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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS: A CASE OF YOUNG GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN ENGLAND

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL CARE

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Declaration

I Millicent Ayeh-Danquah Koomson, hereby declare that no portion of the work contained in this thesis has been submitted for any award or in support of any application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university, and that it is all my own work. I also do confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Sign:

MADKoomson

6th September, 2021

Abstract

The total Ghanaian population in the United Kingdom (UK) is estimated at approximately 113,000 (Office of National Statistics UK, 2019) with approximately 11% being young people between the ages 16 to 24 (IPPR UK, 2007). Ghana remains one of UK's highest immigrant group and Ghanaian travel to the UK dates back to the 1960s initially to further their education and later to seek greener pastures due to the harsh economic conditions in Ghana at the time (Anarfi and Kwankye 2003, Bump 2006). It is through such journeys that remittances from immigrants remain the fourth economic booster for Ghana after cocoa, minerals and oil. While abroad, Ghanaian parents and their young people have connected with family members, friends, neighbours and community in many ways to improve their integration (Bump, 2006). This thesis therefore investigates the ways in which social capital affects the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England.

The study is in response to calls for research into the structural and relational linkages of social capital to integration of immigrants. To a large extent, existing research on social capital and integration have focused solely on adults and parents and thereby blurred the views and experiences of the younger generation (Morrow, 2004). Evidence of research about the experiences of young Ghanaian immigrants in England is scanty and this research seeks to fill some of this gap in knowledge. In addition, most of the studies on social capital are skewed towards immigrants from developed nations with limited research on those from developing nations, especially young Ghanaian immigrants. This is the reason for the researcher's interest in carrying out this research in order to provide a much needed focus on a neglected area and add to the knowledge of conducting interpretive research, the emphasis placed on exploring situations through the eyes of participants with the researcher acting as an instrument of interpretation (Cohen *et al*, 2000).

Given this background, this thesis adopts a qualitative strategy using an ethnographic research design that allows for thick rich description of views and experiences of respondents rendering social behaviour comprehensible. Field studies were conducted in two research sites in London North and South in 2018/19 with primary data consisting interviews and observations at the research sites. The total sample was 25 made of 15

young immigrants, 5 parents and 5 religious leaders drawn across the two research sites in England. The sample was composed of three groups of young Ghanaian immigrants: those who were born in England, those who were born in Ghana and migrated to England to join parents at a later age, and those who were born in the Diaspora and traveled to England on the ticket of the EU free movement policy. The data was analysed in two parts; first through a six-case study to answer the first research objective. The case studies also raised important issues that became central to analysing the second part through a thematic process.

The study established that bonding and bridging social capital are important sources of social support for young Ghanaian immigrants in England with family members and close friends, contact with neighbours, community and other social networks regarded as the most important sources of social capital to link with. They also serve as links to education, employment, language acquisition and religion and facilitate young immigrants' integration. Analysis of bonding and bridging dimensions of social capital on integration also revealed three significant themes: sociability, employability and religion, without which immigrants' integration will be difficult. Based on these findings, the study concludes that social capital is a key source of social support and network for immigrants to integrate and live in England; helping them to thrive in the host nation or new place, England. The study concludes that friends, family and community provide an important pillar for young Ghanaian immigrants' integration in England and offer insights into reexamining the integration policy on immigrants in UK; providing suggestions for improving policy on immigrant integration.

Table of Content

Chapter 4: FORMS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AVAILABLE TO YOUNG GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS AND INFLUENCES ON INTEGRATION

List of Appendices

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BHS	British House Survey
BREXIT	British Exit from European Union
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COVID 19	Corona Virus Disease 2019
CoN	Commonwealth of Nations
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
GAC	Global Affairs Canada
GP	General Practitioner
GPC	Ghana Population Census
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
NCD	National Child Development
NIDI	Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONS	Office of National Statistics
OUP	Oxford University Press
SC	Social Capital
UK	United Kingdom
US	University of Sussex
YGI	Young Ghanaian Immigrants

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XIII

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my Dad, Mr Samuel T. Aye-Danquah, for instilling in me the love for learning, his encouragement and prayers throughout my PhD journey.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Thesis

1.1 Introduction

Social capital- defined as the network of relationships among people who live and work in a society has been found to facilitate cooperation and collective action in most societies (OECD, 2001). It is usually expressed in trust norms, solidarity, and information sharing among family and other social groups, resulting in bonds between them (Halpern, 2005). In Ghana, not only do people share such common bonds with family members, but also build important networks with other community members for cooperative activities (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003). This thesis investigates the way in which such networks of relationships have influenced young Ghanaian immigrants' integration, drawing on their experiences in the new environment, England. The study is in the context of a growing interest in social capital as an important resource for facilitating networks and cooperation among individuals and groups which connects them to information and other social and economic opportunities (Lin, 2017).

In the context of the increasing challenges associated with migration, social capital has been found to foster relationships that help immigrants to integrate in their host countries (Morales and Giugni, 2016). These networks and norms of association exist at both individual and group levels and affect the stock and flow of information available to individuals in making decisions on their migration and integration. Due to its capacity to facilitate individual and collective actions within a 'social structure', social capital serves as a means of helping individuals and families navigate their way around their new environments (Coleman 1988, Burt 2017), suggesting a link between immigrants' social capital, and their ability to integrate in new settings.

This study therefore identifies the nexus between social capital and integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England and focuses on the individual and community/ group levels, named as 'micro and meso' levels of social capital (Halpern 2005), in other to

understand how they influence immigrants' integration as described in the United Kingdom's immigrants' policy on integration. At the micro or individual level, the study explores the network of family relations and other close associates and the trust norms that underlie their support for new immigrants while at the group/community or meso level, the study focuses on the group and community relations and networks that acquaintances, neighbours and ethnic groups provide for these young immigrants, and the impact of such networks on their integration in England. The terms micro and meso levels are terms used by Halpern (2005:5) in his book *Social capital*.

1.2 Background to the study

Migration of humans is an old-age phenomenon that goes back to ancient times. Among the many purposes it serves, it has provided individuals, families and societies with varied life-supporting opportunities. The reasons underlying migration of people from one place to another have also been varied and they include marriage, education, political and most especially economic reasons. In recent years, the rapid growth of globalisation has further increased the rate of migration, with significant challenges for receiving countries, particularly the developed ones. Migration has been identified as a critical policy and political challenge as far as safe migration, border management, displacement and integration of immigrants are concerned (Marangozov, 2014). In the UK and other European countries, immigration has continuously been a crucial policy issue for the government, and has posed economic, social, political and cultural consequences for the country (Chiswick and Wang, 2016).

For almost three decades ago, the labour markets in Europe have become more integrated as a result of trade openness. International immigration into the European countries continues to increase rapidly and continues to present challenges to countries on how to find appropriate measures to deal with the increasing number of international immigrants. The impact of the increasing number of international immigrants as well as the integrated labour markets have made international migration a fast-growing and interesting research area (Constant and Zimmermann, 2013). These emerging developments have over the past

few decades attracted the attention of many scholars to the topical issue of social capital and labour market participation of immigrants (Chiswick and Wang, 2016). These developments have posed challenges for new immigrants, especially the younger ones aged between sixteen and twenty-four who find it difficult to integrate in their new environments. In a bid to understand these challenges, scholars such as Thornton (1995) observed that sub-culture engagements of young people in their daily lives, serve as a means for young members to negotiate their status within their community. Sub-cultural social capital, according to Tolonen (2007), is a great opportunity for young people to bond and work with their social networks to improve their lives. Using Putnam's idea of social capital, Morrow (2004), describes how social networks based on friendship have positive influence on children's sense of belonging within their communities. Morrow (2004) arguing that friendships are important aspects of young people's bonding social capital, emphasizing that they need such bonds.

Social capital is important for immigrants' integration (Walseth, 2008). For example, social networks, which is an important element of social capital has been found to be important for migrants to feel part of the host nation. Through social networks, ties and information, immigrants find employment, which facilitates their integration. A study by Taylor (1986) revealed that immigrants, who migrate internationally outside their countries, are more likely to depend on their social networks to integrate. Jansen (1997) describes how Thailand's economy grew by 9% in the 1990s because those who migrated to other parts of the world sent money home to relations. Migrant social capital, according to Carens (2005), also meant direct assistance transferred from earlier migrants to other people. Hence, if one person from a family gets the opportunity to travel out of the country, opportunities are created for other family members to travel to the same place.

For young people, friends and acquaintances serve as a valuable source of social capital and support. Holland (2008) described how young people who migrated with the same friends from one community school to another adapt well into the new school because they have friends with them. A study by Webster and colleagues (2004) to check the social capital of young disadvantaged people in a socially excluded community in North London,

identified strong bonding social capital across young people's networks which enabled them to cope, offer emotional and or financial support, and access job opportunities, although worried about such personal networks.

In the case of Ghanaian immigrants, social capital is important for people to integrate and get by in their new environments. Many Ghanaians had the opportunity to travel abroad due to social bonds shared with parents and other family members and there are many family groups from Ghana today who live in the same area in the UK. The Office for National Statistics estimates that the Ghanaian-born population in the UK stands at 113,000 (ONS, 2019) with 11% being young immigrants aged between 16 to 24 years (IPPR report 2007); the focus for this research. Ghanaian immigrants contribute immensely to the overall economic wellbeing of Ghana, with migration records continuously recognizing potential contributions of immigrants to the economy of Ghana (OECD/ILO report, 2018). International remittances to Ghana, is currently the fourth highest vibrant booster of Ghana's economy (Badasu *et al.*, 2017).

Ghanaian immigrants' travel to the United Kingdom dates back after independence through to the 1980s, due to harsh economic conditions (Bump, 2006). Earlier, Ghanaian travel abroad to the UK was purposely for further education due to benefits that come with being a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and the many opportunities that come with it. Many Ghanaians utilised their relations with family and acquaintances, took advantage of this and never returned home. Presently, there are three different groups of young Ghanaian immigrants aged 16 to 24 living in the UK depending on means of entry. Some are born in the UK to one or both Ghanaian born parents, some came at a later age to join parents who were either schooling or working, and others from places in the region for several reasons (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003). Upon arrival in the UK, some acquire houses and some live with families in different neighbourhoods. They also establish relationships and make friends. Some relationships are good, warm and friendly, some established contacts and built social networks, some are not happy with where they live because they see them as below expectations (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003). These young Ghanaian

immigrants are seen with families, in schools, colleges, universities and or within employment contributing to the growth of the UKs economy.

Most Ghanaians, wherever they find themselves, strive to establish common bonds and networks with friends, family and community members (Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003), with church attendance considered one major form of social capital. In most Ghanaian cultures, people typically live with their extended family members, eat together and share available resources. Within the family, all adult females are fondly called "mummy" and all adult males fondly called "daddy". These relationships shared among Ghanaian families, friends and community members are awesome and described by Putnam (2002) as bonding social capital (Ayisi, 2018). Not only do young Ghanaians bond with their immediate and extended family members, but they extend to other ethnic and religious groups called bridging social capital (*ibid*). Anarfi and Kwankye (2003) notes for instance that Ghanaian children apply for admission to a school because one Ghanaian young person attended that school and recommended it to their friends and siblings. For children in secondary level schools and universities, relatives provide practical help or insider information about schools including norms and expectations, emotional support and create a bridge to new friendships (Cote and Erikson, 2009).

Halpern (2005) stressed on the importance of social capital in this present age describing it as surviving well in the UK and other developed nations such as Scandinavia, Australia and Japan; trickling down to communities which practice every day giving, sharing, going to church to bond and joining associations and or calling on neighbours and family. Regardless of such importance of social capital for immigrants, some writers like Putnam (2002) have argued that the social capital resource is dying in many areas of social life in America and some parts of the world; from distant relations by telephone, socialising in associations, churches and political participation; with most people glued to their televisions. In addition, there is little research done particularly on how young people use their social capital to integrate in their new settings because their voices are not heard. Morrow (2004) describes how most researchers interviewed parents instead of young people. In another vein, literature on young people and social capital in the developed

world are many and extensive with few authors and theorists explaining the various ways through which young people gain social capital resource in the developing world. The question is whether the same can be said of young immigrants living in England in terms of how they build and utilise social capital resources to achieve their integration. It is against this backdrop that this study sought to examine how the social capital experiences of young Ghanaian immigrants influence their integration in England as encapsulated in the immigrant integration policy document of UK. The study focuses on three groups of young Ghanaian immigrants in England; those who migrated from Ghana to England to join parents, those who were born in the UK to Ghanaian parents, and the third group that took advantage of the EU's free movement policy to move to the UK. Respondents drawn from these three groups are used to give a vivid report of all three immigrant groups in order to understand each immigrant group and how they apply social capital experiences to integrate in the UK

1.3 Social Capital and Integration of Immigrants: Issues and Problems

The link between social capital and integration of immigrants has been well established in the literature (see section 2:9). Dominant areas of research interest include: the effects of familial relations and other social connections on the migration process, particularly, how relatives and acquaintances already living in other countries influence the decision on where to migrate (Heizmann and Böhnke 2016); the impact of social capital endowment on migrant populations and their use of informal social networks as a tool to access information, and other financial resources; the connection between migration, globalization and the role of social capital values such as solidarity and reciprocity in integration (Cheong *et al*., 2007). Although these studies vary in their focus, they all deploy social capital as an explanatory tool to understand the migration decision and how immigrants adjust to their new environments, using their social ties and networks. These studies have contributed to aid understanding of the social capital influences that come to bear on the integration of immigrants. However, several gaps still remain to be explored further in the study.

First, the challenges facing newly arrived immigrants in the UK particularly, those from developing countries have increased. According to Spencer *et al.,* (2006), new immigrants face multi-faceted and complex challenges such as unbalanced media stories, mistrust, hostilities and negative public perception, with negative implications for their smooth integration. Huang (2016) observes that the challenges confronting immigrants in the UK make it difficult, if not impossible for them to integrate smoothly and live productive lives. To a large extent, the integration of new immigrants depend on their migration history, personal circumstances, skills attained and perception and attitudes of the recipient institution or society (Boswick and Heckman, 2006). Faced with such challenges, new immigrants negotiate the maze of integration through their social ties and networks, as enshrined in the 2002 integration policy document of the UK. However, the exact way in which these social ties influence the integration of new immigrants has not been detailed by scholars. This study therefore seeks to investigate the extent to which social capital influences the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England.

Second, existing research on social capital and integration largely focuses on how the older generation and parents draw on their social capital to integrate their families into new environments. To a very large extent, scholars have been engrossed with investigating the impact of social capital on integration of immigrant families, but they leave out the youth in the analysis. This is very much in line with the general research on social capital which tends to focus on the older generation. Buttressing their observation, Ojeda *et al*., (2008) described how young people are not mentioned in many social capital research projects except in discussions of their parents' social capital and added that, even though social capital is important for young immigrants, what counts as social capital for them is poorly specified. Behtoui (2017) described how young immigrants face enormous integration challenges such as adjusting to new school environments and getting decent jobs and have been found to be more vulnerable to migration challenges because they tend to be in a transition, with lots of uncertainties. In recent years, globalization and its attendant complexities have compelled young people in developing countries such as Ghana to migrate to Western countries in search of 'greener pastures', with the UK and England in particular, becoming a major immigrant destination. These young people face several

challenges due to the skill systems and mechanisms of the employment in UK do not favour their progression and integration in the labour market. Moreover, opportunities to access available training depend mostly on employers, some of whom have the incentive to keep low skilled workforce and offer low monthly pay (Swartz and O'Brien, 2017). Faced with such challenges, these young immigrants turn to their social capital to 'get by' in their new settings. This study therefore investigates how social capital influences these young Ghanaian immigrants to integrate in England.

Third, a glean at the literature further reveals that a rather large number of the research papers on social capital and integration have focused on immigrants from developed country contexts (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013, Berger *et al.,* 2004). This concentration on developed country contexts has provided important insights on social capital and integration of immigrants but has also steered the discussions away from the experiences of other immigrants from other developing country contexts like Ghana. This has created a gap in knowledge, with little known about young Ghanaian immigrants' experiences in the literature. Given the subjective nature of social capital as well as the differences in social contexts, it is possible that investigating social capital influences on integration in developing contexts could yield different results. This study therefore examines how social capital of young Ghanaian immigrants in England, influence their integration vis-a-vis the UK's immigrant integration policy, as a means of contributing different perspectives and new knowledge to the field. It is also to contribute policy relevant information for the formulation and implementation of effective policies on immigrants from such contexts.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The study aimed at investigating how social capital influences the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. The overarching objective was to investigate the impact of social capital on the integration of young immigrants in England. To achieve this broad objective, the following specific objectives were pursued:

1. To determine the social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England.
2. To investigate how social capital influences the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England.

