Polls from 1946 to 2018. *American Psychologist*, 75(3): 301-315.
- Earley, P. C., Ang, S. and Tan, J. (2006). *Developing Cultural Intelligence at Work*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Ebaugh, H. R. & Curry, M. (2000). Fictive Kin as Social Capital in New Immigrant Communities. *Sociological Perspectives*, 43(2): 189-209.
- Edwards, J. R. & Rothbard, N. (2000). Mechanisms Linking Work and Family: Clarifying the Relationship between Work and Family Constructs. *Academy of Management Review*, 25: 178-199.
- Embassies. <http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/embassies-high-commissions-and-consulates>.
- Enloe, C. (2014). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. 2nd edn. University of California Press.
- Eskandari, N., Simbar, M., & Baghestani, A. R. (2016). Exploring the Lived Experience, Meaning and Imperatives of Fatherhood: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *Global Journal of Health Science*, 8(9): 139.

- Evans, R. (2010). Children's Caring Roles and Responsibilities within the Family in Africa. *Geography Compass*, 4(10): 1477-1496.
- Fade, S. (2004). Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis for Public Health Nutrition and Dietetic Research: A Practical Guide. *Proceedings of The Nutrition Society*, 63(4): 647-653.
- Fadloulah, A., Berrada, A. & Khachani, M. (2000) as cited by De Haas 2009. *Facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion des flux migratoires internationaux. Rapport national: Le Maroc* (Rabat: European Commission).
- Family Liaison Office Department of State (2008). United States Foreign Service. *The Foreign Service Journal*, May 2008.
- Fan, P. L., & Marini, M. M. (2000). Influences on Gender-Role Attitudes during the Transition to Adulthood. *Social Science Research*, 29(2): 258-283.
- Farrer, J. (2018). Critical Expatriate Studies: Changing Expatriate Communities in Asia and the Blurring Boundaries of Expatriate Identity" in Gracia Liu-Farrer and Brenda Yeoh eds. *Routledge Handbook of Asian Migrations*. Routledge, pp. 196-208.
- Feldman, D. C. & Thomas, D. C. (1991). 'From Desert Shield to Desert Storm: Life As an Expatriate in Saudi Arabia During the Persian Gulf Crisis'. *Organizational Dynamics*, 20(2): 37-46.
- Fendt, S. L., Wilson, E., Jenkins, J., Dimmock, K. and Weeks, P. (2014). 'Presenting Phenomenology: Faithfully Recreating the Lived Experiences of Surfer Girls', *Annals of Leisure Research*, 17(4): 398-416.
- Fenzi, J. (1994). *Married to the Foreign Service: An Oral History of the American Diplomatic Spouse*. Twayne Publishers, Inc., New York.
- Finch, J. (1983). Community Care: Developing Non-Sexist Alternatives. In Finch, J. and Groves, D. (1980), 'Community Care and the Family: A Case for Equal Opportunities?' *Journal of Social Policy*, 9: 486-511.
- Finch, J. (2012). *Married to the Job (RLE Feminist Theory). Wives' Incorporation in Men's Work*. Routledge, London.
- Finlay, L. (2014). Engaging in Phenomenological Analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11(2): 121-141.
- Fliege, H., Waibel, S., Ruger, H., Hillmann, J., Ruppenthal, S., Schneider, N. F. and Bellingner, M. M. (2016). Diplomats' Quality of Life: The Role of Risk Factors and Coping Resources. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 51: 14-28.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2000). The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text. In N. K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 645-672). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fook, J. & Gardner, F. (2007). *Practicing Critical Reflection: A Resource Handbook*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Foreign Service Officer Job Description. <http://www.betterteam.com/foreign-service-officer-job-description>.
- Forster, N. (1994). The Forgotten Employees? The Experiences of Expatriate Staff Returning to the UK. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 5(2): 405-425.
- Fortes, M. (1950). Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti. In: Radcliffe, A.R., Brown, C., and Forde, D. (eds.). *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press: 252-284.
- Freeman, C. W. & Marks, S. (2016). Diplomacy. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

- URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>.
- Freeman, C. W. & Marks, S. (2023, July 4). Diplomacy. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>.
- Friedman, M. (1996). The Unholy Alliance of Sex and Gender. *Metaphilosophy*, 27(1-2): 78-91.
- Fugard, Andrew J. B., & Potts, Henry W. W. (2014). Supporting Thinking on Sample Sizes for Thematic Analysis: A Quantitative Tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 18(6): 669-684.
- Gamburd, M. (2000). Nurture for Sale: Sri Lankan Housemaids and the work of Mothering, in *Home and Hegemony: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and Southeast Asia* Eds Adams K, Dickey S, (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor), MI, pp 179-205.
- Gamburd, M. R. (2000). The Kitchen Spoon's Handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's Migrant Housemaids, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gamburd, M. R. (2008). Milk Teeth and Jet Planes: Kin Relations in Families of Sri Lanka's Transnational Domestic Servants. *City and Society* 20(1): 5-31.
- Gammage, S. (2004). Exercising Exit, Voice and loyalty: A Gender Perspective on Transnationalism in Haiti. *Development and Change* 35(94): 743-771.
- Gardner, K. (1995). Global Migrants, Local Lives: Travel and Transformation in Rural Bangladesh. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gearing, R. E. (2004). Bracketing in Research: A Typology. *Qualitative Health Research* 14(10): 1429-1452.
- Gehart, D. R., Ratliff, D. A., & Lyle, R. R. (2001). Qualitative Research in Family Therapy: A Substantive and Methodological Review. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 27(2): 261-274.
- Gerrish, K. (1997). Being a 'Marginal Native': Dilemmas of the Participant Observer. *Nurse Researcher*, 5(1): 25-34.
- Gerson, K., (2010). The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ghosh, J. (2009). Migration and Gender Empowerment: Recent Trends and Emerging Issues. *Human Development Research Paper* 04, United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report Office, New York
- Gilbert, L. A. (1993). Two Careers/One Family. Newsbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Gilbert, N. (1993). Researching Social Life. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Giddens, A. (2015). *Sociology*. Polity.
- Gill, M. J. (2014). The Possibilities of Phenomenology for Organizational Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 17(2), 118-137.
- Giorgi, B. (2011). A Phenomenological Analysis of the Experience of Pivotal Moments in Therapy as Defined by Clients. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 42(1): 61-106.
- Glen, H. F. (1966). *The Foreign Service Officer*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), Mexico (2010). "Partnerships for Migration and Human Development- Shared Prosperity, Shared Responsibility." Puerto Vallarta, Mexico.
- Global Forum on Migration & Development (GFMD), (2010). Background Paper, Roundtable 2- Human Mobility and Human Development; RT Session 2.2:

Migration, Gender, Family. <http://www.gfmd.org/en/documents-library/mexico-2010.html>.

- Gonzalez-Loureiro, M. (2015). Acculturation and Overseas Assignments: A Review and Research Agenda, as cited by Gonzales-Loureiro, M., Kiessling, T. and Dabic, M. (2015). "Acculturation and Overseas Assignments: A Review and Research Agenda", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 49: 239-250.
- Gore-Booth, L. (1979). *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*. London; New York, Longman.
- Gore-Booth, L. (1978). *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*. 5th ed. London; New York, Longman.
- Gooderham, P. N. & Nordhaug, O. (2003). *International Management: Cross-Boundary Challenges*. USA. Blackwell Publishing.
- Greaves, K. M., Zvonkovic, A. M., Schmiede, C. J. & Hall, L. D. (1996). The Marital Construction of Gender Through Work and Family Decisions: A Qualitative Analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58(1): 91-100.
- Greene, M. (1997). The Lived World, Literature and Education. In D. Vandenberg (ed.), *Phenomenology & Education Discourse* (pp.169-190). Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Griffin, A., & Hauser, J. R. (1993). The Voice of the Customer. *Marketing Science*, 12(1), 1-27.
- Groeneveld, S. (2008). Dual Careers and Diplomacy. The Willingness of Dual-Career Couples to Accept an International Assignment within the Dutch Foreign Services. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 28: 20-43.
- Guasch, M. (2016). The Family between Two Homes: Reasons to Move Back. *The Diplomat*. <http://thediplomatinspain.com>.
- Gudmundsdottir, Svala, Gudlaugsson, Thorhallur Orn, Adalsteinsson, Gylfi Dalmann (2019). The Diplomatic Spouse: Relationships between Adjustment, Social Support and Satisfaction with Life. In: *Journal of Global Mobility: The Home of Expatriate Management Research*.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Fields Methods*, 18(1): 59-82.
- Gullahorn, J. T. & Gullahorn, J. E. (1962). Visiting Fulbright Professors as Agents of Cross-Cultural Communication. *Sociology & Social Research*, 46(3): 282-293.
- Gulotta, G. (1983). Victimization and Victimological Orientations in Italy. *Victimology*, 8 (3-4): 23-34.
- Guzzo, R. A., Noonan, K. A., & Elron, E. (1994). Expatriate Managers and the Psychological Contract. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(4), 617-626.
- Haas, L. (1986). "Wives' Orientation to Breadwinning." *Journal of Family Issues*, 7: 358-381.
- Haas, L. (1991). Equal Parenthood and Social Policy: Lessons From a Study of Parental Leave in Sweden. *Parental Leave and Child Care: Setting a Research and Policy Agenda*. J. S. Hyde and M. J. Essex. Philadelphia, Temple University Press.
- Hadi, A. (2001). International Migration and the Change of Women's Position among the Left-Behind in Rural Bangladesh. *International Journal of Population Geography* 7: 53-61.
- Halfacree K. H. (1995). Household Migration and the Structuration of Patriarchy: Evidence from the USA. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19: 159-182
- Haring, M. Hewitt, P., & Flett, G. (2003). Perfectionism, Coping, and Quality of