3. To assess the impact of the bonding and bridging social capital on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England.

4. To explore the implications of social capital for integration policy making and implementation.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the above objectives above, the following research questions guided the study:

1. What forms of social capital are available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England?
2. In what ways does social capital influence the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England?

3. How do bonding and bridging social capital impact on young Ghanaian immigrants' integration in England?

4. What are the implications of social capital for integration policy making and implementation?

1.6 Significance of the Study

An important part of any academic study is its contribution to what is already known, and for society as a whole. This is important because it forms the basis on which any claim could be made in terms of contribution to knowledge. Accordingly, this study has relevance in three main respects: theory and research, practice and policy. In terms of theory and research, the study contributes to theory development by adding fresh evidence on the forms of social capital available to young immigrants. By focusing on the social capital of the youth, the study adds new perspectives to the existing discourse on social capital and integration of immigrants. In addition, findings of the study serve as a source of academic reference on social capital and integration and other related subjects. These

contributions are in the context of paucity of studies on social capital and integration in developing countries, with the few studies also skewed towards older members of families. With regards to policy, the study provides a strong basis for the formulation and implementation of effective policies for smooth integration of immigrants in England and other immigrant destinations. It directs the attention of policy makers to institute policies that nurture social capital in host countries as a means of helping new immigrants to integrate smoothly. The conclusions and recommendations provide relevant policy information for policy making on integration of immigrants in England and other immigrant destinations. In terms of practice, the conclusions and recommendations gleaned from the study will shed light on the way in which social capital helps immigrants to integrate in their new environments. It provides insights for immigration policy implementers to leverage on social capital as a means of helping young immigrants integrate effectively in England and other host countries. Also, the study provides recommendations on how family members and society at large can play meaningful roles in the integration of immigrants in England.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study focused on social capital and four main areas of integration of immigrants namely social, cultural, economic and political integration based on young Ghanaian immigrants in England. Two research sites were chosen from the London North and South areas for this study. The sites were selected on grounds of housing many of UK's immigrant population including young Ghanaians. Data was collected in these two popular multi-ethnic sites with multi-ethnic population The two areas are given the pseudonyms Site A and Site B. Site A is home to many immigrants from Caribbean and Africa including Ghanaians and other minority groups. Site B, on the other hand, is arguably a new immigrant home, originally built to house former world war veterans until it became an extension of London following the arrival of many immigrants after the birth of European Union (EU). In site B, Polish and Romanians top the list of immigrants followed by Africans including Ghanaians (Burnham and Wacher, 1990). Three groups of Ghanaian immigrants are used for this research; those born in Ghana and migrated to the UK, those

born in the UK and those that migrated from other parts of the European Union on the free movement policy to the UK. Consequently, the data, findings and analysis in the study lie within the scope of Ghana's immigrant population in England.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into seven distinct chapters. Chapter one introduces the study, sets its background, and outlines the issues which make up the research problem. The research problem is consequently formulated into research objectives and questions to guide the study. The chapter also has sections on the significance of the study where contributions to research, policy and practice are discussed. There is also a section on the scope and structure of the study. The chapter ends with a brief introduction of Ghana, and social capital in the Ghanaian context.

Chapter two reviews relevant literature from which the study draws. Consequently, two main strands of literature are reviewed; social capital and integration literature. The chapter begins with conceptual explanations of social capital, followed by a review of existing theoretical frameworks for explaining the concept. This is followed by a review of the literature on immigration and integration. Relevant empirical studies are also reviewed with a focus on the nexus between social capital and integration. Based on the theoretical framework and empirical studies, a conceptual framework is developed to guide the study.

Chapter three presents the methodology used in conducting the research. It discusses the research philosophy and its associated research approach and research design. The chapter further presents the sources of data for the study and discusses in detail, the sampling techniques, sample size, methods of data collection and the data analysis procedure. In the final sections of the chapter, the ethical decisions made and limitations to the methodology are presented.

Chapters four presents analysis of the findings in response to the first research question, that is, the forms of social capital available to respondents. It first presents the life stories

and experiences of the six young individuals and views of their parents, churches and other leaders of community groups in England. This is followed by analyses of the common themes in these life stories, and discussions along the reviewed literature and theory. As a follow up to chapter four, chapter five presents analysis and discussions of the social capital influences on the integration of respondents. It discusses the main emerging themes; sociability, employment and religion as identified in the data. Further in the chapter, there is a synthesis of the findings to establish where they validate or invalidate other existing studies. The analysis and synthesis provide a basis to distill the relevant research and policy implications from the findings.

Chapter six is an extended discussion of the findings and focuses on bonding and bridging social capital and its impact on integration. It is a deeper analysis of how these two types of social capital influence the immigrants' integration in the areas of sociability, employment and religion.

Chapter seven presents a summary of the findings, draws the necessary conclusions and offers recommendations. The chapter summarises the main chapters of the thesis and findings, as a basis to generate the relevant conclusions, contributions to knowledge and limitations of the study. To advance knowledge in the field, the chapter gives some directions for future research in the section that follows and closes with final concluding remarks.

1.9 Background to Ghana

Ghana is a country located in the Western part of Africa. The country was a British colony from 1874-1957 during which time it was known as the Gold Coast. It is bounded on the north by Burkina Faso, on the west by Cote d'Ivoire, on the east by Togo and on the South by the Gulf of Guinea. It covers a total land area of 238,533km2. The land area stretches for 672 km north-south and 536 km east-west. Ghana is a multi-ethnic country with Akans being the major ethnic group, Dagbani's, Gas, Ewes and several others in that order. Ghana's de facto official language is English language and Accra is the national capital

with a total population 4,010,054 representing16.3% of the total population. It is the most congested city in Ghana, with approximately 1,236 per square kilometre compared to 103 per square kilometers registering loads of rural-urban migration (GSS, 2012).

Ghana's climate is tropical with seasons divided into two categories namely; wet and dry seasons. The wet season begins in the northern part of Ghana in around March and prevails until the end of the month of November. The southern part of Ghana experiences the wet season from the start of the month of April until the middle of the month of November. For Ghana's latitude, its tropical climate can be considered mild. From the month of December through the month of March, dry wind blows in northeastern Ghana, which pretty much lessens the humidity in the climate, as well as making the days hot and the nights cool in the northern part of Ghana. From about 21C to 28C (70 to 82F) is the average range of temperatures that dominate the weather of Ghana, while the humidity levels vary from about 77 to 78 percent.

Ghana is popular for its wide range of tourist attractions and facilities (Sakyi and Kwesi Atta, 2012). The country has a lot of unexplored and unexploited tourist destinations which abound in unbelievably striking attractions, distinctive and peculiar to each of the ten administrative regions. From the periods that the Portuguese discovered gold in 1471 to independence in 1957, the monarchs of several European kingdoms, notably Denmark, England, Holland, Prussia and Sweden, sent hordes of explorers and merchants to the country for its abundant wealth, both natural and human. As they battled for supremacy and control over the land, these European traders-built forts and castles, which also served as trading posts. Vestiges of European colonial presence and concentration of activity in the country are evidenced by the fact that 29 of the 32 European colonial forts and castles dotted along the coast of West Africa are in Ghana (the most in any sub-Saharan African country). Indeed, all these forts and castles are currently serving as tourist attraction points in the country.

In terms of religion, freedom of worship is guaranteed in Ghana, but three religions are predominant. Christians represent majority with 71.2%, Islam represents 17.6%, traditional

5.2%, and others 6%. Church going is a regular feature of the Ghanaian religious life, and churches are filled on Sunday mornings for worship. Church services are usually held in the mornings from 8am to 12 noon with lot of fraternity, social interactions, networking and discussions of important issues including employment and job placement for members' children after church.

1.9.1 Ghana's Demographics

The total population of Ghana is estimated to be 30.6 million (UN 2017, GSS, 2019); a 25% increase from the official 2010 census figure of 24.6 million. Of the 2017 total population, females represent 50.5% and males representing 49.5%. The population growth rate of 2.19% is fairly high in Ghana. The total fertility rate during the period 2000-2010 was 6.99 children per a woman in 2000 to a decline of 6.06 in 2010 and a life expectancy of 61.68 in 2015. Of the total population, 17.2 million represent the adult population. As of 2019 the population figures from the Ghana Statistical Service show that Ghana has a youthful majority population with approximately 37.4% under 15 years, 59.5% aged between 15 and 64 years, and a small proportion of 3.1% of elderly people 65+. This population structure is attributed to high fertility and decreasing mortality rate (GSS, 2019).

Table 1: GHANA World Population Review 2019

Year	Population
2019	30, 631,886
2018	29,767,102
2010	24,658,823
Total land area	238,533km2
Density 2019	128/km2
Growth Rate	2.19%
World %	0.39%
World Ranking	46

Figure 1: Regional Distribution of Population in Ghana
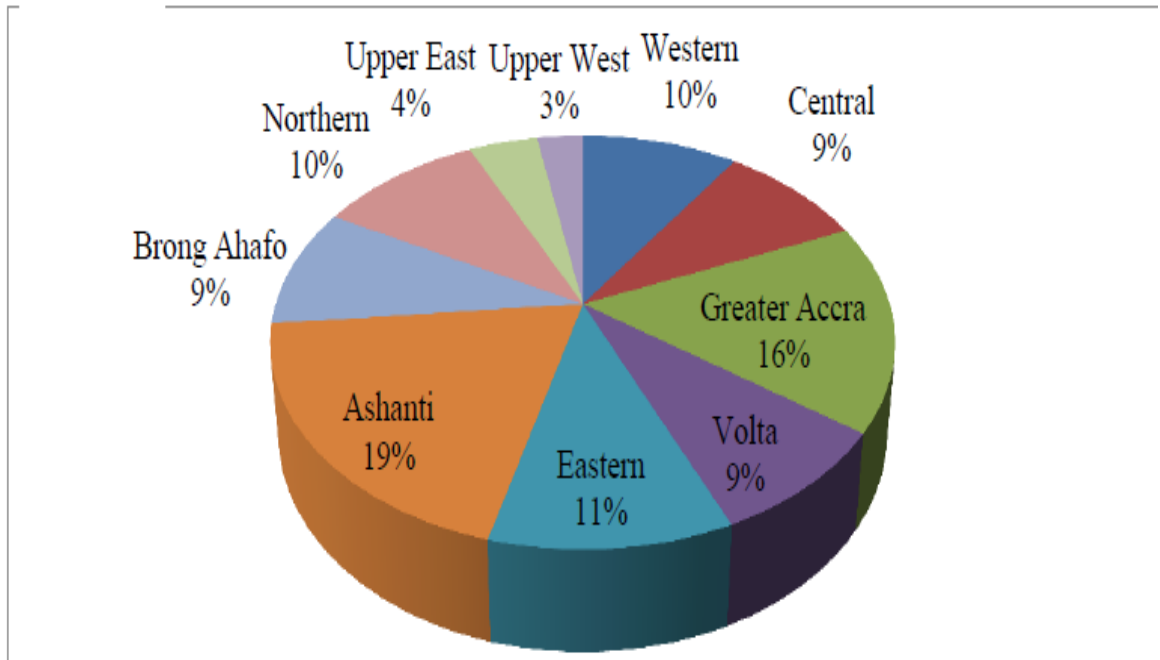
Ghana Statistical Service, 2012

1.10 Social Capital in the Ghanaian Context

The Ghanaian social setting has some expressions of community cohesion with familial and communal relations serving as the basic building blocks. There is a unique system of communal living, which serves as an important source of social support for most people in Ghana. Within the family and community set up are norms of solidarity, reciprocity and trust, which provide sources of support for people in times of need. These norms foster inter dependence, unity, cohesion and shared concern for each other in Ghanaian communities (Ayisi 2018, Kumado and Gockel, 2003). Social capital in Ghana is also embedded in informal networks, which permeate everyday life and interactions. According to Sulemana (2015), there is a non-institutionalized pattern of informality in relationships which is expressed even in formal relationships and arrangements. These informal

networks cut across the family level to more distant relations such as neighbours, work colleagues or acquaintances. They are important means of accessing information and other economic and social opportunities in Ghanaian societies.

Membership of groups and associations is another key feature of the Ghanaian society. Groups serve as an important means of social organization and associational life, with almost every Ghanaian belonging to one group or the other. These groups are important sources of social capital and participation in them is important for people to be considered responsible members of the community. Dominant groups in Ghana include funeral associations, religious groups, trade unions, micro credit unions referred to as 'susu' groups, and other community-based organisations. Not only do people call upon these groups in times of trouble; they are also obliged to make a range of contributions to them. They are desirable in Ghana, because they foster development and economic activities (Addai, Opoku-Agyeman and Ghartey 2013).

Ghanaians are well-known for their warmth, generosity, and hospitality (GAC, 2019). They welcome family, friends, and even strangers at any time of the day with or without notice. The very first word one hears upon arrival in Ghana is 'Akwaaba' which means welcome in the Akan language. Based on a survey carried out in 2010 of a cross-section of travelers, the Forbes Magazine (2011) ranked Ghana as the eleventh friendliest country in the world. Of all the African countries that were included in the survey, Ghana ranked highest. It is the seventieth most stable country and the 58th most peaceful country in the world (UN World population report, 2017).

The country has a vibrant tourism sector with an estimated 1.1million (1,087,000) international tourist arrivals every year. Although factors such as modernisation, urbanisation, poverty and other economic conditions, social transformation have combined to weaken this welcoming nature of the Ghanaian, the traditional open-door policy of welcoming visitors to homes at any hour of the day and plying callers with food and drink and warm smiles and hugs is still prevalent in Ghana. For a study on how social capital impacts on integration of immigrants, these context specific features of the Ghanaian

society, thus, the reliance of its people on familial and communal relations, groups and informal networks for support and for achieving economic and social objectives has implications that cannot be discounted.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study, set the background and delineated the issues which make up the research problem. Several research gaps were outlined, pointing to a dearth of studies on social capital and integration of young immigrants from developing country contexts. The issues and problems arising were formulated into research objectives and questions to drive the study. The scope and significance of the study were also presented. There is also a section on the structure of the study where the chapter disposition of the entire theses is presented. The chapter serves as the prelude to the next chapter, chapter two, which reviews in detail, the relevant theoretical and empirical literature on which the study is grounded, and which further elucidates on the grey areas that require scholarly attention.

CHAPTER TWO

Social Capital and Integration of Immigrants: A Critical Review

2.1 Introduction

The evidence of social capital's influences on integration of immigrants is grounded in several concepts, theories and empirical studies. Accordingly, this chapter reviews in detail, relevant literature from which the study draws. Two main strands of literature are reviewed, the social capital literature and literature on integration of immigrants. The chapter begins with a review of some of the conceptualisations of social capital, with the view to identifying the different perspectives on the concept. It also reviews the forms and dimensions of social capital and how they play out at the individual and community levels. As a point of departure, the chapter reviews the literature on social capital and the social capital framework as a viable alternative to better interpret and understand how it influences the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. The chapter is relevant in providing a background literature for the study and reviewing work that has been done so far in the field, as a means of positioning this study.

2.2 Defining Social Capital

Social capital is one key concept that cuts across several disciplines in the social sciences. Like most concepts in the social sciences it has no universally accepted definition in the literature. Claridge (2018) avers that there can be no single definition of what social capital is, or what it is not, unless it is clearly defined in terms of its theoretical perspective and context of investigation. This suggests that the meaning of social capital is in relation to the context of those using and living it. Paldam (2000) agrees with this position and notes that the different definitions of social capital revolve around key values, mainly, trust, network and cooperation, they are all linked to a certain context and population. Therefore, discussions on the definition of social capital vary in different contexts and depending on what any given group of people determines to count as social capital. An early conceptualisation of social capital in the literature is by Jacobs (1961), who indicated that,

an identifiable feature of social capital as a resource possessed by a group. She therefore likens it to group work which is more productive and effective with more people. Based on this, Jacobs (1961) described social capital as relationships between disparate people who hardly know each other but come together to accomplish a task. Consequently, Jacobs defines social capital as 'norms of reciprocity and networks of engagement' thus, generalised norms of trust and reciprocity existing between disparate groups (Jacobs 1963). It is pertinent to note that Jacobs definition although considered an early one, is in line with an earlier view by Hanifan, (1916), cited in Jacobs (1993), who used the term social capital to describe those tangible assets considered worthwhile in the daily lives of people who engage and interact. According to Hanifan, the more they interact, the stronger their bond.

Beyond these early attempts, echoing in the social capital literature is the definition by Putnam (1993). He defines social capital as the features of social organization, associated with social norms and obligations, networks of citizens' activity, trust and reciprocity that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits. Putnam's definition focuses on generalized trust, where people do things for others not because they know them but because their good will be rewarded. Therefore, voluntary associations serve as important platforms for fostering social interaction and cooperation in many ways because they serve common interests (Siisiainen, 2000).

Given the usefulness of social capital in enhancing networks and lubricating relationships, organisations such as the World Bank and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have been interested in social capital and have put out their own definitions of the concept. The OECD defines social capital as the "networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups" (OECD, 2001). They proposed four distinct features of social capital as personal relationships, social networks support, civic engagement, norms and trust. Personal relationship covers people's networks and how those networks contribute to social behaviour. Social networks are the real-world links between groups or individuals and the resources available to everyone through the networks of friends, family networks,

networks of former colleagues and others, and the norms, trust and shared values which promote mutual cooperation. Norms are society's unspoken and largely unquestioned rules, and they may not become apparent until they are broken (*ibid*). Values may be more open to question; indeed, societies often debate whether their values are changing. And yet values such as respect for people's safety and security – are an essential linchpin in every social group (*ibid*). Put together, these networks and understandings engender trust and so enable people to work together. As was identified by Putnam (1993), the best forms of trust are generalized trust which is trust towards others including strangers and institutional trust towards police, judiciary and media (OECD, 2001).

In his own attempt to bring some order to the various definitions of social capital, Claridge, (2018) subsumed social capital under two broad perspectives: the network and social structure perspectives. The network perspective entails a network diversity where people of different cultures come together to make life meaningful and better. In networking, members work hard to support one another, remain connected and strengthen informal social ties. Trust entails general and interpersonal trust, association and civic membership and social support, all of which come together to give meaning to social capital. The social structure perspective on the other hand is composed of three main dimensions which are; structural, cognitive and relational. These three dimensions have been categorised into four; networks, relationships and connections, trust, civic engagement and voluntary activities, norms and values (Claridge, 2018). Adding to the discussions on networking, Lauritsen and Gerstandt (2012) identified some basic rules to a successful networking. These include, members staying in touch and getting involved in meaningful activities in a relationship to make it strong and successful. They point out that relationships are not Islands; they become successful only when those involved in it tend it and follow up with meaningful connections.

2.3 Dimensions of Social Capital

Social capital has been characterised as a multi-dimensional concept, with different typologies found in the literature. Liu and Besser (2003) for example, identify four dimensions of the concept: informal social ties, formal social ties, trust, and norms of

collective action. For Onyx and Bullen (2000), there are eight distinct dimensions of social capital, many of which are related to each other. These are; trust, social agency, tolerance for diversity, value of life, family and friends' connections, neighbourhood connections, community connections, and work connections. While the typology adopted by any scholar has been determined by the focus of study and level of analysis, some of the issues identified tend to overlap. This study thus review three broad categorizations which seem to be dominant and cutting across all the different dimensions identified in the literature below.

2.3.1 Social Capital as 'Capital'

This characterisation of social capital goes back to the work of Bourdieu (1986) in which he identified social capital as one of the three forms of capital (economic, cultural and social); each with its own relationship to the class structure of any given society. Bourdieu's view focused on the economic aspect which he derived from the bonds shared between shopkeepers and their customers, mostly built on trust, good information flow and reciprocity. The era when shop owners gave material and food items on credit to customers they hardly knew, and never feared when they will return to pay. Coleman (1988) adjoins a period when merchants left bags of diamonds worth thousands of dollars and other very expensive merchandise to other merchants to assess whether they want to buy and never feared they would be stolen. At the core of these economic exchanges worth millions of currency is that they were successful because of the trust, openness, shared understandings and honourable behaviour of parties involved in the market (Halpern, 2005).

Various scholars have treated social capital as wealth or capital that resides in social relations or the networks that an individual possesses (Krishna and Uphoff 2002, Portes 1998). Compared with the other commonly known types of capital such as human and financial which reside in one's knowledge, skills, landed property or labour in production, social capital is reckoned to reside in social relations that facilitate the achievement of otherwise difficult objectives of the acquisition of other resources (Krishna and Uphoff, 2002). These social relationships are therefore seen as assets or 'capital' that "can be called

upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and/or leveraged for material gain" (Woolcock, 2001:12). Halpern (2005) believed there is enough evidence to support the impact of social capital on economic performance and explained that for efficient functioning of any market, there should be good flow of information to connect buyers and sellers. This information flow which leads to effective competition and efficient allocation of resources is strongly affected by one's social network. Citing Restell's work on successful interpersonal networks, Halpern (2005) described how Restell's address book with contacts led him to become a productive and successful person.

In contemporary discourse on social capital, scholars emphasize this 'capital' dimension to refer to the worth of social relations, and resources such as information, ideas, and support that individuals are able to secure by virtue of their relationship with other people (Burt 2017). Viewed this way social capital comprises the set of resources accessible through social relations; relations that are social in nature (Grootarert and Van Bastelaer 2002, Krishna and Uphoff 2002). Thus, social capital in the form of family, friends and associates is a form of capital which can be utilised or transformed into other forms to meet one's needs.

2.3.2 Social Capital as 'Function'

Social capital has also been conceptualised in instrumental terms and according to its function. In setting out social capital as a theoretical tool for understanding social action, Coleman (1988) presented a functional exposition of the concept and argues that its value resides in the role that it plays in achieving certain outcomes. According to Coleman, this is so because like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, and makes possible for the attainment of certain ends. Coleman's view has been further developed in recent times by other scholars like Lin (2017) who designates social capital as a resource 'accessed and/or mobilised in purposive actions'. Coleman elaborates further that although social capital comprises a variety of different entities, it has two core elements. The first is that, it consists of some aspect of the social structure and second, that it facilitates certain actions of actors within the structure. In addition, he identifies two specific types of social

structures that are especially important in facilitating the various forms of social capital. The first is one that creates closure in the social network so that all actors are connected in a way that obligations and sanctions can be imposed upon its members. The second is an organisation created for one purpose but utilised for another. Viewed this way, Coleman broadened the boundaries of the concept to include vertical and horizontal associations and behaviour within and among other units. Thus 'bridging' social capital for example, is much more heterogeneous, cutting across diverse social cleavages and is therefore useful in connecting to external assets and for information diffusion (section 2.4).

However, defining social capital according to its function is one perspective that has been heavily criticised in the literature. Scholars such as Portes (1998) point to the ambiguity of focusing on function and the "laundry list" of forms- compounding the sources, determinants and outcomes of social capital. Such scholars argue that this opens the way to confusion and contradiction in the wider social capital literature pointing to the failure of Coleman and Putnam to distinguish the definition of the concept both theoretically and empirically from its attributed effects.

2.3.3 Social Capital as 'Networks'

Another important conceptualisation of social capital is the network view which emanates from the work of Bourdieu (1986). Building on the work of Granovetter (1973), Bourdieu defined social capital as; "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986:248). Embedded in the network view are several useful ideas, with implications for how social capital has been applied in the literature. Bourdieu's treatment of social capital in instrumental terms highlights the benefits that come to people who possess important networks in a social structure. As noted by Lin (2001: 29) resources are "embedded in a social structure that can be accessed and/or mobilised in purposive actions"; where the social structure refers to relationships (that are the frame of a network) among social actors. The relationships constitute the network of an actor and ultimately his social capital (Lin 2017).

Overall, the literature shows some divergence among scholars on what social capital constitutes, largely because of the different uses and perspectives of the concept. However, the different perspectives offer the opportunity for scholars to emphasize different aspects of the concept for a complete understanding. Therefore, while each dimension on its own is not able to explain the concept in its entirety, they collectively contribute to its comprehensive meaning (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993). Nonetheless, one sees a central thread running through all the dimensions which is, social capital comprises social relationships between people or groups, and inherent in these relationships are resources that can be harnessed to better the lot of an individual or group. This position seems to be well captured by Woolcock and Narayan (2000) who observed that the basic idea of social capital is that "one's family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called upon in crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and/or leveraged for material gain" (*ibid* pg 3).

2.4 Forms of Social Capital

The forms that social capital takes, are also very much contested in the literature. While some scholars view the forms across its constitution, others discuss it along the various levels of interaction. In terms of what it constitutes, two main forms are discussed and these are; structural and cognitive (Krishna and Shrader, 2000). These two are dynamically linked and mutually reinforcing, although not necessarily. There is however a third dimension, referred to as relational social capital, but which is largely seen as a product of the two main ones. In regard to the levels of interaction, micro (bonding), meso (bridging) and macro (linking) forms of social capital are discussed below (Coleman 1988, Lin, 2017).

2.4.1 Structural and Cognitive Social Capital

Scholars such as Anneli (2013), Lin (2017), Mouw and Entwisle (2006) analyse structural social capital to encompass the basic structures of society, mainly rules, procedures, and norms that underpin social obligations. These are considered the building blocks of communities and are embedded within an individual's contacts. As building blocks, they facilitate mutually beneficial collective actions through the establishment of social

networks and roles, and are valuable because although dormant, they can be mobilised and utilised in times of need. Therefore, as aptly observed by Bourdieu (1986), the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize. So conceived, individuals who occupy key strategic positions and those whose relationships and social ties span important networks are said to have more social capital than those who do not. This is because their position gives them heightened access to more and better resources.

However, social capital has been found not only to reside in social relationships and structures. They are contingent on the extent to which these relationships can be utilized by individuals and groups for some good (Arrow 1999, Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002). Cognitive social capital on the other hand, covers every day norms and values that predispose people towards taking advantage of the structures and resources for both individual and collective gain. It is this predisposition that gives rise to the values in solidarity, trust and cooperation (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2002, Uphoff, 1999). Cognitive social capital then, is the result of socialisation processes through internalisation of a particular set of values and norms that one can take advantage of and/or be taken advantage of by others.

According to Anneli (2013), the cognitive dimension of social capital expressed mainly in trust norms, both individual and institutional oils the structural dimensions and can be formal and informal. While the formal ones can be found in participation in associations and religion and are important governance and trust in government institutions, the informal ones are expressed in social networks, interpersonal relationships between friends, relatives, colleagues and neighbours. Overall, social capital is linked to the individual's view of available networks which is quite significant because the same set of networks and relationships can be perceived differently by different individuals who consequently condition their tendency to effectively utilise these networks.

2.5 Levels of Social Capital

As was hinted earlier, social capital is also discussed along the various levels of interaction. These are micro, meso and macro (Coleman 1988; Lin, 2017). Although these three levels are usually treated as distinct levels in the literature, they are generally seen as dynamically linked to each other and are therefore reinforcing especially in the case of bonding and bridging.

2.5.1 Micro-level Social Capital

According to Halpern (2005) "the greatest theoretical promise of social capital lies at the individual level. Generally seen as the basic level of social interaction, micro referred to as bonding social capital resides in the relationships/interactions that exist between people. Woolcock and Narayan (2000:3) apply micro or bonding social capital to mean the "exclusive ties of solidarity between individuals who share common characteristics". Social capital at this level flows from the support provided by indigenous social institutions such as family, friends and neighbours, at the basic levels of social organization. It is characterised by a strong feeling of solidarity, identity, reciprocity and shared values, and is usually confined to people of the same family, homogeneous ties, and backgrounds. Based on this 'we' feeling, bonding social capital connects the individual to his or her narrow group and is defined as the internal but exclusive form of social capital within and among families in the community (Halpern, 2001).

In everyday terms, bonding social capital is described as the bonds or links or cohesion based on a sense of common identity "people like us" such as family, close friends and colleagues and people who share same culture or ethnicity. Putnam (2002) describes bonding social capital as inward looking, reinforcing exclusive identities and promoting homogeneity. For Meadowcroft and Pennington (2007), bonding social capital is "a small group of similar people", with social ties between individual's close relations; friends, acquaintances and colleagues they connect with, outlined norms in relation to confidentiality, care and support, and the sanctions that operate within the group. This

suggests that the potential benefits of bonding social capital can be seen by looking at social bonds existing between groups of similar people such as close friends, colleagues and families. A government survey in the United Kingdom found out that more people secure jobs through personal contacts than through advertisements (Halpern, 2005). Such supports are important and contribute immensely to social solidarity. Therefore, micro level social capital generates bonding ties and is based on trust and other norms of reciprocity within and among members of the family. It is the basic resource for members to manage risk and vulnerability helping them to "get by" in life. Because of their importance for individual and community development, as well as other cooperative activities, micro level social capital and bonds are treated as inherently good by most scholars and that "more is better". Thus, the abundance of bonding social capital in communities has a positive effect on development.

2.5.2 The Meso level Social Capital

Social capital at the meso level, also referred to as bridging social capital is the connections across people of different ethnic, religious or occupational groups and who are equal in terms of their status and power. Bridging manifests in the prevalence of various forms of associations and groups. Examples are social and welfare groups that provide solidarity and mutual support in the communities. According to Coleman's (1988) classical study, life is better and improved economically if people network. Using "the people deal with people they know" analogy, Halpern (2005) reiterated the need for communities to strive for economic independence of their members and become successful. Grisham (1999 in Halpern 2005) described how a community in the USA changed its status from poverty to become successful through economic management strategies. This makes economic growth of communities possible through strong relationships and social networks. On crime, most writers believe crime occurs within specific contexts with most of it happening in cities.

In distinguishing between bonding and bridging social capital, Putnam (2000) observes that although the two are distinct they are mutually reinforcing. He notes that while

bonding social capital is good for "getting by", bridging is crucial for "getting ahead". To get by, is to manage with something but getting ahead is to be successful or accomplish good things. Therefore, people manage with what they have but become successful through who they meet; distant friends and colleagues. Bridging also facilitates community development and Claridge (2018) describes bonding social capital as a horizontal network closure with members having similar characteristics and same interest. However, bridging social capital connects an individual to the broader society and refers to inclusive activities among various people of different origins that work towards a common cause (e.g., the civil rights movement). Viewed this way, bridging social capital is seen as outward looking, promoting links between diverse individuals and it encompasses links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example distant friends, colleagues and associates. Bridging social capital provides opportunity beyond the small group of people as may be in the case of a businesswoman and her clients or acquaintances.

Developing this line of thought further, Coleman (1988) identified how parents, students and teachers teamed up in a network of shared values to achieve great strides. He compared Catholic schools and secular schools in the USA and showed how parents got wind of their children who skipped school without parents' knowledge. The utility of bridging social capital is captured by a survey of the British Crime levels by neighborhoods which identified crime rates to be higher in areas with lots of young unemployed people, with lone parents and areas with low social capital and low social cohesion (Aitchison and Hodgkinson, 2003 in Halpern, 2005). On the impact of health and wellbeing at the community level it has been proven that social cohesion at the community level has positive impact on people's mental health and that the higher their engagements with social capital, the less people suffer mentally (British Household Survey, 1991).

The complementary nature of bonding and bridging social capital is also discussed by Granovetter's (1973) weak and strong ties analogy. He indicates that the weak ties are the acquaintances and contacts that are very useful in the long term for acquiring jobs and opportunities, while strong ties of family and friends provide some form of mutual support; mostly networking. Halpern (2005) calls it norms of "impersonal altruism" whereby

relative strangers cooperated successfully. Woolcock (1998) used the terms integration and linkage to describe the bonding-bridging social capital; intra community ties called integration (bonding) to extra community ties called linkage (bridging) to explain the various ties existing within communities.

Meadowcroft and Pennington (2007) contend that communities that practice both bonding-bridging social capital, usually exist in harmony with less risk. As a result, they recommend that it will be useful for both forms of social capital to be fostered simultaneously. They warn that communities which promote only bonding social capital create space for close knit criminal groups such as youth gangs or mafias to operate, while bridging alone creates dysfunctional societies with no trust for one another. The dichotomy according to Halpern (2005) is built solely on networks and their social identities. Halpern (2005) compliments Putnam (2002) for the lead role played in the bonding and bridging social capital distinctions. The bonding-bridging forms of social capital are used by the researcher to explain the dimensions of social capital practiced by young Ghanaians immigrants in the research. Bonding social capital is about the bonds that exist between groups of similar people such as family, close friends, colleagues and the sense of social solidarity shared while bridging social capital describes the bonds shared between acquaintances, ethnic or religious groups.