- Intimate Relationships. *Psychology. Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65 (1): 143–158.
- Harris, R. J., & Firestone, J. M. (1998). Changes in Predictors of Gender Role Ideologies Among Women: A Multivariate Analysis. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 38(3-4): 239-252.
- Harvey, M. (1985). The Executive Family: An Overlooked Variable in International Assignments. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 20(2): 84-92.
- Harvey, M. G. (1998). Dual-Career Couples during International Relocation: The Trailing Spouse. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 9(2): 309-331.
- Harvey, M. G. & Buckley, M. R. (1998). The Process for Developing an International Program for Dual-Career Couples. *Human Resource Management, Review* 8 (1): 99-123.
- Harvey, M., & Wiese, D. (1998). *The Dual-Career Couple: Female Expatriates and Male Trailing Spouses*. Thunderbird International Business Review, 40(4): 359-388.
- Harvey, M., Napier, N., & Moeller, M. (2009). Interpreting Dual Career Couple's Family life- Cycles: Identity Strategic Windows of Global Career Opportunity. *Research and Practice in Human Resource Management*, 17(2): 14-35.
- Harvey, M., Napier, N. K., Moeller, M. & Williams, L. A. (2010). Mentoring Global Dual-Career Couples: A Social Learning Perspective. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 40(1): 212-240.
- Haslberger, A. & Brewster, C. (2008). The Expatriate Family: An International Perspective. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 23(3): 324-346.
- Hawkins, B. S. R. (1990). The Management of Staff Development in a Contracting Education Service. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Birmingham.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Heidegger, M. (1927). *Being and Time*. London. UK SCM Press.
- Hendershott, A. (1995). A Moving Story for Spouses and Other Wage-earners. *Psychology Today*, 28(5): 28-30.
- Hendry, A. (1998). From Parallel to Dual Careers: Diplomatic Spouses. *Modern Diplomacy*. Ed. By J. Kurbalija.
- Hendry, J. (1987). *Understanding Japanese Society*. New York: Croom Helm.
- Hennel-Brzozowska, A. (2009). Psychological Problems in Families of Diplomats: A Systemic Approach. *Politeja*, 12: 543-556. Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Hewitt-Taylor, J. (2002). Inside Knowledge: Issues in Insider Research. *Nursing Standard: Official Newspaper of the Royal College of Nursing*, 16(46): 33-5.
- Hickman, K. (2002). *Daughters of Britannia: The Lives and Times of Diplomatic Wives*. Harper Perennial.
- Higgs, J. (2001). Charting Standpoints in Qualitative Research. In H. Byrne-Armstrong, J. Higgs, & D. Horsfall (Eds.), *Critical Moments in Qualitative Research*, 44-67. Oxford, England: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Hill, C. E., Thompson, B. J., & Williams, E. N. (1997). A Guide to Conducting Consensual Qualitative Research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 25, 517-572.
- Hill, M. R., (2003). Guidelines for the Preparation of Expatriates on International Assignments in South African Multinational Enterprises. As cited by A. J. Vogel, 2005: 5.
- Hirsjarvi, S. & Hurme, H. (2000). *Research Interview: Theory and Practice of Thematic*

- Interviewing. University Press, Helsinki.
- Hochschild, A., and Machung, A. (2003). *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. Penguin Group Inc., New York.
- Hockey, J. (1993). Research Methods: Researching Peers and Familiar Settings. *Research Papers in Education*, 16(2): 1-15.
- Hoeyer, K., Dahlager, L., & Lynoe, N. (2005). Conflicting Notions of Research Ethics: The Mutually Challenging Traditions of Social Scientists and Medical Researchers. *Social Science & Medicine, Elsevier*, 61(8): 1741-1749.
- Hoffmann, S. & Bozo, F. (2005). Gulliver Unbound: America's Imperial Temptation and the War in Iraq. *Political Science Quarterly*, 120(3): 509-510.
- Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic Concepts for Qualitative Research*. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken.
- Holloway, I., & Galvin, K. (2017). *Qualitative Research in Nursing and Healthcare*. John Wiley & Sons Incorporated.
- Houston, M. F., Kramer, R. G., & Barrett, J. M (1984). Female Predominance in Immigration to the United States Since 1930. A First Look. *International Migration Review*, 18(4): 908-963. Sage Journals.
- HSBC Expat Explorer Survey. (2008). Expat Experience. Report Three, HSBC Bank International Limited.
- Hughes, K. L. (1999). *The Accidental Diplomat: Dilemmas of the Trailing Spouse*. Aletheia Publications, Cornell University.
- Hugo, G. (1987). Demographic and Welfare Implications of Urbanization: Direct and Indirect Effects on Sending and Receiving Areas, in *Urbanization and Urban Policies in Pacific Asia*, Fuchs, R. J., Jones, G. W. and Pernia, E. (eds). Westview Press, Boulder and London.
- Hugo, G. (2000). Migration and Women's Empowerment, in *Women's Empowerment and Demographic Processes: Moving Beyond Cairo* Eds Presser H.B, Sen G. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 287-317.
- Hugo, G. (2002). Effects of International Migration on the Family in Indonesia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 11(1): 13-46.
- Hung, C. L. (1994). Business Mindsets and Styles of the Chinese in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. *International Executive*, 36(2): 203-221.
- Husserl, E. (1931). *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. Macmillian.
- Husserl, E. (1913). *Logical Investigations* (2nd edition) Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Husserl, E. (1963). *Cartesian Meditation and Parisian Lectures*. Ed. By S. Strasser. Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1963.
- Husserl, E. (1970). *The Crisis of European Science and Transcendental Phenomenology*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Husserl E. (1997). *Psychological and Transcendental Phenomenology and the Confrontation with Heidegger (1927-1931)*. Collected Works of Edmund Husserl, Volume VI.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2011) Glossary on Migration. 2nd edition, IML Nr. 25, <http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/IML25.pdf>, in: *ACP Observatory on Migration Research Guide for research commissioned by the ACP Observatory on Migration*.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2012). *Rural Women and Migration*. Geneva: IOM.
- Jampaklay, Aree (2006), 'Parental absence and children's school enrolment: Evidence from a