2.5.3 Macro Level (Linking) Social Capital

The third level of social capital exists between individuals, communities and their formal institutions (Grootaert and Van Bastelaer 2002, Lin 2017). It refers to the relations between communities and their formal administrative institutions. According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000), this third level of interaction draws on the social and political environment that shapes the "social structure" and enables the development of norms. Other institutional scholars focus on this level and indicate that the strength of community linkages and civil society is largely as a result of the political, legal and institutional environment (North 1990, Skocpol, 1995). Therefore, the capacity of individuals and communal associations to act in their collective interest is contingent on the quality of the

formal institutions under which they reside. Macro level social capital of an individual or community therefore includes the institutions, the relationships, the attitudes and values that govern interactions among people. They also contribute to their economic and social development. According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000), this level comprises the most formalised institutional relationships and structures, such as the political regime, civil and political liberties, the judicial system and the rule of law. Overall, the performance of public institutions rests on their own internal consistency, competency and external accountability to the public.

2.6 Towards a Theoretical Framework: Three Key Theorists

While there is a very diverse and sometimes conflicting literature on social capital, the efforts toward theory development has generally revolved around the key theme that, social networks and relationships are resources that can facilitate the development and accumulation of human capital. Several scholars have made important contributions to the development of a unified theory on social capital. This section reviews the scholarly works of three key scholars on the theory of social capital. In doing so, the theoretical relevance of their works for the integration of immigrants are highlighted.

2.6.1 Bourdieu's Social Capital Theory

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist and public intellectual, who lived from 1930 – 2002. He was primarily concerned with the dynamics of power in society. His work on the sociology of culture continues to be highly influential, including his theories of social stratification that deals with status and power. Bourdieu was concerned with the nature of culture, how it is reproduced and transformed, how it connects to social stratification and the reproduction and exercise of power. One of his key contributions was the relationship between different types of such capital - economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualised that social capital is based on the recognition that capital is not only economic and that social exchanges are not purely self-interested and need to encompass 'capital and profit in all their forms'. His conceptualisation is well grounded in

theories of social reproduction and symbolic power and he laid strong emphasis on structural constraints and unequal access to institutional resources based on class, gender, and race. Bourdieu saw social capital as a property of the individual rather than the collective. He said that social capital enables a person to exert power on the group or individual who mobilises the resources. For Bourdieu social capital is not uniformly available to members of a group or collective but available to those who provide efforts to acquire it by achieving positions of power and status and by developing goodwill. Bourdieu's social capital is strongly attached to class and other forms of stratification which in turn are associated with various forms of benefit or advancement. He therefore emphasised that social capital resides in the individual as the result of his or her investment, and that it does not include collective property attributes.

As indicated above, Bourdieu (1984) is widely known for his contribution to the social reproduction theory which he thinks breeds inequalities. He thinks that within any society, there is an attempt by the haves in society to pin down the have nots, so they forever remain poor. The poor finds it difficult to acquire jobs due to lack of networks or connections because it is mostly "whom you know". He blames the inequalities on the actors fighting for scant resources available and thinks that social capital is the main reason for such inequalities; social capital together with culture and symbolic capital are the main causes of societal differences. Poverty is thus passed on from one generation to another and that people in the same class or society remain so for good. The result is that several people being marginalised and posing massive headaches to governments because the poor have turned to it for benefits and assistance which has put a drain on national resources. Bourdieu is criticised for promoting inequalities and breeding class systems with his profit-making ideologies.

Bourdieu's theory on social capital theory also consists of a social network and sociability. These networks have improved peoples' relationships with others and helped them to maintain such relationships over time. According to the theorist, through such relationships, trust has been built, people have found jobs, been each other's keeper through neighbourhood watch they must further understand how these networks operate

and how one can maintain and utilise these relationships over time. Bourdieu emphasised that, "social networks must be constructed and then skillfully maintained in order for the actor to utilize their resources" enquiring the essence of any engagements if members do not gain from it or if what is gained could not be evenly distributed. What is friendship if they are not kept, built and maintained? Social capital is thus determined by a person's social networks, relationships and sociability (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004); with profit making the most important tool for maintaining links to such networks (Tzanakis, 2013).

Portes (1998) believed that Bourdieu's definition is very progressive and well-focused on benefits accruing to individuals for being part of the group. To Portes this signifies a way of constructing sociability and achieving positive outcomes. He argued that the benefits accruing to being members of the group are essential to group solidarity and group relations. However, on the concept of interchangeability in Bourdieu's definitions of social; economic, symbolic and cultural capital as "accumulated human labour", Portes does not accept that they can be used in this way. According to Portes, the concepts of social capital, cultural capital, symbolic and economic capital each possess their own distinct characteristics and uncertainties and therefore it is wrong for Bourdieu to refer to economic capital as the final source of all other capitals (Navarro, 2002). Tzanakis (2013) also called it reductionism and blamed Bourdieu for making economic capital the ultimate exchange for all other capitals. Portes, Tzanakis and many others are of the view that Bourdieu's social is not social, not capital, and not a theory, and that this does not leave the concept with much of substance, leading some of them to describe the concept as "fundamentally flawed"(Tsanakis, 2013: 3).

2.5.2 Coleman's Social Capital Theory

Like Bourdieu, Coleman (1990) presented an individual approach to the concept of social capital. He based his definition on family and school systems, and posited that within the family, financial and human capitals are necessary for progress but the third component which is social capital is necessary. Financial capital considered as the resources and human capital that makes the financial possible; education and economic skills while

social capital is regarded as a relational construct which provides resources to others through their relationships with individuals. Coleman defined social capital as:

"An asset that a person or persons can use as a resource. Social capital is any kind of social relationship that is a resource to the person" (Coleman 1990b:35).

Coleman opined that communication between family members is a great resource since they form the basic rules and norms in the family necessary for personal obligations and responsibilities. Coleman added that social capital builds strong connected social networks, Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) conceding that it is an unstable construct that can change with time depending on prevailing situation. Coleman (1990a) adopted a functionalist view of social action conditioned by the social structure which sees the goal of actors as increasing their self-interest. In this regard social capital is seen as coming together and playing our part to create a bonding instrument of successful relationship which yields long term resources (Tzanakis, 2013).

A seminal paper authored by Coleman (1988) likened social capital to a market where merchants had so much trust for one another that they could hand over assets worth millions of dollars for safekeeping or for assessment to reclaim in their own spare time. Such bonds are very significant due to the closeness and high degree of bonds and trust shared by community traders. Tzanakis (2013) confirmed that social capital is directed towards public good which in turn benefits the individual. It is evident from Coleman's definition that he created no room for inequalities regardless of differences in power by actors and regarded social capital as a concept which works for public good with direct contributions from actors benefitting the individual.

Coleman (1990b) further averred that not only is social capital effective within the family but it is extremely important in the school setting. He gave six interpersonal relationships within the school setting among students, teachers, parents, teachers and students, teachers and parents, students and parents, with the belief that these relationships are very important and necessary in the school environment, are bi-directional in nature and necessary in

examining relationships among teachers, parents and students which is good for strengthening social relationships. Halpern (2005) described the bonds shared between schoolteachers and parents as building trust and fostering good behaviour. He explained how truancy is curbed if students know their parents and teachers are in constant communication. Coleman (1999b) stressed that parental involvement in schools enhances relationships, describing parents' lead of extracurricular activities in a Chicago school as increasing academic achievement. Concluding, it is evident from Coleman's theory that social capital defined as a concept can be applied to different environments and populations has several benefits and yields greater achievement.

It is worth noting that though Coleman's concept of social capital has acquired eminence in many circles as well as in policy discourses, it is said to be founded on some very questionable premises. Coleman has also been criticised for not showing how members will obtain resources. He is also accused of neglecting social inequalities and relations of power because they exist. Molyneux (2002) thinks Coleman gave only a horizontal view of social capital and rejected vertical inequalities of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality and ability which Molyneux believes are crucial. Just as Bourdieu saw social capital as reproducing social inequality, Coleman also treated social capital as almost universally productive, that is, it is used so that actors can achieve specific ends that would have been impossible without it.

2.6.3 Putnam's Social Capital Theory

Unlike Bourdieu and Coleman who focused mainly on benefits to individuals, Putnam's definition applies specifically to societies and communities, his interpretation of social capital referred to "collective asset" and a "common good" (Warren, Thompson and Saegert 2001) within neighbourhoods and communities. Putnam (2000) explained the theory of social capital by differentiating between physical capital (physical objects), human capital (individual properties), and social capital. Putnam describes social capital as the social networks and interpersonal relationships introducing Coleman's idea of trust and reciprocity in his theory. According to Putnam, the terms trust and reciprocity arise from

people's social network relationships described as "civic virtue" (Putnam 2000:19) as in a trusting community where residents not only know each other but are actively engaged in each other's lives for the benefit of all, as for example, caring for a neighbour's child while she is at job or picking kids from school on their behalf. It is further important to note that in order to achieve a strong community with high social capital, these good deeds of trust and reciprocity are obligatory and must be mutual among residents. Putnam (2002) confirms this by saying a community that works together increases their levels of social capital.

In his article "Declining Social Capital in America and Other Advanced Nations", Putnam wondered whether social capital is relevant today. He cited Peter Hall (1999) who outlined current trends in America and Britain using several indicators of social capital to ascertain whether social capital is really declining. Hall noticed a rise in voluntary associations like environmental and charitable organizations while engagements in unions, politics and churches keep declining in advanced democracies. Putnam (2002) gave instances of low electoral turn out throughout OECD democracies.

Hall (1999) bemoaned how Britain is gradually being divided between a socially connected group and others with limited associational life and political involvement; the latter group mostly youth and working class. Putnam was of the view that global increases in personal forms of social connections or otherwise individualistic forms of civic engagements and a decline in social trust are the main cause of such negative forms of social capital, with citizens increasingly becoming spectators instead of participants (Putnam, 2002). Societies are becoming less bridging and less focused on social connectedness. He supported his assertion by saying it is due to a national slump in trust and engagements. On his Bowling analogy, Putnam (2000) believed Americans are being segregated and calls for more social participation and communalism.

Critics of Putnam including Navarro (2002) disagreed with Putnam's call for more social participation. According to Navarro, Putnam's community approach disregarded completely the presence of politics and power and the takeover by the language of

economics- capitalism. Navarro (2002) called this more capital to enable individuals to compete better and fight for more resources which he thought was unfortunate. If this happened, then Navarro believed social capital had rather alienated the citizenry instead of uniting them. As the researcher, I fully support Putnam's position that the link between social capital and institutional performance is not well developed. Putnam further posed the argument that political participation in America had been declining since 1950s and attributed this decline to a decrease in social capital, and indicated that social capital is important both to the success and stability of democratic states. This position has been heavily criticized on the grounds that political participation has not declined but has merely evolved into new forms, which are more conducive and beneficial to society because Putnam's theory over-estimated the trends of declining political participation, ignored new and innovative forms of political participation and underestimated the stability of American democratic institutions.

2.7 Strengths of Social Capital

The literature generally treats social capital as a resource that helps in lubricating relationships. The key ingredients of social capital, as in example, inter-personal trust are not only desirable in themselves but are also seen as instrumental in facilitating collective actions among communities (Bankston and Zhou 2002). Narayan and Cassidy (2001) observe that, satisfaction with life, optimism, civic engagement, assurances in government institutions and political involvement, all stemming from the fundamental dimensions of social capital, have important implications for effectiveness of community and national programmes.

Social capital is also credited with the effectiveness of institutions and policies of government (Moore and Kawachi 2017; Putnam *et al*.1993); community governance, and economic problems (Bowles and Gintis 2002). Social capital stimulates spontaneous citizen participation, cooperation and collective action among various actors and institutions for effective policy implementation. In terms of theory, social capital has also

come up as an important conceptual tool for explaining individual and collective actions within a 'social structure' (Coleman 1988; Burt 2017).

The various aspects of the concept such as networks, trust norms, solidarity, and information sharing, have been found to foster cooperation and coordination for the achievement of community and national policy goals (Lin, 2017). The strength of social capital has been sufficiently demonstrated by studies in different policy fields. Halpern (2005) provides strong reasons to support the nurturing of social capital for economic performance, education, health and well-being. Social capital is seen as a good promoter of health, ensures social success, lowers crime; provide safety, increase employability rate and educational attainment.

On crime, it has been established that a strong sense of community and informal control reduces crime (Halpern, 2005). In a study by Trasler, (1980), cited by Halpern (2005: 114), it was revealed that desirable social aspirations like job stability, commitment to conventional education, occupational roles and marital security were causally responsible for low crimes. This is because when people are kept busy through relationships networks and various forms of interaction, they are less likely to engage in crime. Caspi *et al*., (1998) describe how educational attainment of individuals has yielded positively on future work. On economic effects, the phrase "it is not what you know but who you know that counts" Halpern (2005: 185) has dominated within communities, whereby people acquire jobs not necessarily through their qualifications, but also through strong networks and associations.

2.8 Social Capital as a resource and an Analytical Tool: A Critique

The foregoing section gives ample indication of the positive implications of social capital. While the concept is very much celebrated as an important resource for facilitating collective actions and policy outcomes, it has also been criticised for having several weaknesses both as a resource and an analytical tool for explaining policy outcomes. Over many years, one major weakness that has come from scholars in the field of economics

have pointed to utilising social capital in explaining positive outcomes (Arrow 1999 and Portes 1998). These scholars maintain that social capital cannot be classified as 'capital', because compared to other forms of capital, such as economic capital, it cannot be owned and transferred.

Arrow (1999) argued that capital is something "alienable", whose ownership can change from one person to another but that cannot be said of social capital. He further argues that social capital failed to meet the three important characteristics of capital: (a) capital has a time dimension; (b) it requires deliberate sacrifice of the present for future benefit; and (c) it is "alienable", that is, its ownership can be transferred from one person to another. Although he did find that (a) above may hold in part where building a reputation or a trusting relation. Overall, Arrow concluded that social capital should not be added to the other forms of capital.

In similar spirit, Solow (2000) is against the use of the term capital in social capital. Noting that "it is an attempt to gain conviction from a bad analogy", he indicated that he did not see how dressing this set of issues in the language and apparatus of capital theory helped much one way or the other. Samuel Bowles, an American economist described the issue of ownership of social capital as follows:

"'Capital' refers to a thing possessed by individuals; even a social isolate like Robinson Crusoe had an axe and a fishing net. By contrast, the attributes said to make up social capital such as trust, commitment to others, adhering to social norms and punishing those who violate them describes relationships among people".

Samuel Bowles again said the following:

"I remain dissatisfied with the term and I generally agree with many of the criticisms above. I find the inclusion of the word capital most problematic when discussing the negative outcomes of social capital. That said, the term now has a history, albeit a chequered one, that gives meaning and significance to discussions. To start again with a

new term would likely lead to further complication and confusion. So, I believe we are stuck with the term and for better or worse it's here to stay."

Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital is inherent in the structure of their relationships (Solow, 2000). This reiterates the position that because social capital cannot be owned by an individual and cannot be traded, it does not meet the traditional definition of capital. To these economists, social capital constitutes an affront to their discipline due to the erosion of the concept of capital. They claim that attaching the adjective 'social' to the economic term 'capital' is an attempt to modify 'capital' as 'social', which to them is both unnecessary and inappropriate. They therefore conclude that not only does social capital fail to meet the traditional definition of capital, but also, the fact that it can have both positive and negative consequences make it incongruent with the term capital.

This position has however been watered down by other scholars who argue that social capital is an incidental by-product of diverse relational activities, and therefore can be treated as an externality (Seferiadis *et al*., 2015). One argument put forward is that Putnam got it wrong when he said social engagement is eroding in "Bowling Alone". Instead, it may just be evolving. Rather than joining groups in our neighbourhoods, like bowling leagues, people are now joining groups made up of people who share our beliefs. Critics also argue that the term "social capital" is vague, hard to measure, poorly defined and perhaps not even a form of capital at all, with economists often arguing that capital involves making some form of sacrifices in the present – like studying in school to raise your human capital when you could be playing outside – to produce gains in the future (Hall, 1999).

Despite the debates, social capital is a concept that has attracted interest among politicians, academia and policy makers, reason being the increasing concern over marginalisation of minors within our societies. As seen repeatedly, the knowledge economy puts a premium on human capital and can worsen the job prospects of people with limited education and least well off in our societies. Some analysts describe the emergence of an "underclass" in

society with minimum chance of re-entering society, both because of a lack of human capital and arguably, the right social capital. Indeed, that twin absence may not be a coincidence. A case can be made that human capital and social capital are inextricably linked (Hall, 1999), referring to Coleman's (1988, 1990) argument. However, the use of capital in the term social capital animates a considerable and intense controversy.

As an analytical tool, social capital has been criticised on several grounds. The first in this regard is the critique that social capital is not a theory (Siisiainen 2000). This criticism relates to issues arising not only from how social has been conceptualised and operationalised, but also, confusion around the cause, function and consequences of social capital. It also results from the observation that some scholars do not really distinguish social capital from its product and therefore tend to confuse the existence of social capital with its functions and its causes with its effects (*Ibid*). This has been found not to help in theory development (*Ibid*).

As was mentioned earlier, another critique of social capital is that it fails to meet the traditional definition of capital, and the fact that it can have both positive and negative consequences makes it incongruent with the term capital. However, comparing Bourdieu and Putnam's definitions of social capital, Siisiainen (2000) intimates that Putnam's three components of social capital (norms, trust and networks) alone do not make a successful social capital rather, a well-functioning economic system and high level political integration makes a successful social capital. Therefore, Bourdieu's three dimensions of capital become effective, each with its own relationship to class: economic, cultural and social capital. In this regard, the failure of scholars to differentiate between social capital and the resources obtained from or through it has not helped matters. This has resulted in the inability of researchers to find exactly what they set out to find since their dependent and independent variables tend to measure the same phenomena. Mayer (2004) suggested that the cause, function, and consequences of social capital are often conflated in a circular argument.

However, as can be seen in this study, the theorists whose work were reviewed - Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam have provided the literature with insightful theoretical frameworks of social capital with slight differentiations. Bourdieu's (1986) definition of social capital was constructed as cultural and social assets that give the actor better access to resources while Coleman (1988) viewed social capital as an aspect of the social structure that occurs within school and family and serves to secure human capital while Putnam (2000) regards social capital as a community asset that assists in the acquisition of a democratic society. Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) believed that there are imminent limitations to all the theories. Coleman's social capital theory is criticised for focusing on quantity and not quality of interpersonal relations. For instance, spending time with children is good but is it just spending time or what type of activities that take place when spending time with children. Putnam also addresses issues of gender, ethnicity, religion and cultural experience but not extensively. All these are factors to be taken into consideration.

Even though the various theorists have provided extensive descriptions of social capital, the researcher finds Halpern's discussion of social capital theory as an important addition suitable for this study. Halpern (2005:4) defines social capital as "the social networks and the norms and sanctions that govern their character, something valued for its potential to facilitate individual and community action, and solving collective action problems". Social capital has three components, according to Halpern, which are a network, a bunch of norms; values or expectations shared by the group, and sanctions that help to keep the shared norms and networks flowing. However, he expressed concern about the boundaries or extent to which these networks could go. Aside the components prescribed, Halpern wrote that social capital is important and plays major roles in promoting health, education, employment and economic performance of people and communities.

Putnam (2002) described these networks as reasonable things that make people's daily lives more worthy; goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse shared among individuals and families. That makes a social unit and the eventual networking with their neighbours, norms and expectations, as well as the various guidelines or rules governing communities or network members. Halpern (2005) also added that even though most of

these rules are not documented they still carry the desired force within communities and any attempt to break them leads to sanctions or punishments. The conclusion is that, all these distinctive parts work together for the common good of any community anywhere in the world and are the key ingredients that lead to progressive societies (Halpern, 2005; Jacobs, 1993).

In all of these, the researcher is of the opinion that application of social capital needs a lot of careful thought and consideration, and that the best and appropriate approaches would be those that maintain and embrace the specific context being investigated. One also needs to allow for complexity to be maintained rather than simplification and aggregation that often involves unnecessary assumptions and confusion of causality. Therefore, in applying the theory in this study, due cognisance will be taken of these challenges associated with social capital and the best methodologies adopted to mitigate their impact on the findings and conclusions.

2.9 The Concept of Integration

According to Robinson (1999) quoted in Ager and Strang (2008), integration is a "chaotic" word used with different meanings for different people and is very highly individualistic, contested and contextualised. It is for this reason that most definitions of integration are contextualised. The UK government's attempt to put immigrants on the same level with citizens by empowering them to achieve their full potential came up with this definition of integration:

"integration is defined as the process that takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, and become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents" (Home Office 2005)

Another definition by Penninx and Mascarenas (2016) described integration as a two-way process between migrants and host society. A recent definition which denotes a shift from

the two-way process between immigrants and host nation acknowledges that immigrants' countries of origin can have a role to play in support of the whole integration process (*Ibid*). This legal framework put together to ensure that if the legal position of immigrants was equal and made possible to that of national citizens, then discrimination will be eschewed. All these are put in place to ensure immigrants' full participation through integration. This was conceived as a balance of rights and obligations, and policies that have a holistic approach to targeting all phases of integration from economic, social, and political rights; cultural and religious diversity; and citizenship and participation.

According to Li (2003), "integration is about incorporating newcomers into a democratic process of participation and negotiation that shapes the future, and not about conforming and confining people to pre-established outcomes based on the status quo" (Li 2003: 330). Li is especially critical of academics, who in his opinion, have not challenged the normative standards of integration and instead treated these norms as "scientific standards of integration" (2003: 318). Furthermore, Li asserts that integration is a two-way street, with requirements for both the immigrants and the receiving society (2003: 327). Research has shown that integration processes propelled through interactions between immigrants and receiving society differs at different levels (Vermeulen and Penninx (2000). While the Chinese and Portuguese used education as route to their social mobility, the Turks and Moroccans have been identified through entrepreneurship. In understanding integration, it is evident that most nation states have used several means to empower immigrants to achieve their full potential through education, businesses and others. Through this act of goodwill, host nations have built their economic bases and immigrants have become happy (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000).

2.10 Social Capital and Integration

There is ample evidence in the literature on the important linkages between integration and social capital. Berry (1997), referring to the changes in identity that take place over time, observed that integration occurs when an individual maintains his or her original culture while they engage in daily interactions with other groups. Viewed this way, social capital

results from the interactions that takes place with significant others within society with social networks being an integral part of the process. Along similar lines, Ager and Strang (2004) explored social connections as one of the four indicators of integration in their study, while Cheung and Philmore (2013) also identified social networks and social capital as important features of integration theory. A central theme running through all these studies is that social connections underpinned bonds which are shared with family and friends, and associations in groups. These connections create bridges with other communities and links to other institutions of power. Not only do these social connections demonstrate the presence of social capital, they also influence it.

The practical reality of these studies is captured by the UK Home Office policy document (2000) on UK immigrants' integration which underscored social connections expected to help immigrants to access peer support with positive impact on immigrants' integration. The document identifies employment as one such important factor in immigrants' integration. There are several empirical studies that establish the importance of social capital and its associated networks and other norms such as trust and reciprocity for integration. For example, looking at Polish migrants in Brussels, Grzymała-Kazłowska (2005) found the initial broad co-operation among co-ethnics and other family and close kin were significant for integration. Roggeveen and van Meeteren (2013) also point to the establishment of the migrant group as crucial in the different role of social networks Social capital facilitate access to new opportunities, helps immigrants to improve their language proficiency, bolsters economic confidence and promotes immigrants' well-being (Cheung and Philmore 2013; Claridge 2018). Resonating in all these studies is the position that, not only does social capital influence the migration decision but also, immigrants depend on their social capital to survive in their new environments.

Hall (1999) articulates this position in his article where he reports on how many young Thai women migrated to England because one person arrived first in England and recommended to people back home leading to their emigration too. Such findings are no different from the Ghanaian case, where, Diaspora immigrants migrated to England based on recommendation from earlier travelers. Like these other studies, this study takes the

position that, integration and social capital are interlinked to a large extent. The terms social connections, relations and social networks which are almost synonymous run through both integration and social capital. Host nations have been eager to accept immigrants into their midst and immigrants have also learned to fit into host nations through their interactions with one another. As part of immigrant integration, host nations have bestowed several rights on their immigrants as civic, social and political rights assuming some form of networking, relationships and interactions among family, friends and groups of same and disparate kinds. Through structural social capital which entail a kind of knowing and integration which opens avenues for people to fit in, young immigrants have connected with people within and outside their ethnic groups to achieve success. This suggests that, social capital and integration are co terminus, however, the extent of connections and relationships and how they affect immigrants, could only be determined by further empirical research.

2.11 Immigrants and the Integration Policy of UK

Many immigrants have lived, schooled and worked in the UK for several decades. Their integration to UK was, however, given strong prominence in 2002 when the Home Office commissioned the document report titled *Full and Equal Citizens* in a study about a funded project that sought support for integration of refugees in the UK in line with policy direction and outcomes, on which this study is based. The report enumerated several indicators to strengthen immigrants' integration even though criticised for not putting down a concise definition, theory or model for immigrant or refugee integration (Ager and Strang 2008), confirming what Castle *et al* (2001) shared about no single acceptable definition of integration.

Ager and Strang (2008) carried out studies aimed at identifying the main indicators of integration. The principal aim of these studies was to establish a framework for defining integration. Findings from the research identified four key domain areas for the development of a framework and normative understandings of integration to assist policy makers. These are markers and means, social connections, facilitators and foundations.

Markers and means were identified as the social rights of refugees as enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention (successful employment, housing, education, health and qualifications; going back to school or some form of training before gaining employment (African Education Trust, 1998). In the research, Ager and Strang (2008) highlighted the importance of education in providing knowledge and skills needed for future employment. To them, schooling is an opportunity for immigrants and refugees to get close to the host community and play together in support of their integration. Most schools try severally to teach new immigrant children and their parents the language to support their basic needs. Zetter *et al*. (2006) discuss instances of mockery by pupils of the host nation of immigrants in UK schools when pupils from non-English speaking nations use the language wrongly. Another important issue raised by immigrants was housing. An immigrant recalls how she and her family of three have lived in one-bedroom flat for eight years. There are reports from other immigrants and refugees about safety issues in some housing environments and multiple social problems.

On health, there have been instances of immigrants and refugees having sought assistance from relatives to accompany them to the doctor's due to their inability to communicate in the language of the host nation although admitting care given was equal to citizens in hospitals. These four areas of employment, education, housing and health are key factors worth considering in any aspects of integration (Ager and Strang, 2008) and it is based on them that young immigrants' integration will be judged in this study.

Citizenship and rights are another key area of immigrants' integration. This issue of citizenship is more contested and context depending on host nations. For example, how nations define who a citizen is depends solely on the host nations' sense of identity and cultural understandings of nation and nationhood. For instance, in Germany, a child born there is not automatically made a citizen (Castles *et al*., 2014). Also, unlike France which is more of assimilation, the UK allows multiculturalism or ethnic pluralism with different groups co-existing while retaining their independence and cultural identity (Saggar, 1995 in Ager and Strang, 2008).

The ECRE (1999a) sides with immigrants and refugees about how they murmur about the ordeals they suffer in their new place. They think they have not requested to come to people's homeland; they have been taken out of their lands and are not being well treated. It is clear immigrants feel their rights have been taken away from them in their new place; the need then for governments to outline clear-cut policies on how to integrate immigrants and refugees. The UK government's lead on an integration policy for immigrants and refugees is guided by the excerpts below:

"With full rights included as human rights and dignity, equality, justice, security and cultural choice" (Duke et al, 1999).

Social connection is described as the force that drives the whole integration process (Castle *et al,* 2014). There is also the need for nation states to do away with conflicts and see tolerance of divergent views as good source of integration. Putnam (2002) has identified three different forms of social connections which are the bonds between families, the links within nations and the bridges with other communities. Social relationships are in sum regarded as a major form of social capital. It is based on this literature section on immigrant integration policy in the UK that social capital will be judged.

The major setbacks facing all host nations is their feeling of immigrants taking over their land and their jobs, an example is Britain and BREXIT from the European Union. In some nations, immigrants are blamed for unemployment and for being the cause of upward housing prices, diseases and crime (South African Zenophobic attacks in 2014 and 2016). Immigrants and ethnic minorities are also the cause of intangible processes and neoliberal economic policies and blamed for economic and social misfortunes (Castles, Miller and de Haas 2014).

2.12 Young Ghanaian Immigrants' Social capital and Integration

The young immigrants are Ghanaians aged between sixteen to twenty-four years, either foreign born (second generation) or born to immigrant parents in Ghana and migrated to

the UK (Vasta and Kandilige, 2010). It is still unclear what the population of young Ghanaian immigrants in the UK is. However, a 2007 report by Civil Society Organisation (CSO, 2007) UK, quotes the population of young Ghanaian immigrants in England aged 16 and 24 as approximately 25,000 (CSO, 2007). It has been over ten years since the report was published and it is believed that the total number of young people in this group has doubled since lots of immigrants entered the UK from the Diaspora. Despite this, however, Vasta and Kandilige, (2010) believe that young immigrants will shape many aspects of the host society and provide the growth of labour force over the coming years. Much as young immigrants have tried to integrate into their new place, host nation's persistent negative attitudes, descriptions and behaviour towards them leave them discontented and confused (Zammi, 2012).

A research by Zammi (2012) on the socio-spatial exclusion of young Ghanaian immigrants living in a neighbourhood within Toronto, Canada, revealed that not only are immigrants deprived of quality education, the labour market and poor housing patterns, they were also suffering socio-spatial exclusions due to the poor public perceptions. As a result of high criminal activities, youth deviant behaviour, low income status, drugs and alcohol issues from the neighborhoods they find themselves in. Issues of national dimension have also come up in discussions of young immigrants and specific issues. They include national language, a national identity, peer contacts and national integration with sports and other activities.

Berry *et al*. (2006) carried out a research study to explore ways in which young immigrants are adapting to interpersonal experiences, personal wellbeing and school-community adjustments. In the study, they used data from seven thousand immigrants from 13 countries with diverse cultural backgrounds. A set of questionnaire on acculturation attitudes, ethnic identity, national identity, language proficiency, perceived discrimination and self-esteem were administered. They found out that most people adapted well to acculturation patterns, orientated themselves well to integration with majority of their sample identifying with other cultures and their own group. Based on these findings, they argued that young immigrants adapt better to positive issues of integration wherever they

find themselves. Young Ghanaian immigrants like their Toronto counterparts equally grapple with a host of issues including national identity, language proficiency and attitudes in integration, although they assert that members of each of the three groups of young Ghanaian immigrants grapple with issues differently.

2.13 Social Capital and Families

This research is about young Ghanaian immigrants' social capital and integration in UK. Bowlby (1988) in Halpern (2005), describes the early bond shared between primary caregivers especially mothers and their infants as very encouraging since it makes the infant securely bonded to their care givers eventually promoting their confidence as they go into the world. Bowlby says there is enough evidence to support the impact of such early bonds throughout the child's future and formation of a stable and successful adult relationship.

According to the attachment theory propounded by Bowlby (1988), a positive domino effect is created when trusting relationships are transferred from the family to infants while they enter the wider world. The absence of this mother/child bond leads to a negative abusive influence like deviancy on society (Sampson and Laub, 1993). In the same vein, people who have been brainwashed not to trust people end up not trusting other people unless they changed their mindset. Another school of thought described children from single parent families with lower social capital and smaller networks, resulting in receiving less attention (Halpern, 2005). Hall (1999) adds to the debate describing divorce as highly associated with lower levels of generalised trust and depriving children access to parents' social networks and emotional presence. Hall (1999) concluded that parental neglect leads to higher behavioural problems, lower educational attainment and illnesses.

The family is also seen as the prime source of bonding for children through affiliation which also has influence on bridging social capital because if the child bonds well with family and friends, it gives him or her confidence to interact with different and unfamiliar others (Halpern, J. and Morris, 2002). Research also shows that different age groups had

different patterns of social and civic engagements and that older people are more likely to show stronger ties to their neighbourhoods while younger people succumb to larger networks of friends with most seeing friends daily (British House Survey, 2000). Regardless of being proven that individuals differ in their stocks of social capital along class lines with the middle class composed of larger and diverse networks, many other factors are at play. For example, there have been children of poor parents with no networks who have made it to higher places in life and vice versa, and some young people with interest in community or neighbourhood issues (Halpern, 2005). According to Sullivan (2001) there are several factors at play which include social, cultural and psychological.