- longitudinal study in Kanchanaburi, Thailand', *Asian Population Studies*, 2(1): 93-110.
- Johnson, J. C., Palinkas, L. A. and Boster, J. S. (2003). *Informal Social Roles and the Evolution and Stability of Social Networks*, na.
- Jones, S. (1973). Geographic Mobility as Seen by the Mother and Wife. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35: 210-218.
- Kahn, R. L., & Cannell, C. F. (1957). *The Dynamics of Interviewing: Theory, Technique, and Cases*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Keenan, B. (2006). *Diplomatic Baggage*. John Murray.
- Keenan, B. (2007). *Diplomatic Baggage: The Adventures of a Trailing Spouse*. John Murray General Publishing Division. London.
- Keenan, B. (2015). *Packing Up: Further Adventures of the Trailing Spouse*. Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Kennedy, D. (1999). *Philosophy for Children and the Reconstruction of Philosophy*. Montclair State University.
- Kenny, K., Whittle, A. & Willmott, H. (2011). *Understanding Identity and Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kerr, M. E., & Bowen, M. (1988). *Family Evaluation: An Approach Based on Bowen Theory*. W. W. Norton & Co.
- Kinsley, S. (1977). Women's Dependency and Federal Programs. In J. R. Chapman and M. Gates (Eds.), *Women into Wives: The Legal and Economic Impact of Marriage*. Beverly Hill, California: SAGE Publications, 1977.
- Klein, H. K., & Myers, M. D. (1999). A Set of Principles for Conducting and Evaluating Interpretive Field Studies in Information Systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 23(1): 67-93. Management Information Systems Research Center, University of Minnesota.
- Koch, T. (1995). Interpretive Approaches in Nursing Research: The Influence of Husserl and Heidegger. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 21(5): 827-836.
- Kombluh, M. (2015). Combatting Challenges to Establish Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 12(4), 397-414.
- Kondo, Dorinne K. (1986). Dissolution and Reconstitution of Self: Implications for Anthropological Epistemology. *Cultural Anthropology*, 1(1): 74-88.
- Kruger, D. (1988). *An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology* (2nd ed.). Cape Town, South Africa: Juta.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Kyale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lam, H. & Selmer, J. (2003). Are Former 'Third Culture Kids' the Ideal Business Expatriates? *Career Development International*, 9(3): 109-122.
- Lam, T. & Yeoh, B. S. (2018). Migrant Mothers, Left-Behind Fathers: The Negotiation of Gender Subjectivities in Indonesia and the Philippines. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 25(1): 104-117.
- Lam, T. & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2019). Parental Migration and Disruptions in Everyday Life: Reactions of Left-Behind Children in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(1): 1-20.
- Lane, D. S., Fassmann, H., Haller, M. (2009). *Migration and Mobility in Europe: Trends, Patterns and Control*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Langdridge, D. (2007). *Phenomenological Psychology: Theory, Research and*

Method. *Pearson Education*.

- Latten, J. J. and Mulder, C. H. (2013). Partner Relationships in the Netherlands: New Manifestations of the Second Demographic Transition. *Genus* 69(3): 2035–5556.
- Lauring, J. & Selmer, J. (2010). Multicultural Organizations: Common Language and Group Cohesiveness. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 10(3): 267-284.
- Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2: 1-29.
- Layder, D. (1996). *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. SAGE Journals.
- Lazarova, M. B. (2015). Taking Stock of Repatriation Research. In Collings, D. G., Wood, G. T., & Caligiuri, P. M. (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to International Human Resource Management*, pp.378-398. Routledge.
- Lazarova, M., McNulty, Y., and Semeniuk, M. (2015). “Expatriate Family Narratives on International Mobility: Key Characteristics of the Successful Movable Family.” In *Work and Family Interface in the International Career Context*, eds V. Suutari and L. Mäkelä (Heidelberg: Springer), 29–51.
- Lazarova, M., Westman, M., Shaffer, M. A. (2010). Elucidating the Positive Side of the Work and Family Interface on International Assignments: A Model of Expatriate Work and Family Performance. *Acad. Manage. Rev.* 35: 93-117.
- Lee, A. S. (1999). Rigor and Relevance in MIS Research: Beyond the Approach of Positivism Alone. *MIS Quarterly*, 23(1): 29-34.
- Lee, R. M. (1993). *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics*. Sage Publications Ltd., London.
- Leininger, M. M. (1985). Ethnography and Ethnonursing: Models and Modes of Qualitative Data Analysis. In M. M. Leininger (Ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Nursing*, pp. 33-72.
- Leonard, S. (2010). The Use and Effectiveness of Migration Controls as a Counter-Terrorism Instrument in the European Union. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 4(1): 32-50.
- Lersch, P. M. (2016). Family Migration and Subsequent Employment: The Effect of Gender Ideology. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78(1), 230-245.
- Le Vasseur, J. J. (2003). The Problem of Bracketing in Phenomenology. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13(3), 408-420.
- Levin, I. (2004). Living Apart Together: A New Family Form. *Current Sociology*, 52(2): 223–240.
- Liebkind, K. (2008). Chapter Nineteen. Acculturation, in *Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes*, p. 386.
- Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, 289-331.
- Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. (1986). But Is It Rigorous? Trustworthiness and Authenticity in Naturalistic Evaluation. *New Direction for Program Evaluation* (30): 73- 84.
- Linderman, P. & Hess, M. B. (2002). *Realities of Foreign Service Life*. iUniverse. New York.
- Linehan, M. (2005). *Human Resource Management: A Very Critical Text*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Linehan, M. & Scullion, H. (2001). *European Female Expatriate Careers: Critical*

- Success Factors. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 25(8): 392-418.
- Lipson, J. G. (1984). 'Combining Researcher, Clinical and Personal Roles: Enrichment or Confusion?' *Human Organization*, 43(4): 348- 352.
- Lipton, M. (1984). 'Urban Bias Revisited', *Journal of Development Studies*, 20: 139-166.
- Liu, X. & Shaffer, M. A. (2005). An Investigation of Expatriate Adjustment and Performance: A Social Capital Perspective. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 5(3).
- Llewellyn, G., Sullivan, G., & Minichiello, V. (1999). Designing Health Research: Sampling in Qualitative Research. In V. Minichiello, G. Sullivan, K. Greenwood, & R. Axford (Eds.), *Handbook for Research Methods in Health Sciences*, pp. 174-199. Sydney, Australia: Addison-Wesley.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. Yale University Press.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis*. (3rd ed.). Wadsworth, Belmont, Calif.,
- Lopez, K. A., & Willis, D. G. (2004). Descriptive Versus Interpretive Phenomenology: Their Contributions to Nursing Knowledge. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(5). SAGE Journals.
- Lu, Y. (2015). "Internal Migration, International Migration and Physical Growth of Left-Behind Children: A Study of Two Settings." *Health and Place*, 36: 118-126.
- Luebering, J. E. (2023). British Commonwealth of Nations: Structure and Activity. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Lucier-Greer, M., Arnold, A. L., Mancini, Jay A., Ford, James. L & Bryant, Chalandra, M. (2015). Influences of Cumulative Risk and Protective Factors on the Adjustment of Adolescents in Military Families. *National Council on Family Relations*, 64(3): 363-377.
- Makela, L., Lamsa, A. M., Heikkinen, S. & Tanskanen, J. (2017). Work-To-Personal-Life Conflict Among Dual and Single-Career Expatriates: Is It Different for Men and Women? *Journal of Global Mobility* 5(3): 304- 316.
- Mann, (1979). On the Trail of Process: A Historical Perspective on Cognitive Processes and their Training. New York: Grune & Stratton. *Psychology in the Schools*. 22(1): 106-107.
- Mapp, T. (2008). Understanding Phenomenology: The Lived Experience. *The British Journal of Midwifery* 16 (5): 308-311.
- Marks, S. & Freeman, C. W. (2023). 'Diplomacy". Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com>
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2010). *Designing Qualitative Research*. SAGE. *Social Science*.
- Martin, S. F. (2004). "Women and Migration." Consultative Meeting on "Migration and Mobility and How This Movement Affects Women." Malmo, Sweden, 2- 4 December, 2003.
- Martinko, M. J. & Douglas, S. C. (1999). 'Culture and expatriate failure: An Attributional Explication'. *The International Journal of Organizational Analysis*. 7(3): 265-293.
- Marx, J. D. (1999). Corporate Philanthropy: What is the Strategy? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 28(2): 185-198.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. 2nd Edition, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Maypole, J., & Davies, T. G. (2001). Students' Perceptions of Constructivist Learning

- in a Community College American History II. *Community College Review*, 29(2): 54-80.
- Mazzucato, V., and Schans, D. (2011). Transnational Families and the Well-Being of Children: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73(4): 704–712.
- McBride, C. & Bagby, R. M. (2006). Rumination and Interpersonal Dependency: Explaining Women’s Vulnerability to Depression. *Canadian Psychology/ Psychologie Canadienne*, 47(3): 184-194.
- McConnell-Henry, T., Chapman, Y., & Francis, K. (2011). Member Checking and Heideggerian Phenomenology: A Redundant Component. *Nurse Researcher*, 18(2): 28-37.
- McKenna, S. (2010). “Adjustment” of the Independent Expatriate: A Case Study of ‘Doug’. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 5 (3): 280-298.
- McLachlan, D. A. (2008). Family Involvement in PSE: International Schools Easing the Transition of Mobile Families. *Pastor. Care Educ.* 26: 91–101.
- McNulty, Y. (2012). ‘Being Dumped in to Sink or Swim’: An Empirical Study of Organizational Support for the Trailing Spouse. *Human Resource Development International*, 15(4): 417-434.
- Mercer, J. (2007). The Challenges of Insider Research in Educational Institutions: Wielding a Double-Edged Sword and Resolving Delicate Dilemmas. *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(1): 1-17.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945). *Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1962.
- Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G., & Muhamad, M. (2001). Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(5), 405.
- Mertens, D. M. (2015). *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods*. [Kobo edition]. Retrieved from Kobo.com
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mincer, J. (1978). Family Migration Decisions. *Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5): 749-773.
- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E., & Alexander, L. (1995). *In-depth Interviewing: Principles, Techniques, Analysis*. Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Minichiello, V., Sullivan, G., Greenwood, K. & Axford, R. (1999). *Handbook for Research Methods in Health Science*. Victoria: Prentice Hall Health.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration. Republic of Ghana. [URL:http://www.mfa.gov.gh](http://www.mfa.gov.gh). who we are.
- Mobbs, C. (2016). World Expat Population- the Numbers. Retrieved March 23, 2017, from <http://expatchild.com/world-expat-population-numbers/>
- Mohr, A., & Klein, S. (2004). Exploring the Adjustment of American Expatriate Spouses in Germany. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 15(7): 1189-1206.
- Moore, Andrea M. & Barker, Gina G. (2012). Confused or Multicultural: Third

- Culture Individuals' Cultural Identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(4): 553-562.
- Moran, D. (2000). *Introduction to Phenomenology*. (1st Edition), Routledge.
- Morgan, D. (1996). *Family Connections. An Introduction to Family Studies*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Morgan, D. (2011). Locating Family Practices. *Sociological Research Online*, 16(4): 1-9.
- Morgan, D. (2013). *Rethinking Family Practices*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.
- Morley, L., Gunawardena, C., Kwesiga, J. C., Lihamba, A., Odejide, A., Shackleton, L. & Sorhaindo, A. (2006). *Gender Equity in Commonwealth Higher Education: An Examination of Sustainable Interventions in Selected Commonwealth Universities*. London: Department for International Development (DFID).
- Morrison, K. (2006). Max Weber's Theory of Social Action: A Critique *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 36(3), 237-259.
- Morse, Janice M. (1994). Designing Funded Qualitative Research. In Norman K. Denzin, & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 220-235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Motshela, V. M. (2001). *Exploring Issues and Challenges of Organisational Culture and the Management of Expatriates within Regional and Multinational Corporations: Eskom holdings Case Study*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (MA Dissertation).
- Moustakas, C. E. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Moya, M., Exposito, F., & Ruiz, J. (2000). Close Relationships, Gender, and Career Salience. *Sex Roles*, 42: 825-846.
- Munhall, P. L. (2007) *Nursing Research: A Qualitative Perspective*. 4th Edition, Jones & Bartlett Publishers, Boston.
- Munton, A. G. & Forster, N. (1990). Job Relocation: Stress and the Role of the Family. *An International Journal of Work, Health & Organisations*, 4(1): 75-81.
- Murray, L., McDonnell, L., Hinton-Smith, T., Ferreira, N., Walsh, K. (2019). "Introduction: Family and Families in Motion", in Murray L., McDonnell, L., Hinton-Smith, T., Ferreira, N., Walsh, K. Eds, *Families in Motion: Ebbing and Flowing Through Space and Time*, Bingley, Emerald Publishing, pp. 1-18.
- Mutter, J. (2017). The Global Mobility Decisions of Professional Sailors' Spouses. *Journal of Global Mobility. The Home of Expatriate Management Research*, 5(2): 203-219.
- Myers, S. M., & Booth, A. (2002). Forerunners of Change in Nontraditional Gender Ideology. *Social Psychology Q*, 65(1): 18-37.
- Nakhleh, K. (1981). On Being a Native Anthropologist. In D. A. Messerschmidt (Ed.), *Anthropologists at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society* (pp. 343-352). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University.
- Nash, C. J, (2020). Patriarchy. In Kobayashi A. (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (pp. 43-47), Elsevier.
- Nasr, Nicole (2019): *Real Housewives of Diplomacy: A Psychological Study*. Academia Press.
- National Sample Survey Organization. (2005). Report on Migration Based on 55th Round Survey of Employment and Unemployment. Central Statistical Office, New Delhi.
- National Sample Survey Office. (2010). Migration in India 2007-2008. NSS 64th Round, Report 533. New Delhi.
- Neims, M. (1990). In J. E. Starker, (1990). *Psychosocial Aspects of Geographic Relocation: The*

- Development of a New Social Network *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 5(1): 1171-1175.
- NetExpat & EY (2018). Relocating Partner Survey Report. Retrieved November 18, 2020 from <https://work-live-stay.dk/foreningenwls/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/ey-2018-relocating-partnersurvey-final-report.pdf>
- Neumann, I. B. (2005). To Be a Diplomat. In: *International Studies Perspectives*, 6(1): 72- 93.
- Nickerson, C. (2023). Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory: Definition & Examples.
- Nicolson, H. (1939). *Diplomacy*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nicolson, H. (1950). *Diplomacy*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nisic, N. (2009). Labour Market Outcomes of Spatially Mobile Coupled Women. Why is the Locational Context Important? *Schmollers Jahrbuch* 129(2): 203–215.
- Nukunya, G. K. (2003). Tradition and Change in Ghana: *An Introduction to Sociology*. Ghana University Press.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*, pp. 30- 61. London: Routledge.
- Oberg, K. (1960). Cultural Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments. *Practical Anthropology*, 7: 177-182.
- Olson, J. E., Frieze, I. H., and Good, D. C. (1990). Perceived and Actual Discrimination in the Salaries of Male and Female Managers. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 20(1): 46-61.
- Opong, C. (1983). Women's Roles, Opportunity Costs, and Fertility. In Bulatao, R.A. and Lee, R.D. (eds.). *Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries*. New York: Academic Press: 547–589.
- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L., and Wynaden, D. (2001). Ethics in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 33(1): 93-96.
- Oriel, S. (2016). Change in Spousal Human Capital and Housework: A Longitudinal Analysis. *European Sociological Review*, 32(6): 864-880.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban & Beltekian, Diana (2018). Trade and Globalization. OurWorldinData.org. <https://ourworldindata.org/trade-and-globalization>.
- Osland, J. S. (2000). The Journey Inward: Expatriate Hero Tales and Paradoxes. *Human Resource Management*, 39(2-3): 227-238.
- Padelford, N. J., Lincoln G. A. (1977). *The Dynamics of International Politics*. Macmillan Company, New York.
- Pahl, J. M. & Pahl, R. E. (1971). *Managers and Their Wives: A Study of Career and Family Relationships in the Middle Class*. Lane Allen.
- Pallikadavath, S., Kamanda, A., Sukesu, K., Aminuddin, F., Rosalinda, H., Hattan, K. & Ngianga, K. (2016). What is the Impact of International Female Labour Migration on the Left at Home Husband and Fathers in East Java, Indonesia?
- Papanek, H. (1973). Men, Women and Work: Reflection on the Two-Person Career. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(4): 852-872.
- Parfitt, J. and Jenkins, D. (2008). *A Career in Your Suitcase*. Cabal group Limited.
- Parrenas, R. S. (2005a). Long Distance Intimacy: Class, Gender and Intergenerational Relations between Mothers and Children in Filipino Transnational Families. *Global Networks*, 5(4): 317-336.
- Parrenas, R. S. (2005). *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA.