According to a Global Affairs Canada report on nation states (GAC, 2019), Ghanaians represent a group of people regarded as friendly and open, and go out to acquaint with people once they get to know them; although very likely to remain formal at first sight. In the report Ghanaians are described as very hospitable, friendly and outgoing people who bond and share with many people. The study concluded that the hospitable nature of Ghanaians is a real delight. A study about Ghanaians both locally and in Canada found that an initial impression of an interaction with a Ghanaian is stiff and formal, but once a rapport is built, the bond begins with greetings accompanied by a handshake which portrays a sign of acknowledgement, respect and concern for others (GAC, 2019). This is Ghanaian and this is their values (GAC 2019:27). The study went on to comment that Ghanaians are open and expect same from the people they deal with. This evidence shows how Ghanaians get on very well with others and show much concern for them. Such values are inculcated in children and forms part of their training and socialization process. Ghanaians like many African societies create norms and social ties which are considered the first step to trusting others. From infancy, children are trained and socialized to love one another and never disrespect adults. At home, children are thought to share, eat together and sleep together. This behaviour stays with children even to their old age and leads them to love and respect adults wherever they go.

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Global Affairs Canada was established in 1969 by the Canadian International Development Agency it is the largest provider of intercultural and international training services for internationally-assigned government and private sector personnel in Ghana

For example, despite several ethnic groups and different dialects in Ghana, a Ghanaian addresses a fellow Ghanaian as a brother or sister. People are expected to show respect to people and value their opinions. Children are supposed to show respect for the elderly and not to be rude to them. Ghanaian culture of greeting and love for children is upheld at every stage of life (Global Affairs Canada report 2019).

Halpern (2005) believes the 1980s was best described as increase in volunteering activities and the period which marked the inauguration of Ghana union to provide all kinds of support for its members. The Ghana Union UK is a replica of the Ghanaian way of life in the UK. Among its priorities is to seek and protect the welfare of Ghanaians in the UK and be their voice. The Head office of the union is in the South of London with offices in almost every community with a high Ghanaian population in the UK. The executive council is in Seven Sisters and all area offices report directly to the Ghana Union head office. Ghana Union as a union is committed to serving the needs of all Ghanaians in the UK ensuring that members are connected, happy and well informed. They work in partnership with external agencies, community groups, governmental organisations and other corporate members for the benefit of the Ghanaian community.

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Ghana Union is a voluntary association for all Ghanaians and associates living in the UK, with branches all over UK. It is a voluntary association and every Ghanaian is free to join. The motto of the union is; Together we stand, divided we fall.

2.14 Social Capital and Young people

While there is a plethora of studies on the relevance of social capital for individual, community and national level development, existing research tends to overlook the younger generation. Young people's perceptions and understanding have largely been left out in the analyses of their social capital, with most of them focusing on their parents' views instead (Dorsey and Forehand, 2003). Majoribanks (1998) asserts that this is so because it is more difficult to engage a young adult in an interview than asking parents what their views are. While Marjoribanks (1998) is criticised for his views on involving parents in young people's social capital, Morrow (2002) sees this development as a harmful way to treat young people's social capital without hearing their views, revealing how methodologically and theoretically wrong it is for researchers to think that parents or teachers can provide researchers with accurate perceptions of their student or their child's social networks and environmental views.

Coleman (1999b) opines that it is indeed a wrong attitude because young people's social networks consist of many relationships than have been investigated. Furstenberg and Hughes (1995) examined the impact of family on social capital among at-risk youth in Baltimore but primarily assessed only interactions within the family, which was wrong. Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) argues that only Virginia Morrow's (2002) many investigations and Xavier de Souza Briggs' (1998) studies have incorporated young people's perceptions and understandings of their lives, relationships, and environments into the social capital theoretical framework. Morrow is, however, criticized by Coleman (1990b) for ignoring family roles in a child's life

Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) gave three dimensions of young people's social capital as social networks and sociability, trusts and reciprocity and sense of belonging. On young people's networking, McDaniel thinks that young people have more effective networks and better sociability than their parents who speak on their behalf and cites intimate relationships with actors in their community as good networking and a great source of social capital. Wellman (2001) reviewed the need for young people to discuss their social interactions

with peers and family and cites some of their networks dating back to elementary years. According to Wellman (2001), having intimate relationships to others in their neighbourhoods and communities is a great source of help to them with Scott (1988) describing the daily matters with networking as a powerful social structure. Tindall and Wellman (2001) reviewed the history of networks and suggested that communities are the networks citing social capital as a network phenomenon. Schaefer McDaniel (2004) is of the view that young people and children's social networks developed early in life, especially their friendship formation gives best results. Buttressing McDaniel's point, Bryant (1985) further suggested that young people are eager to discuss their perception of social interactions and friendships at an early age, suggesting that young people have had active social networks that they fall on whenever in need.

Trust and reciprocity are described as trustful relations with family members, peers and neighbours. Young people should thus be allowed to establish trustful relations with family, peers, community members, help other people and engage in other acts of helpfulness but, expecting nothing as direct benefits. Such helpful acts include helping an older person cross the street; while a sense of belonging refers to those acts of participation that young people are not coerced to do like community service or voluntary work. Young people's engagement with social capital is thus beneficial to them and their community. It strengthens their social networks and relationships by improving their lives and decreasing stress (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004).

Sense of belonging is also described by Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) as feeling of being part of a group or environment and commanding a feeling of influence as though the individual matters to the group. At the community level, it increases participation in organizations by developing their group skills and promoting oneness. At the environmental level, youth learn to use physical space like parks to enhance social interaction and sense of belonging. However, it should be noted, maintaining this collective group could increase crime (*Ibid*).

2.15 Social Capital and Religion

Early literature on social capital discusses religion as a major determinant, even though several studies also omit it in their discussions (Kaasa, 2013). However, more recent analysis on social capital explores the effects of religion on people, at the individual community and national levels. For example, Anneli, (2013) established that at the individual level, people believe in the Supreme God, attend religious services, belong to religious groups and are attached to a religious denomination. At the community or national level, religious participation and congregation-based networks are widespread.

Yeung (2004) opines that religious spirituality is more associated with solidarity, honesty, generosity, altruism, humane values and charity which promotes cooperation and positive attitudes towards others, and that the more religious people are the higher their possession of positive qualities that draw people close to them. In a nutshell, they have strong networks. Similarly, Halman and Luijkx (2006) argued that, there is a strong relationship between church attendance and social capital, with their study establishing how being members of a church promotes people's civic skills. They therefore conclude that being members of a religious group connects people to opportunities and helps to expand their networks, while building trust among members. This suggests that, religion affects social capital in a very positive way and that people build strong networks when they become part of a religious set.

Putnam (2000) observes that social capital may be declining among white majority in America, with lots of people connected to their televisions and phones and losing interest in associations and volunteering. Similarly, membership and attendance at English churches have dropped drastically and expected to drop more within the next decade or two (Halpern, 2005). It is, however, believed that church membership among black communities in these two countries keep rising with many more immigrant churches springing up; the Pentecostal and charismatic churches (Halman and Luijkx, 2006).

Various religions also portray different attitudes towards social relations considered by many as a form of social capital (Halpern, 2005). While some churches like the Catholic practice close relationship between church and family, imposing a hierarchical structure and vertical bonds on the society, others practice horizontal bonds with extra-family orientations by encouraging the participation in social networks outside the church (La Porta *et al.*, 1997). Churches play a major role in young immigrants' social capital and integration in UK and church attendance has been found to be positively related to various dimensions of social capital in empirical (Veenstra 2002). Churches help and offer their members social support and other interventions. For this research, churches and the roles played towards immigrants are highlighted. Churches are not only places of worship for members, but support them in many areas of need, even to community members.

2.16 Ghana migration and emigration to UK

Migration patterns of Ghanaians have gone through several phases from independence in 1957 to present day (Higazi, 2005). By then, migration was quite prevalent in Ghana, with lots of regional movements between traders, fishermen and nomadic farmers. Following independence later in the 1960s, some Ghanaian scholars were given the opportunity to further their education in the UK through scholarship grants from the British government based on the country's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations[1] aimed at returning to Ghana after their studies to help in the country's development, even though quite a number of them remained in the UK. In the late 1960s through to the 1970s, Ghana's economy deteriorated and that pushed many Ghanaians out to seek greener pastures in Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire which needed to build their economy (Bump, 2006). The Ghanaian migrants in Nigeria included skilled workers and professionals who helped to build the country's economy. However, in the 1980s, Nigerians started complaining about Ghanaian immigrants taking over their jobs, and the Nigerian authorities responded by

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The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary political association of the 54 member states all former territories of the British Empire founded in 1931. Ghana continues to be the UKs largest and long established migrant community due to bonds and colonial ties shared.

expelling over one million Ghanaians from their country. Back home in Ghana, economic conditions worsened, following series of military take over and that discouraged many of these immigrants from returning home. They therefore migrated to other regions in Africa, Europe and North America. By the 2010's population and housing census, 15 percent of the almost twenty five million Ghanaian population lived abroad (GSS, 2012). This group of Ghanaian immigrants consisted of skilled and professional workers who had the opportunity to study abroad, many semi-skilled and unskilled workers, with most obvious destinations being the UK (Ayisi, 2018).The total number of Ghanaians living abroad presently stands at almost one million, with Europe and the Americas having the majority (Balluff, 2020). The majority are presented below with Europe and the United Kingdom leading from their last population and housing census as follows:

Table 2: Countries with most Ghanaians abroad

Country	Total Estimate of Ghanaians	Date of Last Census/ Count
United States	116, 807	2010
United Kingdom	114,000	2019
Italy	50,414	2015
Germany	40,000	2015
Canada	35,495	2016

Source: Balluff (2020)

The historical overview describes Ghanaians arrival and living in the UK. Presently, there are approximately 114,000 Ghanaians living and studying in the UK (ONS 2019). Out of this, almost 25,000 are young immigrants. In all, three groups of young Ghanaian immigrants have been identified as those born and raised in the UK (considered first and second generation immigrants), those who were born in Ghana to UK residents who joined parents later and the third group of residents being those born and raised in other parts of Europe and emigrated to the UK as a result of the EUs free movement for better ventures. These three groups make the three groups of immigrants used for this study.

2.16 Conclusion

This chapter presented the literature in which the study is positioned. The review discussed different conceptual perspectives, dimensions, forms and levels of interaction of social capital. It also discussed the strengths of the concept and reviewed the main critiques of its use as an analytical tool. The review indicates that trust and reciprocity, networks and connections and norms remain the most important features in discussing social capital with multiple explanations given to the two main dichotomies, the bonding and bridging. These have implications for the integration of immigrants, primarily because of the need for connections at both the individual and community levels, if it must function effectively. The review revealed that given the complexities of integration including its definitions and processes, states can use social capital and integration to empower their young immigrants to help them reach their full potential or not maybe.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research process that was followed in conducting the study. Given that all academic research has philosophical underpinnings, the chapter begins with a general discussion of the general research paradigms in the social sciences. This dovetails into specific discussions of the adoption and suitability of the interpretive paradigm. Following this, the research approach and its associated research design, the study population and sampling strategies are discussed. There are also discussions on the data gathering sources, data analysis techniques and ethical decisions made in the study. The chapter ends with a review of positionality and reflexivity issues encountered during the research process, and an overall summary. This chapter is relevant in developing a suitable methodological frame to guide the study and provide justifications for the choices made in seeking answers to the study's research questions.

3.2 Philosophical Assumptions in Social Science Research

Knowledge development in the social sciences is anchored on different philosophical assumptions. These assumptions spring from frames of thinking or philosophies generally referred to as research paradigms (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Paradigms are intellectual frameworks that are used to construct views of reality, and they specify a discipline's domain, basic assumptions, research questions, and rules of interpretation. Thus, paradigms help to frame research and provide the basis for evaluating research results (Creswell, 2013, Morgan, 2007).

According to Yang, Zhang and Holzer (2008:25), philosophical assumptions as expressed in research paradigms are "perspectives and theoretical lenses through which people perceive different pictures of the same world". This suggests that although there is a single world, people's perceptions of it differ because of their philosophical assumptions. Due to

these fundamental differences in views about the nature of the world, different paradigms are found in the literature. The philosophical assumptions are expressed in four main dimensions namely; ontology (objectivism versus subjectivism), epistemology (positivism versus interpretivism), methodology (quantitative, qualitative and mixed) and axiology (value free and value laden) (Creswell, 2013). Whereas ontology is concerned with the nature of reality or what is out there to know, epistemology concerns what and how we can know about it. Methodology is concerned with the ways in which knowledge is produced and focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of specific research techniques or procedures (Creswell, 2013; Grix, 2002). Axiology is on the role of values in research, with distinctions made between objectivity in research, where facts are separated from values of the knower, and subjectivity, which recognizes the unfeasibility of doing research without values (Burrell and Morgan, 1982; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). This chapter briefly reviews four main research paradigms - positivism, post positivism, constructivism and pragmatism as a basis of identifying the most appropriate philosophical position that best resonates with the research aims and questions.

3.2.1 Positivist Paradigm

The positivist paradigm has been a dominant framework for knowledge generation (Stringer and Genat, 2004). The basic assumption of positivists is that the world exists as an empirical entity separate from individuals (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Positivists argue that there is a reality 'out there' driven by universal or natural laws that is totally independent of the researcher. Truth about this reality can be discovered impartially by applying strict methodological protocols and, therefore, the goal of research is to discover cause-effect relationships and patterns, as a basis for predicting and controlling natural phenomena (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Consequently, positivism makes no room for metaphysical speculation, reason or innate ideas. Rather we can know about nature by interrogating it directly without partiality and gaining answers objectively (Creswell, 2013; Morgan and Smircich, 1980). For the positivists, truth and knowledge are gained through deduction and their methodological inclinations are experimental and quantitative methods (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006).

Despite its dominance and influence on the development of knowledge, positivism has been heavily criticized (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Critics argue that we can neither separate ourselves from what we know nor conduct scientific inquiry that is devoid of subjectivity. Another commonly cited flaw of the positivist paradigm is its proclivity to close out other worldviews and ways of thinking (Creswell, 2013; Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Other philosophical thoughts of knowing also exist and these provide alternative means to better understand the social challenges of our world.

3.2.2 Post-positivist Paradigm

As a result of the weaknesses of positivism, a new thinking and approach to knowledge generation, broadly referred to as post-positivism emerged. Challenging the conservative view that absolute truth exists, post-positivism also referred to as subjectivism, contends that one cannot be exactly 'positive' about claims of knowledge when studying the behaviour and actions of humans (Creswell, 2013, Morgan 2007). Thus, although there is reality out there, the ability to know this reality is imperfect and therefore claims about reality must be subjected to critical examinations in order to achieve the best understanding of that reality (Guba 1990).

Consequently, post-positivists emphasize the importance of triangulation and multiple measures and observations, to deal with the different types of errors in the research process (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). In the view of the writers, Lincoln and Guba, such a methodological approach mitigates the weaknesses of the positivist paradigm. The research designs associated with this paradigm also provide opportunities for discovery or emergent knowledge as opposed to operating by testing a priori hypothesis (Tabazuuing, 2010). This paradigm has also been criticised in several areas. Guba (1989) opines that the paradigm creates an imbalance "between rigour and relevance; between precision and richness; between elegance and applicability; and between discovery and verification" (Guba 1989: 47).

3.2.3 Constructivist (Interpretive) Paradigm

The underlying philosophy of constructivists is that there are multiple mental constructions of reality which are socially and experientially determined by one's context. Constructivists believe that although there is a single "real world", individuals have their own unique interpretations of that world. Therefore, from this ontological viewpoint, they maintain that knowledge is relative because individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences and phenomena that they encounter. These meanings are varied and multiple, and therefore requires researchers to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow meanings of a few categories of ideas. These assumptions flow from the ideas and works of Berger and Luekmann's (1967). More recent scholars of this paradigm include Lincoln and Guba, (2011) and Creswell (2012).

In terms of epistemology, the constructivist scholars believe in subjectivity, which is inherently part of human nature. In other words, reality, according to the constructivists, exists in the minds of participants in any particular study and therefore data, interpretations and outcomes are rooted in contexts and persons apart from the researchers (Lincoln and Guba 2000). In terms of methodology, constructivists work in ways that are consistent with different mental constructions in the belief that the social construction of reality can be conducted through interaction between the investigator and respondents. This interactive approach makes it possible to obtain multiple perspectives that yield better interpretations of meanings. According to Lincoln and Guba, (2000), the constructivist methodology keeps channels of communication open, so that there can be continuous building on, of the knowledge attained.