- Parrenas, R. S. (2010). Transnational Mothering: A Source of Gender Conflicts in the Family. *North Carolina Law Review* 88: 1825-1856.
- Pascoe, R. (2000). *Homeward Bound: A Spouse's Guide to Repatriation*. Vancouver, Expatriate Press.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. 3rd edition. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Pedersen, D. M. (1994). Identification of Levels of Self-Identity. *Sage Journals*, 78(3).
- Pedesaan, Y. P. (1996) as cited by UNFPA, 2006. "The Impact of Women's Migration to the Family in Rural Areas (Dampakdari Migrasiterhadap Keluarga di Pedesaan)." Paper Presented in Women Migration in Indonesia Workshop, Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Perales, F. and Vidal, S. (2013). Occupational Characteristics, Occupational Sex Segregation, and Family Migration Decisions. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(5): 487-504.
- Permits Foundation (2008). *International Survey Summary Report: Expatriate Spouses and Partners Employment, Work Permits and International Mobility*.
- Permits Foundation Global Spouse Survey Report. (2009). *International Survey of Expatriate Spouses and Partners Employment, Work Permits and International Mobility*.
- Petric, E. (2010). *Zunanjapolitika: Osnoveteorije in praksa (Foreign Policy: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Aspects)*. Menges, Ljubljana: Center za evropskoprihodnost in Znanstveno-raziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti.
- Pfost, K., & Fiore, M. (1990). Pursuit of Nontraditional Occupations: Fear of Success or Fear of not Being Chosen? Sex Roles. *A Journal of Research*, 23(1-2): 15-24.
- Pietkiewicz, I. & Smith, J. A. (2012). A Practical Guide to Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in Qualitative Research Psychology. *Psychological Journal*, 18(2): 361-369.
- Pillow, W. S. (2003). Confession, Catharsis, or Cure? Rethinking the Uses of Reflexivity as Methodological Power in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 16: 175-196.
- Platzer, H., & James, T. (1997). Methodological Issues Conducting Sensitive Research on Lesbian and Gay Men's Experience of Nursing Care. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*; 25(3): 626-633.
- Poeze, M. (2019). Beyond Breadwinning: Ghanaian Transnational Fathering in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, 45: 3065-3084.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1989). Phenomenological Research Methods. In R. S. Valle & S. Halling (Eds.), *Existential Phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology: Exploring the Breadth of Human Experience* (pp. 41-60). Plenum Press.
- Pollari, J., and Bullock, J. R. (1988). When Children Move: Some Stresses and Coping Strategies. *Early Child Development and Care*, 41(1): 113-121.
- Polluck, D. C., & Van Reken, R. E. (1999). *The Third Culture Kid Experience: Growing Up Among Worlds*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press
- Pollock, D. C., and Van Reken, R. E. (2009). *Third Culture Kids: Growing Up Among Worlds*. Boston, MA: Nicholas Brealey.
- Potuchek, J. L (1997). *Who Supports the Family? Gender and Breadwinning in Dual-Earner Marriages*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pribilsky, J. (2004). *Aprendemos a Convivir: Conjugal Relations, Co-parenting, and*

- Family Life Among Ecuadorian Transnational Migrants in New York City and The Ecuadorian Andes. *Global Networks*, 4(3): 313-334.
- Pringle, J., Drummond, J., McLafferty, E., & Hendry, C. (2011). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: A Discussion and Critique. *Nurse Researcher* 18(3): 20-4.
- Punnet, B. J. (1997). Towards Effective Management of Expatriate Spouses. *Journal of World Business*, 32(3): 243-257.
- Pugh, J., Mitchell, M., & Brooks, F. (2000). Insider/Outsider Partnership in an Ethnographic Study of Shared Governance. *Nursing Standard*, 14(27): 43-44.
- Rahman, L. & Rao, V. (2004). The Determinants of Gender Equity in India: Examining Dyson and Moore's Thesis with New Data. *Population and Development Review*, 30(2): 239-268.
- Rahman, M. M. (2004). "Migration Networks: An Analysis of Bangladeshi Migration to Singapore". *Asian Profile*, 32(4): 367-290.
- Ramos, R. & Royuela, V. (2017). Graduate Migration in Spain: The Impact of the Great Recession on a Low-Mobility Country, in Corcoran, J.; Faggian, A. (eds), *Graduate Migration and Regional Development*, Edwar Elgar Publishing.
- Rapoport, R., & Rapoport, R. N. (1969). The Dual Career Family: A Variant Pattern and Social Change. *Human Relations*, 22(1).
- Rapoport, R., & Rapoport, R. N. (1971). *Dual-Career Families*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.
- Ray, L. (2007). Verstehen. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.
- Reed, J. & Proctor, S. (1995). *Practitioner Research in Health Care-The Inside Story*. Chapman and Hall: London.
- Reiners, G. M. (2012). Understanding the Differences between Husserl's (Descriptive and Heidegger's (Interpretive) Phenomenological Research. *Journal of Nursing and Care*. 1(5).
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, C., & Bennett, R. (1991). The Career Couple Challenge. *Personnel Journal*, 70(3): 46-49.
- Riano, Y. & Baghdadi, N. (2007). Understanding the Labour Market Participation of Skilled Immigrant Women in Switzerland: The Interplay of Class, Ethnicity, and Gender. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 8(2): 163-183.
- Richards, H. M., & Schwartz, L. (2002). Ethics of Qualitative Research: Are There Special Issues for Health Services Research? *Family Practice* 19(2): 135-139.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and Selecting Samples. In Jane Ritchie & Jane Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 77-108). London, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Ritzer, G. & Goodman, D. J. (2003). *Classical Sociological Theory*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Ritzer, G. & Stepnisky, J. (2017). *Sociological Theory*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Riusala, K. and Suutari, V. (2000). "Expatriation and Careers: Perspectives of Expatriates and Spouses". *Career Development International*, 5(2): 81-90.
- Robertson, R. W., Gaggiotti, H. and Low, P. (2007). 'Strangers in a Strange Land: Shock, Disappointment, and Adjustments Experiences of Expatriates in Central Asia'. *Public Organization Review*, 7: 209-219.
- Robinson, C. A. & Thorne, S. E. (1988). Health Care Relationships: The Chronic Illness Perspective. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 11(5): 293-300.
- Robinson, D. & Reed, V. (Eds.). (1998). *The A Z of Social Research Jargon*.

- Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Rodham, K., Fox, F. & Doran, N. (2015). Exploring Analytical Trustworthiness and the Process of Reaching Consensus in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Lost in Transcription. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 18(1).
- Romney, Kimball A., Weller, Susan C., & Batchelder, William H. (1986). Culture as Consensus: A Theory of Culture and Informant Accuracy. *American Anthropologists*, 88: 313-318.
- Rosenbusch, K., and Cseh, M. (2012). The Cross-Cultural Adjustment Process of Expatriate Families in a Multinational Organization: A Family System Theory Perspective. *Human Resource Development International*, 15: 61–77.
- Roseneil, S. (2006). On Not Living with a Partner: Unpicking Coupledness and Cohabitation. *Sociological Research Online* 11(3): 1–14.
- Rosetti, C. W. & Henderson, S. J. (2013). Lived Experiences of Adolescents with Learning Disabilities. *The Qualitative Report*, 18(24): 1-17.
- Roy, A. & Nangia, P. (2005) as cited by Afsar, 2011. “Reproductive Health Status of Wives Left Behind by Male Out-Migrants: A Study of Rural Bihar, India.” In *Migration and Health in Asia*, edited by S. Jatana, M. Toyota, and B. S. A. Yeoh. New York: Routledge.
- Ryan, R. M. (1993). Agency and Organization: Intrinsic Motivation, Autonomy, and the Self in Psychological Development. In J. E. Jacobs (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1992: Development Perspectives on Motivation*, pp. 1-56. University of Nebraska Press.
- Sandelowski, M. (1986). The Problem of Rigor in Qualitative Research. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 8(3), 27-37.
- Sanders, N. R., Locke, A., Moore, C. B., & Autry, Chad. (2007). A Multi- Dimensional Framework for Understanding Outsourcing Arrangements. *Journal of Supply Chain Management*, 43(4): 3-15.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2007). *Research Methods for Business Students*. 4th Edition, Financial Times, Prentice Hall, Edinburgh Gate, Harlow.
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P., and Thornhill, A. (2016). *Research Methods for Business Students*. 7th Edition, Pearson, Harlow.
- Schaller, M. (1995). The Prejudiced Personality Revisited: Personal Need for Structure and Formation of Erroneous Group Stereotypes. In Schaller, M., Boyd, C., Yohannes, J., & O’Brien, M. (1995). *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(3), 544-555.
- Schmalzbauer, L. (2010). Disruptions, Dislocations, and Inequalities: Transnational Latino Families Surviving the Global Economy. (Special Issue: Global Markets, Family and the State) *North Carolina Law Review*, 88: 1857-80.
- Scullion, H., & Collings, D. G. (2006). New Forms of International Working. In H. Scullion and D. G Collings (eds) *Global Staffing*: Routledge.
- Scullion, H. & Linehan, M. (2005). *International HRM: A Critical Text*. Basingstoke (UK), Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seidman, I. E. (1998). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (2nd ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.
- Selmer, J. & Lam, H. (2004). ‘Third Culture Kids’: Future Business Expatriates? *Personnel Review*, 33(4): 430-435.

- Selmer, J., & Shiu, L. S. C. (1999). Coming Home? Adjustment of Hong Kong Chinese Expatriate Business Managers Assigned to the People's Republic of China. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 23: 447-465.
- Selmer, J. (2007). Which is Easier, Adjusting to a Similar or to a Dissimilar Culture?: American Business Expatriates in Canada and Germany. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 7(2): 147-168.
- Service Charter. (2016). Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Republic of Ghana.
- Shaffer, M. A., & Harrison, D. A. (1998). Expatriates' Psychological Withdrawal from International Assignments: Work, Non-work, and Family Influences. *Personnel Psychology*, 51(1), 87-118.
- Shaffer, M. A. & Harrison, D. A. (2001). Forgotten Partners of International Assignments: Development and Test of a Model of Spouse Adjustment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86: 238-54.
- Sharp, P. (1996). Diplomatic Theory of International Relations. Cambridge.
- Shauman, K. A. (2010). Gender Asymmetry in Family Migration: Occupational Inequality or Interspousal Comparative Advantage? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(2): 375-392.
- Shaw, A. (2001). Discontinuous Lives: Listening to the Stories of South African Diplomatic Families in the Third World. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (DPhil Thesis).
- Shaw, D. (1992). Reasons and Feeling in Hume's Action Theory and Moral Philosophy. *Hume Studies*, 18(2): 349-367.
- Shaw, R. (2001). Why Use Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in Health Psychology? *Health Psychology Update*. 10(4): 48-52.
- Sheehan, O. T. O & Pearson, F. (1995). Asian International and American Students' Psychological Development. *Journal of College Student Development*, 36(6): 522-530.
- Sherif, B. (2001). The Ambiguity of Boundaries in the Fieldwork Experience: Establishing Rapport and Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7(4): 436-447.
- Shihadeh, E. S. (1991). The Prevalence of Husband-Centered Migration: Employment Consequences for Married Mothers. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 53(2): 432-444. National Council on Family Relations.
- Shumaker, S. A. & Brownell, A. (1984). Toward a Theory of Social Support: Closing Conceptual Gaps. *Journal of Social Issues*, 40(4), 11-36.
- Silverman, D. (1998). Qualitative Research, Theory, Method and Practice. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Simon, M. K., & Goes, J. (2011). *What is Phenomenological Research: Research Recipes for Success?* Seattle, WA: Dissertation Success LLC. Retrieved from <http://www.dissertationrecipes.com>.
- Simosi, M., Rousseau, D. M., & Daskalaki, M. (2015). When Career Paths Cease to Exist: A Qualitative Study of Career Behavior in Crisis Economy. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 91: 134-146.
- Sluzki, C. E. (1992). Network Disruption and Network Reconstruction in the Process of Migration/Relocation. *Family Systems Medicine*, 10(4): 359-363.
- Smiley, S. L. (2010). 'Exclusionary Space in Dar es Salaam: Fear and Difference in Expatriate Communities'. *Africa Today*. 56(3): 24-40.
- Smith-Estelle, A. & Gruskin, S. (2003). Vulnerability to HIV/STIs Among Rural Women from Migrant Communities in Nepal: A Health and Human Rights Framework. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 11: 142-151

- Smith, J. K. (1983). Quantitative verses Qualitative Research: An Attempt to Clarify the Issue. *Educational Researcher*, 12(1): 6-13.
- Smith, S. J. (1997). The Phenomenology of Educating Physically. In D. Vandenburg (Ed.), *Phenomenology and Educational Discourse* (pp. 119-144). Durban: Heinemann.
- Smith, J. A., Jarman, M. and Osborn, M. (1999). Doing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In Murray, M., and Chamberlain, K., Eds., *Qualitative Health Psychology: Theories and Methods*, Sage, London, 218-41.
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In: J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Methods* (pp. 53-80). London: Sage.
- Smith, J. A. (2004). Reflecting on the Development of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis and its Contribution to Qualitative Research in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 1: 39-54.
- Smith, J. A. (2006). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In G. M. Breakwell, S. Hammond, C. Fife-Schaw & J. A. Smith (Eds.), *Research Methods in Psychology*, pp. 322-341. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In J. Smith, *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods* (pp. 53-80). London: Sage.
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research*. London: Sage.
- Smyth, A., & Holian, R. (2008). Credibility Issues in Research from Within Organizations. In P. Sikes & A. Potts (Eds.), *Researching Education from the Inside* (pp. 33-47). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.
- Solomon, C. M. (2000). 'Unhappy Trails.' *Workforce*, 36-41.
- Sparkes, A. C. & Smith, B. (2014). *Qualitative Research Methods in Sport; exercise and health: From Process to Product*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. and Franklin, P. (2009). *Intercultural Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Spies, Y. K. (2005). Meeting the Challenge of Developing World Diplomacy in the 21st Century: An Assessment of Perspectives on Contemporary Diplomatic Training. University of Pretoria: Pretoria (Dphil).
- Stahl, G. K. & Caligiuri, P. (2005). 'The Effectiveness of Expatriate Coping Strategies: The Moderating Role of Cultural Distance, Position Level, and Time on the International Assignment'. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 90 (4): 603-615.
- Stake, R. E., (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stakes, R. (1995). *Case Researcher Roles, the Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Starker, J. E. (1990). Psychosocial Aspects of Geographic Relocation: The Development of a Social Network. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 5(1): 52-57.
- Stephenson, J. B, and Greer, L. S. (1981). Ethnographers in their Own Cultures: Two Appalachian Cases. *Human Organization*, 40(2): 123-130.

- Strauss M. A. and Yodanis C. L. (1995). Corporal Punishment by Parents: Implications for Primary Prevention of Assaults on Spouses and Children. *University of Chicago. Law School, Roundtable, 1(2): 35-66*
- Street, B. (1998). New Literacies in Theory and Practice: What are the Implications for Language in Education? *Linguistics and Education, 10(1): 1-24.*
- Stroh, L. K., Brett, J. M. & Reilly, A. H. (1992). All The Right Stuff: A Comparison of Female and Male Managers' Career Progression. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77: 251-260.*
- Strohl, L. K., Gregerson, H. B. and Black, J. S. (2000). "Triumphs and Tragedies: Expectations and Commitments upon Repatriation." *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 11: 681-697.*
- Strohm, C. Q., Seltzer, J. A., Cochran, S. D., and Mays, V. M. (2009). 'Living Apart Together' Relationships in the United States. *Demographic Research, 21(7): 177- 214.*
- Stronach, I., Garratt, D., Pearce, C., & Piper, H. (2007). Reflexivity, the Picturing of Selves, the Forging of Method. *Qualitative Inquiry 13(2):25.*
- Suutari, V. & Tornikoski, C. (2001). The Challenge of Expatriate Compensation: The Sources of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction among Expatriates. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 12(3): 389-404.*
- Swagler, M. A. & Jome, L. M. (2005). 'The Effects of Personality and Acculturation on the Adjustment of North American Sojourners in Taiwan'. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52(4): 527-536.*
- Takeuchi, R., Yun, S. & Tesluk, P. E. (2002). An Examination of Crossover and Spillover Effects of Spousal and Expatriate Cross-Cultural Adjustment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87(4): 655-66.*
- Tarantal, K. L. (2005). *The Expatriate Episode: An Investigation into the Cultural Dimensions of Relocation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria. (MA Dissertation).*
- Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.*
- Taylor, M. J, Moran-Taylor, M. J, & Ruiz, D. R, (2006) as cited by De Haas, 2009. "Land, Ethnic, and Gender Change: Transnational Migration and Its Effects on Guatemalan Lives and Landscapes." *Geoforum 37:41-61.*
- Teague, J. (2015). "Corporate Preparation for the Cross-Cultural Adaptation Experience of the Accompanying Expatriate Spouse", *Journal of International Business Research, 14(2): 139-151.*
- Thao, V. T. & Agergaard, J. (2012). 'Doing Family' Female Migrants and Family Transition in Rural Vietnam. *Asian Population Studies, 8(1): 103-119.*
- The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (1992). Ghana's Constitution of 1992 with Amendments through 1996. constituteproject.org.
- The Expat Center Amsterdam. Expat Centers and Expat Desks in the Netherlands. <http://www.iamexpat.nl>
- Tom-Orme, L. (1991). The Search for Insider-Outsider Partnerships in Research. In H. Hibbard, P. A. Nutting, and M. L. Grady (Eds.). *Primary Care Research: Theory and Methods, Conference Proceedings*, pp. 229-233. US Department of Health and Human Services.
- Torbiorn, I. (1982). *Living Abroad. New York: Wiley.*
- Tung, R. L. (1982). *Expatriate Assignments: Enhancing Success and Minimizing Failure. Academy of Management.*
- Tung, R. L. (1987). *Expatriate Assignments: Enhancing Success and Minimizing*