3.2.4 Pragmatist Paradigm

Pragmatism is a philosophical worldview, which flows from a basic interest in effectiveness of a chosen research approach. Scholars here argue that effectiveness as a criterion for judging value for research must supersede the positivist and post positivist views, and that, findings of a study must not necessarily correspond to some 'true' conditions in the real world, but effectiveness of the approach used (Maxcy 2003). An

approach is effective or appropriate, to the extent that it can be established that it 'works', with respect to the specific research problem. As pointed out by Morgan (2007: 68) one of the defining features of pragmatism is its emphasis on "what difference it makes to believe one thing over another or to act in one way rather than another". Consequently, pragmatist scholars have freedom to "study whatever is of interest and value to them and in any way that they deem appropriate; and utilises the results in ways that can bring about positive consequences within their value system" (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998: 30). The paradigm allows researchers to choose the method (or combination of methods) that works best for answering their research questions. Therefore, the choice of qualitative and/or quantitative methods is determined by the object of a particular study (Patton 2002). To achieve the best possible outcome of research, the pragmatist goes beyond focusing on methods to emphasising a research problem and using all approaches (quantitative and qualitative) available to understand it. Pragmatism is liberal and draws from all available approaches in research.

3.3 The Choice and Suitability of Subjective and Interpretive Paradigm

The previous sections discussed four key paradigms of social science research. The discussions offer a sound basis to compare the philosophy and practice of each of the paradigms in order to make a well-grounded choice as to how to position this study. Given the researchers' agreement with the ontological position that there is a single real world, although individuals have their own interpretations of that world; and the subjective nature of the objectives and research questions of the study, the study was positioned in a subjective ontology and conducted from an interpretive epistemology. The underlying reasons for this choice are discussed below.

First, the researcher recognises that the two key issues being explored; social capital and integration are non-concrete constructs made up of fundamentally subjective attitudes. They are individual experiences with the meanings attached to them, largely conceived within a certain social structure. Thus, social relations and networks that impact on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England are defined by the subjective

opinions and idiosyncrasies of immigrants, and result from their own experiences and the context within which they live. Therefore, the study was steeped in a subjective framework to effectively capture the particular values, norms, and interpretations of respondents as far as their social capital is concerned. From this subjective positioning, the researcher adopted the interpretive epistemology to capture the individual subjective interpretations of social capital influences on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011). It helped to delve deep into the inter-subjective perceptions and contexts of social capital on young Ghanaian immigrant's integration.

Second, the researcher believes that as an active participant of the research process, she co-creates knowledge with the research subjects. Her influence on the research process is significant and cannot be a mere external dispassionate observer of independently existing facts. In effect, her values and choices have significant implications for what knowledge gets created and shared. The study was therefore situated in an interpretive framework to provide a setting for such values and choices to be accounted for.

Third, as has been underscored in the study, the focus of this research is on young Ghanaian immigrants' social capital, thus their connections and networks, their bonds with family and association with friends, groups and communities, and their influences on integration. The young immigrants are aged between 16 and 24, the age described by J. F. Kennedy, a former President of USA in the 1960s, as a group with "appetite for adventure over the life of ease". Measuring social capital from the perspective of these groups is complex because what constitutes social capital to one group could be different from another group of young immigrants. Social capital in this context may not follow an objective process nor involve objectively verifiable standards but would rather be socially constructed by the different groups. More so, the regard of social capital as being contextual and based on where a person is situated reinforces the assertion that social capital is socially constructed, subjective and complex. Thus, social capital and integration are viewed in this study as a social construct that is based upon people's understanding and interpretation of issues.

Fourth, investigating young immigrants' social capital and integration analysis, from an interpretive framework permitted critical examination of assumptions related to social capital and young immigrants that would have been ignored or overlooked by quantitative approaches (Jacobs and Manzi 2000). The understanding that reality is a contextual construct with multiple interpretations whereby the researcher and the phenomenon under study are interactively linked and influenced (Lincoln and Guba, 2000), made it possible for the researcher and participants to engage in dialogue that enhanced understanding of the issues. By comparing the varying constructions of various respondents, a comprehensive understanding of the social capital influences on integration was achieved.

3.4 Research Approach

Pettigrew (1990) outlines three necessary preconditions for adopting any research approach for a study. These are the research aims and objectives; the level of control exercised by researcher; and the historical or contemporary focus of the research. Research aims and objectives are important for deciding on the approach to use because the essence of any inquiry is to provide an explanation that corresponds to the research aims and objectives. The level of control the researcher exercises over actual behavioural experiment contributes to the choice of strategy. Yin (2012) contends that, no matter the period of research, every research has implications for the choice of strategy to be adopted to address the study aims and objectives.

In line with its philosophical grounding, the study used the qualitative approach. The approach, which is a systematic and subjective method of describing life experiences and situations to give them meaning, is useful when one is interested in understanding a phenomenon from the context and from the experiences of respondents (Boateng 2014, Creswell 2013). Making a case for the qualitative approach, Creswell (2013) argues that it allows researchers to understand the processes, subjects' situations and related complexities, emotional circumstances of participants, values and cultures within which a study occurs. The qualitative approach was used for several reasons.

First, the two key issues that this study explores, social capital and integration, are two subjective constructs that depend on the experiences and perspectives of respondents. This made it necessary to use an approach that can capture unique opinions, experiences and feelings of respondents from their own perspectives and adopting qualitative methodologies made this possible (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Second, the approach was considered apposite given the researcher's interest in understanding how social capital influences integration of young Ghanaians in England, from their own perspectives, experiences and contexts. Thus, because the study is based on qualitative parameters such as attitudes, lifestyles, relationships and behaviours in relation to young Ghanaian immigrants' social capital and integration in England, the qualitative approach was appropriate. Therefore, the qualitative approach was most suitable for this study because of the nature of the research objectives and questions which required an interpretive orientation.

Third, Creswell (2013) argues that qualitative studies are appropriate when a researcher wants to explore a phenomenon in its natural setting. This study which will be conducted in England; the natural environment, within which respondents integrate and live, will make the approach appropriate. The approach will enable the researcher to detail the social capital influences on the Ghanaian immigrants through their own life experiences. The approach will thus provide opportunity to extract detailed and comprehensive accounts of different social phenomenon (actions, behaviour, interactions and beliefs) through social interaction and cultural groups within particular settings and will provide opportunity for gaining rich, holistic insights into respondent's worldviews and actions, as well as the nature of their communities (Hughes, 1990). The flexibility of the approach and its sensitivity to the social context within which data is generated also make it apposite for the study.

As was acknowledged earlier, the key issues that this study will explore are subjective and depend on the experiences and perspectives of immigrants themselves. This made it necessary to use an approach that can capture the unique opinions, experiences and

feelings of respondents from their own perspectives. Adopting interpretive methodologies of qualitative case studies, and relying on multiple viewpoints through interviews, observation and documentary reviews, enhanced the formation of a rounded picture of the research phenomena. The research is thus built on the knowledge of young immigrants' experiences of social capital with family, close friends, neighbourhoods and communities. Given the complexity and multi-dimensional nature of social capital, the information generated from young immigrants was triangulated with the perspectives of other immigrant groups. Analyzing and interpreting all the information generated from these interactions was made possible by use of the qualitative approach and its associated methodologies.

Although the qualitative approach was useful in detailing the social capital influences on integration of young Ghanaians in England, as well as explaining the contexts which they occur, the approach is criticised for being subjective, with a tendency to be impressive due to over-reliance on unsystematic views about what is significant about a particular phenomenon (Creswell 2013). The approach is also criticised for its limited opportunity for generalization. As noted by Bryman (2008), the use of case studies and other selection and sampling considerations limits the scope of qualitative research findings. Very much aware of these limitations the researcher took steps to mitigate their impact in this study which is discussed in finer detail in chapter seven, under the limitations section.

3.5 Ethnographic Case Study Research Design

A research design is a blueprint within which a researcher conducts a study. It is a plan that is followed to investigate a specific research problem and by which data is gathered and analyzed (Creswell, 2013). It serves as a plan which clarifies vital aspects of the research process and connects research questions to data. According to Punch, (2005), a research design helps to explain the strategy adopted for a study, the unit of analysis, as well as tools and techniques used to collect and analyze data and asks certain fundamental questions in translating research questions into data. For qualitative research, several

designs are available. These include ethnography, case studies, grounded theory, phenomenology, historical and participatory strategies.

Smith and Osborne (2015) indicate that the choice of a particular design however depends on a study's objectives and driving research questions. The design must also reflect a researcher's decision on issues such as the nature of the data and the analytical approach that is adopted in this research. This is because the research was intended to gain insights into social capital influences on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England from their own perspectives and experiences. Therefore, ethnographic case study approach with observation was used. Ethnography is a tool best used to elicit socio-cultural knowledge from participants while rendering social behaviour comprehensible (Cohen *et al*, 2000) and it is suitable for understanding the ways in which a social phenomenon manifests in a given social context (Hartley 2004, Yin 2008) with the researcher developing a trusty relationship with those being studied. This explains why studies of human behaviour and culture mostly use ethnography with participant observation and triangulated sources as in-depth interviews and document sources. Against the backdrop of these benefits, the design was deemed relevant to fully understand the experiences of young Ghanaian immigrants in their specific places of domicile and background with the researcher in close relation.

Crotty (2003) aptly observes that ethnography researchers use interactive perspectives to get into social settings and see things the way groups of people see the world. Reeves *et al.* (2013) opined that the rationale for choice of ethnography is the diversity it brings across multiple disciplines in similar respect, Glaser and Strauss (1967) also opined that there are more advantages to gain when researchers develop theory through well-defined data collection methods by providing new developments in the field which are not new changes to the methods defined. Given that the study sought to explain the context specific social forces that influence immigrants' integration from their own experiences the design was apposite. Situating the study in an ethnography design, made it possible for young Ghanaian immigrants' experiences with social capital and integration in England to be captured from their own perspectives alongside what the researcher observed.

Ethnography is a useful strategy for studying a problem in depth. In this study, it is used to explain the interplay of social factors that come to bear on young immigrants' social life and the processes involved in their integration within England (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Geertz (1973) discussed the role of the ethnographer as an observer who records and analyses a culture and interprets the signs using "thick descriptions" through clear and vivid images of the event, situation, environment or culture to gain better understanding of that culture. Geertz's thick description approach has become increasingly recognized as a method of symbolic anthropology. My team and I spent hours monitoring and recording the activities of young immigrants and their parents within the sites while tightly fastened within the settings under investigation.

In this study, two sites were chosen to observe and record youthful behaviours in context. In the process of the study, the researcher spent long hours with a note pad and pen in research sites A and B (pseudonyms), observing day and night activities of young immigrants. The researcher shuffled between the two sites observing each of them two days and two nights a week throughout the fieldwork period. The nights were mostly done from Friday to Sunday. Walford (2001) described multiple methods and diverse forms of data used and participants' accounts as high status in research. The day usually begins as early as 7.30am from the train station right through the town. The researcher followed the young people and their families in their activities; playing football, hanging out in the evenings, spending time at church and in the library after school. Some groups of young people love to spend time with friends sitting around the Town centre in the evenings. The evening usually started at the MacDonald's restaurant with long chats and argument for hours and ended up on the benches in the Town centre. In addition to observing, the researcher carried a notebook and pen that helped her to record issues as they happened even to the extent of talking to third persons. This helped the researcher to choose the appropriate strategy in researching young Ghanaian immigrants' social capital and integration. By doing so, enough discipline was exercised by the researcher in researching young immigrants ensuring that only what is observed is recorded and reported as described by Denzin (1978), as investigators doing their best to take the standpoint of those

being studied using appropriate language (Crotty 2003: 75). The researcher being a social worker and teacher, used dialogue to engage young immigrants about their thoughts and feelings, level of bonds maintained with family and friends and across ethnic groups and reported from their perspective rather than mine.

Having discussed the need for using ethnography as the research approach within the overarching social science research strategy, the researcher had to evaluate its validity for the type of social problem; the influence of social capital and integration of young Ghanaian immigrants which form the crux of this research. Using ethnographic design to investigate immigrants' social capital and integration in England is rooted in the researcher's own practice and personal experience as a social worker. The researcher in her practice has had personal engagements and experiences with clients based on the possible understanding of their problems, and carried out critical observations and in-depth interviews captured in narratives and direct quotations about clients' personal interpretations and meaning about their cases, carefully documented and assessed, with the hope of revealing more detailed explanations to their issues.

3.6 Sampling Procedures and Case Selection

Sampling is the process of selecting respondents from a study's target population. It is important in social science research because of the difficulty and sometimes impossibility of studying an entire population, for which reason, a segment is usually chosen and studied (Creswell 2014). Several types of sampling techniques are used by social science researchers. These include: random, systematic, stratified, multi-stage sampling and purposive sampling (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2003). For this study, however, the purposive sampling was used to select the communities and young immigrants from whom data was collected. The technique was preferred, not only because it is consistent with the qualitative methodology, but also because it enabled the researcher to identify respondents who are best placed to answer the study's research questions (Saunders *et al.*, 2003).

The researcher identified several young immigrants in the selected communities in England, out of which 15 were purposively selected for the study. The number was considered manageable because time and resource constraints associated with the PhD thesis made it impractical to cover many interviewees in the two sites (A and B) which are distant apart. The selected case studies comprised five young immigrants each from the three young immigrant groups identified through purposive sampling by the researcher - those young immigrants born in the UK, immigrant group born in Ghana and travelled later to join parents in the UK and the group born in the Diaspora and moved to the UK taking advantage of the EUs free movement policy. The diversity offered by interviewing different groups in a research addresses an often-cited limitation of having a single geographic case, especially in terms of generalizing research findings and to decrease the possibility of bias (Eisenhardt, 1989b).

Marshall (1996) also described the appropriate sample size as that which adequately answers the research questions, be it a single digit number or several units. To achieve this, the researcher selected 15 young immigrants to deal with a sizeable but attainable number. The researcher, being a qualitative researcher, also selected the required respondents needed until a saturation point is reached whereby new categories, themes and explanations are exhausted (Marshall 1994). Having such information at the back of researcher's mind enabled her to select the most suitable research participants with requisite knowledge to answer research questions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted within the two chosen sites. The interviews were conducted individually, questions were read out to participants and they were allowed time to answer; questions repeated when necessary and extra probing of responses to keep the process going. Useful insights were also obtained through further observation. These procedures used, increased the researcher's understanding of the research and acquired enough information to answer the research questions.

3.7 Data Collection

This section explains the criteria and processes for selecting primary data obtained from research sites and various participants for the study. In all two sites were selected in the

London area for an in-depth study. Research data can be broadly classified into primary and secondary types (Bryman, 2009). Primary data which forms the main data component for this research was collected directly from participants using semi-structured interview guides and observations within the sites (see Appendix). Secondary data which is defined as data collected by others for purposes other than the present research (Houston, 2004) is used in qualitative studies to complement the data collected from primary sources (Blaxter *et al*, 2006). For this study secondary data included widely used published and unpublished materials and documents such as Home Office immigrant integration policy document 2002 which provided useful insights into the UK's immigrant integration and EU policies on free movement useful to corroborating indirect insights drawn from the interviews (Yin 2003, Yin 2009).