- Failure. *The Academy of Management Executives*, 1(2): 117-125.
- Turner, B. S. (2010). *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Uddin, J. (2013). Economic Diplomacy and Foreign Policy, *The Daily Star*, Viewed 7, March 2017.
- UK Visa Bureau, (2011). Embassies, High Commissions and Consulates: What is the Difference Between Embassies and High Commissions? <https://www.politics.co.uk>.
- UNDESA (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis). (1993). *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries: Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Meeting on the Feminization of Internal Migration*, New York: United Nations.
- USDOS Website, December, 2006. U. S. Department of State- Bureau of Consular Affairs. *Visa Bulletin for December 2006*, Number 100, Volume VIII, Washington, D. C.
- Useem, R. H. (1999). *A Third Culture Kid Bibliography*. East Lansing, Michigan, Useem.
- Usunier, Jean-Claude, (1998). *International and Cross-Cultural Management Research*. SAGE Publications.
- Valle, R. S., King, M., & Halling, S. (1989). An Introduction to Existential-Phenomenological Thought in Psychology. In R. S. Valle & S. Halling (Eds.), *Existential-Phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology: Exploring the Breadth of Human Experience*, 3-16. Plenum Press.
- Valor-Segura, I., Exposito, F., Moya, M. & Kluwer, E. (2014). Don't Leave Me: The Effect of Dependency and Emotions in Relationship Conflict. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 44(9): 579-587.
- Van der Zee, K., Ali, A. J. & Haaksm, I. (2007). Determinants of Effective Coping with Cultural Transition among Expatriate Children and Adolescents. *Anxiety, Stress and Coping*, 20(1): 25-45.
- Van der Zee, K. I., Otten, S., Jansen, W. S. (2017). Being Different at Work: How Gender Dissimilarity Relates to Social Inclusion and Absenteeism. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 20(6): 879-893.
- Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Van Manen, M. (1997). *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy*. 2nd Edition, Althouse Press, London.
- Veldkamp, T. (2015). Spouses and Diplomacy. *Practices of Contemporary Diplomacy*, 2.
- Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. (1963). New York: United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 596: 261. April 1963.
- Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. (1961). New York: United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 500: 95, April 1961.
- Viswambharan, A. P., & Priya, K. R. (2016). Documentary Analysis as a Qualitative Methodology to Explore Disaster Mental Health: Insights from Analysing a Documentary on Communal Riots. *Qualitative Research*, 16(1): 43-59.
- Viswesvaran, C., Sanchez, J. I, & Fisher, J. (1999). The Role of Social Support in the Process of Work Stress: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 54(2): 314-334.
- Vogel, D. J. (2005). Is There a Market for Virtue? The Business Case for Corporate Social

- Responsibility. *California Management Review*, 47: 19-45.
- Wall, C., Glenn, S., Mitchinson, S., & Poole, H. (2004). Using a Reflective Diary to Develop Bracketing Skills During a Phenomenological Investigation. *Nurse Researcher*, 11(4): 20-9.
- Walsh, K. (2006). “‘Dad Says I’m Tied to a Shooting Star!’”: Grounding (research on) British Expatriate Belonging’. *Area*. 38(3): 268-278.
- Weber, M. (1930). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
- Weber, M. (1936). *Social Actions*.
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*. New York: Free Press.
- Weeks, K. P., Weeks, M., Willis-Muller K. (2010). The Adjustment of Expatriate Teenagers. *Pers. Rev.* 39: 24-43.
- Welman, J. C., & Kruger, S. J. (1999). *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*. Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson.
- Wharton, A. S. (2005). *The Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Whitley, J., Lupart, J. L., & Beran, T. (2009). The Characteristics and Experiences of Canadian Students Receiving Special Education Services for Emotional/Behavioural Difficulties. *Exceptionality Education International*, 19(1): 14-31.
- Wiese, D. (2006). ‘Psychological Well-Being of Expatriate Spouses in International Relocation’. American Psychological Association 2006 Convention Presentation. [online]. Available from Academic Search Premier.
- Williams, J. P. (2008). Emergent Themes. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 248-249). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Williams, A. M. & Baláž V. (2008). *International Migration and Knowledge*, Routledge: London.
- Williams, A. M. & Baláž V. (2012). Migration, Risk and Uncertainty: Theoretical Perspectives. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(2): 167-180.
- Willie-Romer, G. (1992). Zur Situation der Ehefrauen, BMAA-Studie 1991/92, Teil B.
- Willig, C. (2008). A Phenomenological Investigation of the Experience of Taking Part in “extreme sports”. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 13: 690-702.
- Wood, D. F. (2003). Problem Based Learning. *British Medical Journal*, 326(7384): 328-330.
- Wood, M. M. (2005). Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the ‘Social Game’ in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941. *Journal of Women’s History* 17(2): 142-165.
- World Bank, (2014). *A Fiscal Policy Challenge for Latin America & the Caribbean*. Washington, DC 20433, World Bank.
- Xiang, B. (2007). How Far are the Left Behind Left Behind? A Preliminary Study in Rural China. *Population, Space and Place* 13: 179-191.
- Yin, R, K. (1994). *Case Study Research Design and Methods: Applied Social Research and Methods Series*. Second edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case Study Research Design and Methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zachariah, K. C., Prakash, B. A. & Rajan, S. Irudaya. (2002) as cited by Afsar, 2011. *Golf Migration Study: Employment, Wages and Working Conditions of Kerala Emigrants in the United Arab Emirates*. CDS Working Paper, 326.

Trivandrum: CDS.

Zentgraf, K. M. and Chinchilla, N. S. (2012). Transnational Family Separation: A Framework for Analysis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(2): 345– 366.

Zontini, E. (2007). ‘Transnational Families’, Sloan Work and Family Research Network Encyclopedia Entry, <http://workfamily.sas.upenn.edu/wfrn-repo/object/be4md40po6iq2g3x>.

Zuo, J. & Shengming, T. (2000). Breadwinner Status and Gender Ideologies of Men and Women Regarding Family Roles. Sage Publications, Inc.

Zvonkovic, A. M, Greaves, K. M., Schmiede, C. J., & Hall, L. D. (1996). The Marital Construction of Gender through Work and Family Decisions: A Qualitative Analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58(2): 91-100.



APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide for Spouses of Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers

Section A:

Demographic Data of Spouses

Code:

Age:

Gender:

Level of Education:

Occupation/Profession:

Have you ever travelled outside Ghana prior to your first posting?

Country of first posting:

Year of posting:

How long did you stay in the host nation?

Were you fluent in the language of the host nation?

Number of children before posting:

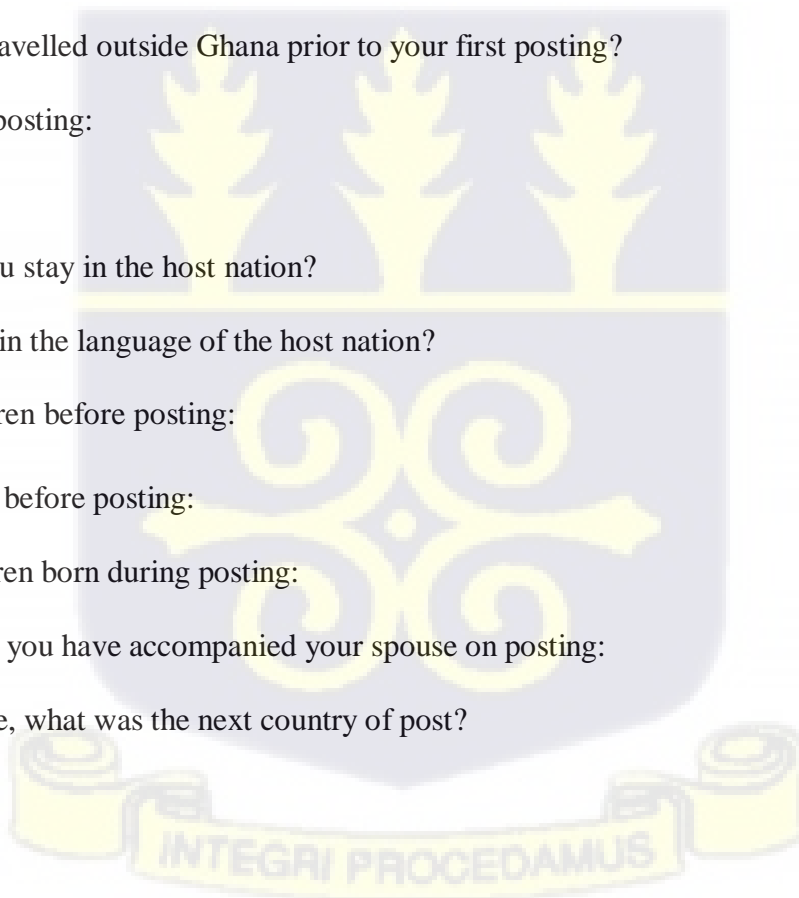
Ages of children before posting:

Number of children born during posting:

Number of times you have accompanied your spouse on posting:

If more than once, what was the next country of post?

Year of posting:



Section B:

Reasons for being an accompanying spouse

Can you tell me why you decided to accompany your spouse on the first posting?

What were your expectations before accompanying your spouse?

Experiences during posting

I would like to ask you about some possible themes that could be used to explain your experience during posting abroad?

FOR EACH POSSIBLE THEME, ASK: What do you think of this as a theme in describing your experiences during posting?

- a. Language
- b. Culture
- c. Social support
- d. Career
- e. Education of children

Other experiences

Are there other experiences you would like to talk about?

Decision not to be an accompanying spouse.

- Why did you decide not to accompany your spouse during the next posting?
- How did your experience during posting influence your decision not to accompany your spouse again?
- What factors do you consider important in your decision not to accompany your spouse?
- Can you think of a time when you felt like abandoning the posting and returning to

Ghana?

- What do you think the MFA & RI and Ghana missions should do to support spouses throughout the posting process?

How did the ministry support you on your return from posting?

Reintegration back into society in terms of:

- Children's education
- Work

Impact on the family bond

How did your decision not to accompany your spouse affect the family bond?

a. Relationship between children and parents.

What effect do you think the absence of your spouse has had on the children?

b. Relationship between your spouse and you

What effect do you think the absence of your spouse has had on your relationship with him or her?

Changing the Conversation

Is there anything you would like to add that I have not asked about?

Thank and dismiss.



Appendix II: Interview Guide for Key Informant

Background information about the MFA & RI

- Ghana's Foreign Policy
- Structure of the ministry
- Functions of the ministry
- Ghana Missions Abroad and Geographical distribution

The nature of the posting

Who qualifies to go on posting (the grades)?

Conditions of Service for a FSO during posting

Role of MFA & RI to spouses of FSOs before relocation to a foreign country.

- Orientation
- Social Support

Role of Spouses during posting.

- Traditional Role

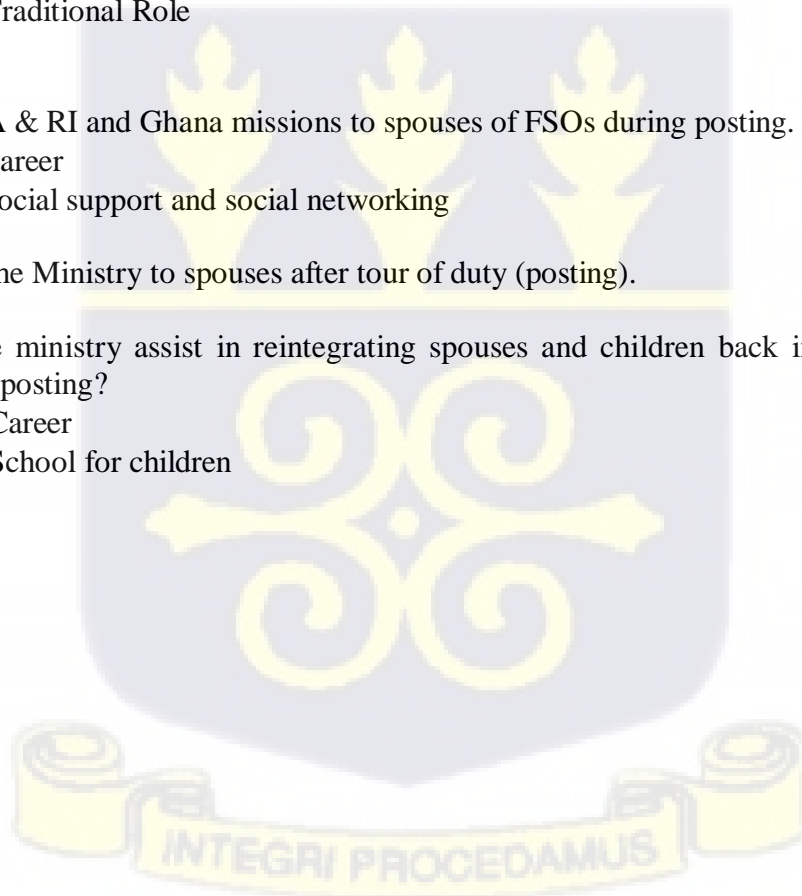
Role of MFA & RI and Ghana missions to spouses of FSOs during posting.

- Career
- Social support and social networking

Role of the Ministry to spouses after tour of duty (posting).

How did the ministry assist in reintegrating spouses and children back into the Ghanaian society after posting?

- Career
- School for children



Appendix III: Script for Phone contact with Prospective Participants

Researcher:

‘Hello (Insert name of Prospective Participant),

I am Gisela Nakwor Gomashie, a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana, Legon. I am requesting your participation in my research study that is being conducted to fulfill the degree requirements for my Ph. D.

The objective of this study is to explore the experiences of spouses of Ghanaian Foreign Service Officers during their posting to a foreign country. It identifies reasons for deciding to be an accompanying spouse, the experiences abroad and how these experiences influenced the decision not to be an accompanying spouse during subsequent postings. It also examines the impact of the decision not to be an accompanying spouse on the family bond. The identification of these factors may help the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Regional Integration, Ghana Missions, policy makers and government develop better supports and resources for FSOs families, especially spouses, before, during and after such moves. Your participation in this research will consist of an interview that will be about 45 to 90 minutes. You will be allowed to review a written summary of the interview to make corrections, if needed, which may require about 30 minutes.

“Do you have any questions about what I have said or about the informed consent? If no, then, would you like to participate in the study?”

If the Prospective Participant answers “No”, the Researcher will respond, “Thank you for your time and interest”. If the Prospective Participant answers “Yes”, the Researcher will respond with the following:

“I would now like to schedule a place and time for our interview. In order to make sure you are most comfortable and that the interview is confidential, would you prefer to be interviewed in your home, a quiet public place or a place of your choice?”

(After agreeing on the location the Researcher will list days of availability with flexible time in the morning or afternoon. After agreement in date and time, the researcher will confirm the agreed upon interview date and time).

“Thank you for scheduling with me today. I will send you out an email or text message confirming our scheduled meeting time. In case you have to reschedule this interview or need to contact me with questions or concerns, I may be reached through my email address ggomashie48@gmail.com or my telephone number 0249794597.”