As part of data collection, the criteria and processes for selecting research sites and interviewees were explained. The criteria became possible after the researcher had made several consultations and recommendations from key persons within the research sites. Key persons within the research sites are the executive council members of the Ghana Union (see section 2:12) who were consulted at the planning stage of the fieldwork. Two sites located in the London area were selected for the in-depth study and were selected using purposive sampling, a form of non-probability sampling by which the researcher uses information-rich cases for in-depth study aimed at generating in-depth analysis (Patton 2002). The main criteria used in choosing sites and participants included the following:

- Cosmopolitan nature
- Larger immigrant population (diversity)
- Presence of many foreign based churches
- Existence of a Ghana Union office
- Larger population of young immigrants
- Diaspora nature- being home to most EU and other migrants

3.7.1 Site A

Research Site A is a community in the London South Borough of Haringey. It is a cosmopolitan community inhabited by diverse number of immigrants from all over the world and considered a poor, multi-ethnic neighbourhood. Site A historically named after seven sisters who planted seven elm trees in a ring around a walnut tree when they were about to go their separate ways. It is one of the old communities of the London. It has a busy centre which is used mostly as meeting place for most activities for both young and old. On an ordinary evening one sees friends, family and acquaintances hanging out; drinking, eating and spending time together. Caribbean and black African heritages and the proportion speaking English as an additional language is above average. It is also described as the hub of several restaurants including Chinese, Thai and African cuisines. The history of migrants in Site A dates back to the 19th century and they include first and second generational immigrants. It is a home to many   immigrants. At the 2011 census, its population stood at 15,968. It is a predominantly black community with Ghanaians, Caribbeans and Nigerians being in the majority. More than half of the population considers themselves as not British and one hundred and seventy-five different languages can be heard (The Prisma newsletter 2013). In terms of proximity, it is a community that links several areas of the London Borough by means of underground tubes, buses and several other local transports. Poles and Turks rank high among the Site A's other significant minorities. On a visit to the schools in this area one can see majority of pupils are from minority ethnic groups. According to Ofsted's 2016 report, they are mainly from Turkey, Caribbean and Africa.

3.7.2 Site B

Research site B is an old town in east London specifically Essex county. The houses within this community were built to accommodate world war veterans in the beginning, and in recent times, to house overcrowded Londoners. The town was planned with sustainable neighbourhoods with their own local facilities and access to green and open space. Presently, it is the first point of call for most Diaspora migrants from Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, France and other EU countries. At the 2011 national census, the population was recorded at 81,944. Of this 84 percent were of white origin with

21 per cent black or had black origins which makes it a multi-ethnic locality and lately more diverse. In terms of proximity, it is a community close to the main city London connected by the M11 motorway.

In all, 25 participants were interviewed; 15 young Ghanaian immigrants; five each chosen from the three groups of young immigrants, five parents and five church leaders. The researcher tried to create a balance in gender and included both male and females among the interviewees. This is shown in the table below:

Table 3: Number of Qualitative interviews in the study

Groups of Interviewees	Males	Females	Total
Young Ghanaian Immigrants Site A & B	9	6	15
Church Pastors/ Leaders	3	2	5
Parents	2	3	5
TOTAL	15	10	25

Source: Fieldwork Data

The primary interviewees were the 15 young immigrants made up of nine males and six females totaling fifteen young immigrants- all first and second generation immigrants, those born in the UK; considered first generation and second generation immigrants; who joined parents in the UK from Ghana and another group from the EU who migrated into the UK. There were three groups in all, each group made up of five people. Interviews with participants focused mainly on biographic data, entry point, friends, family, language, employment, education, housing, social capital/connections/networks, civic rights and life in the UK. Interviewees were not connected in any way but picked with assistance by the Ghana union executives. It was interesting how interviewees were eager to tell their stories and the interest shown in the whole process. Parents and church leaders were part of the interview. In all, five parents were interviewed, consisting of one married couple and three single parents on what they know and experience about the lifestyles and activities of their young ones, their friends and associates as they connect and integrate with them. All five parents were connected in one way or the other to the 15 young primary interviewees, and to say they retained vital information from researcher and assistant would be unfair. They

spoke it as it is. The clergy was composed of three men and two women and included because of the roles played by churches in immigrants' lives including supporting them. The clergy were not related to the young immigrants in any way and were picked at random.

3.8 Data Collection Sources and Tools

Data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source consisted of data collected through interviews, and also from observing young Ghanaian immigrants from the various sites in England. Together these sources provided fresh empirical data from the field to enhance originality of the study. The secondary data on the other hand, comprised a review of already documented information on immigration and social capital. Other relevant journal articles, books, internet reports and media coverage on immigration and integration were also identified and reviewed. These secondary sources provided a background to the study as well as insights into the analysis and reporting of the findings. Relying on both sources of data facilitated triangulation which in turn enhanced validity and reliability of the data and overall findings. The main tools for collecting data for the study were; face to face in-depth interviews, observation and document reviews.

3.8.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The main stream of data for the study was collected through interviews, which is considered fundamental to qualitative research (Creswell 2013, Myers and Newman 2007). Semi structured interviews were used for this study, the interviews helped in having a thorough picture of participant's beliefs, perceptions and accounts of the social capital influences on their integration. The interview schedule was prepared along the research objectives and used to guide face-to-face interaction with interviewees during data collection in the field (Dilley, 2004). Interviews were mostly conducted individually; considered flexible enough to allow participants to provide answers more on their own term. The semi-structured interview method adopted for the interviews aimed at giving interviewees the opportunity to talk freely about the issues raised and express themselves

well. The strength of semi-structured interviews is that it does not ground the relationship within the interview or imposition of meanings based on the researcher's position and the structured questions (Bourdieu, 1986). It is also a flexible method of data gathering. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed respondents adequate room to provide personal accounts on how they navigate the integration process while keeping them within the boundaries of the study (Yin, 2009). Hence, it enabled the researcher to steer the interview process along the study's research questions, while at the same time giving respondent's sufficient room to explain issues in depth. It served as a valuable means of detailing the subjective interpretations of the influences of social capital on the integration of respondents. Unlike unstructured interviews that can produce data that is unrelated to a study, the semi structured interviews kept respondents within the bounds of social capital and integration. The flexibility of the method permitted the researcher to ask more probing questions and further explore other relevant issues. Its flexibility facilitated the researcher's understanding of events in which she neither personally participated in nor experienced prior to the research. It also made it possible for the researcher to gain deep insights into issues and themes that were not explicitly included in the list of interview questions. The researcher ensured that interviews were carried out in places that were comfortable for respondents (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

The technique of allowing interviewees to talk freely about issues raised during interviews has been criticized by Bryman (2009) as very complex and difficult to control. He notes that it is very dangerous to adopt such a strategy that leaves the researcher without any element of control over the interview process. A view which fits the philosophy behind the research strategy which hinges on interpretive constructivist ontological approach is premised on the assumption that, in working with a social phenomenon such as social capital, its meaning is brought into existence by the individual's family and friends playing significant and influential roles (Bryman, 2008). The interpretive ontological underpinning of the study also means that the researcher generates data that truly represents the view of the respondents, without introducing artificiality in the form of exerting undue influence and interference in data that may not represent the true views of the respondents. For this research on young immigrants' social capital and integration in UK, the social problem is

whether young immigrants feel well integrated following their experiences with social capital.

Bryman (2004) recommended this method of collecting data where more than one person is to carry out the fieldwork. In order to ensure a modicum of comparability of interviewing styles, semi-structured interviewing is preferred as used in this study. Although the researcher pursued a consistent line of inquiry to be used in the interview process, the stream of questions was fluid, open-ended and pre-agreed by the respondents as opposed to being rigid. The interview process remained open-ended and assumed a conversational manner, due to the detailed and sensitizing issues about social capital and integration in UK, but strictly followed the underlying research protocol, built around the researcher and refraining from giving any direction to the respondents as to what to say and what not to say (Sim, 1998). The semi-structured interview framework does provide the opportunity for the researcher and interviewee to interact personally with each other.

The researcher and assistant recorded all interviews except five participants who opted for manual recording, even though using the recorder saved time probing further into issues without repeating. This, according to Bryman (2008) is necessary for exactness and avoidance of biases on the part of researcher. Interviews were transcribed on daily basis by the research assistant, although drastically delayed putting undue pressure on the researcher. A verification interview was carried out six months later for a few participants who needed it. The reason for second interviews was to ensure that participants have gained better understanding of the research theme and maximum trust in the research and/or to clear uncertainties that might have arisen in the line of questioning during the first round of interviews (Creswell 2014, Bryman 2008). Overall, only three interviews were followed up because recordings were not clear. To begin, the researcher introduced her team to young immigrants stating the purpose of the research. Young immigrants were then taken through a briefing session allowing them to familiarize themselves with the topic, ethical issues and time frame.

3.8.2 The Interview Process

Before the interviews were conducted, the researcher presented an introductory letter issued by her university to the leadership of the Ghana Union (see section 2:12) head office. This mandatory procedure was to facilitate access to prospective participants within the two research sites. Prior to personal introductions and exchanges, the researcher had informal discussions with leadership on the topic and its objectives and further reading and consenting to information sheet, there were some practicalities to be dealt with. These included personal contacts and briefing of key persons before making contact with prospective participants to decide on their availability and meeting times. In all these, the researcher kept up with fieldwork practices linked to successful outcomes. The researcher kept a notebook for recording useful notes for personal reflections and showed personal reflections that required follow-up. Overall, the researcher was guided by certain criteria that affect interview outcomes as summarized by Kvale (1996) and expanded by Bryman (2008). These are shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Prerequisites for conducting qualitative interviews

Knowledge	Interviewer has extensive knowledge and is familiar with the focus of the interview. Pilot interviews useful
Structuring	Define purpose of the interview, show order of questions, check whether interviewees have questions to ask and know when to exit interview
Clear	Ask simple, easy, short and unambiguous questions, speak distinctly and understandably, avoid using academic and professional jargons
Gentle	Do not rush, give respondents time to think, let them finish what they are saying and tolerate pauses
Sensitive	Listen attentively to what is said and how it is said, identify nuances in the meaning of answers, be empathetic in dealing with interviewees
Open	Respond to what is important to interviewees and be flexible to the introduction of new dimensions to the discussion and follow them up

Steering	The researcher should know what to find out, and how to achieve that and when to interrupt interviewees politely when they deviate from the discussion
Critical	Seek clarification especially when there are inconsistencies in interviewees responses
Remembering	Retain what participants have said in the interview and relate what is said to what has been said already
Interpreting	Clarify and extend meanings of interviewees' statements without imposing meaning on them
Balance	Do not talk too much in a way that makes the interviewee passive and do not talk too little to let the respondent think they are off track
Ethically sensitive	Ensure that interviewees appreciate what the research is about, its purposes, and their responses will be treated confidentially

Source: Bryman (2008:455)

3.8.3 Case Study Interviews

Main interviews were conducted for six immigrants chosen as case studies to be used in the study. A case study is a useful strategy to study a problem in-depth and to understand the variously manifesting scenarios and situations in various study contexts which eventually informs a pragmatic set of policy recommendations as source of remedy to the situation (Yin, 2009). For this research, six case studies were chosen for the main interviews. Interviewees were asked simple, short and unambiguous questions aimed at answering research questions. The researcher interrupted the interviewees politely and ensured that they did not deviate to achieve desirable results. The researcher interviewed six people made up of three males and three females, six in total, representing two each from the three groups of young immigrants. The six were Kofi and Tracey (born in Ghana and joined parents in UK), Mike and Juliet (born and grew up in the UK) and Jofael and Jessica (born and raised in different EU nation states and migrated to England with family). Their ages ranged between eighteen and twenty-four. The interviews began with their biographic data, followed with questions about family, friend networks, employment,

education, housing, community life and ending with life in UK. The researcher watched with great awe the eagerness of these young immigrants to be interviewed and interest in telling their stories. Regardless of them being Ghanaian originally, their education, where they were born and lived exhibited such diversity and spice to their stories.

3.8.4 Observation

In line with ethnographic data collection techniques, which require researchers to be immersed in the daily activities and practices of participants, observations were used as a tool for collecting data in this study (Yin, 2014). Taking a cue from Karatas-Ozkan (2011), observations were made about the relationships, groups, activities, events, time and actions of selected respondents and how they utilized their networks and associations, as they go about their daily activities. According to Ellen (1995), the role of the researcher in participant observation is not to only observe things but interpret meaning from what is observed. Ellen (1994) further recommended that, researchers be part of the action being observed, hence, observing and participating at the same time. In this study, the researcher engaged in active participation in the lives of subjects and that allowed for bonding and communication. It also made it possible to generate additional data from the interviews. The researcher was confined to a place in the natural setting of a group for relatively long periods keeping a reflexive diary and writing up field notes (Atkinson *et al* 2001). To achieve this value in this study, the researcher and her assistant jotted down daily notes on the subjects, the community and people in it while ensuring that nothing is done to step beyond bounds. We wrote down the most useful actions we participated in using thick rich descriptions purposely to include in the research write-up. Participant observation was done by the researcher and research on daily basis in the two main sites. An extended presence was used by the researcher within the sites to know and understand local rules, and gain understanding of their culture while observing young immigrants' activities within the two communities (Hochschild, 1979). The researcher is a Ghanaian immigrant with several years of work experience with young people but ensured that the whole observation process was controlled while ensuring no issues of biases occurred.

The strength of participant observation lies in the ability of the researcher to engage in-depth exploration of phenomena which makes thick rich descriptions possible (Hannabuss, 2000). To ensure our safety in the area, the team was vigilant and cautious. Although no risks were imminent, the team kept personal attack alarms and avoided solitary confinements especially in Site A. Lee (2004) confirmed that as necessary and urged researchers to be vigilant. In this research study on young Ghanaian immigrants' engagement with social capital and integration within research Sites A and B, both suburbs of the London Borough, care was taken to address any dangers, the research team being careful about where particularly to situate themselves within the two communities. The researcher's first major risk was travelling from home to the new environment and spending long hours observing even up to late night. The participants though Ghanaians, were still unsure of the kind of people the researcher was going to interact with, their living conditions and lifestyle, how welcoming they were going to be, and how safe the environment was to strangers. Regardless, the whole exercise was successful as planned and the information gathered from the observation was helpful in describing, analyzing and interpreting the findings of the study.

3.8.5 Document Reviews

In addition to interviews and observation, a number of documents relating to immigrant integration were collected and reviewed to provide data for the study. Official web pages of UK's immigration body served as a major point of access to a number of documents. The Home Office policy document of 2012 titled, "Full and Equal Rights Integration of UK's Immigrants" which has immense information on immigrants' integration in the UK, and other resources on Ghana, and young immigrants were used. Other reports, books, articles, journals, policies, texts, videos and images and several other research documents, on integration of immigrants in the UK, were also used. These secondary documentation sources were easy to assess and using them was less time-consuming given that they exist already compared to collecting primary data. Apart from augmenting the data collected through interviews and observations, these documentary data provided some background with which to make sense of observed practices and other formal rules on migration and

integration of immigrants (Gillham, 2000). This helped in data triangulation and strengthened the credibility and validity of the research findings (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2007). Although the major challenge associated with documentary reviews has been access, the researcher did not encounter any such access problems with the sources of documentary data that was identified to be used, as they were readily available on the internet. Invariably, the data from these sources were collected continually up to the point of writing the research report.

3.9 Data Collection Process

The entire data collection process consisted of a mix of field research activities and desk research of secondary data sources over a period of over six months. The actual fieldwork process began with an initial visit to the research sites in October 2018, to familiarise with the area and establish initial contacts with respondents (see table 4). This was followed by the data collection carried out over the period, which proceeded as follows:

First, an initial selection of settings and cases was carried out to gain a better understanding of the study settings and second, access negotiation through the appropriate gatekeepers who facilitated the research team's access to sites, participants and documents. Finally, the research instruments were prepared after which approval for the fieldwork was sought from local leaders before entering the research site. The table below indicates the timing, duration of fieldwork periods and main activities that took place.

Table 5: Schedule of fieldwork visits, objectives and activities

October 2018	Initial visits to Sites A and B
	Find research assistant and training/briefing
	Establishing contacts with local leaders and other key informants
	Discuss the research idea and feedback
	Define potential research sites
November 2018 To February 2019	Visits to research sites introduction of the research
	Seek permission for access from relevant stakeholders
	Briefing of young participants on research

	Do interview check list
	Pilot interview with the research assistant
	Do interviews in Sites A and B
	Start transcriptions
	Locate parents and church elders/pastors to conduct interviews
	Collect further documents
	Verification interviews with case study participants
	Participant observation ongoing in several places
March to June 2019	Transcriptions continue till end
	Coding of raw data
	Analysis starts and continues
	Discuss initial findings with stakeholders
	Write up period begins

3.9.1 Pre-fieldwork activities

As a first step towards the main fieldwork, the researcher contacted the local Ghana Union leaders (section 2:12) of the two sites and presented letters from the University of Sussex Research Student Administration with a request to do fieldwork in the local areas. The researcher was then identified and accepted by means of a student identification card and brief assurances of the purpose of the fieldwork, benefits to immigrants abroad and to Ghana and assured them that information supplied by interviewees would be treated with utmost confidentiality. The researcher also pledged that data being sought was for academic purposes only. Within the two sites visited, the union leaders gave the research team one person each from the local area to take us around and provide needed information.

3.9.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study refers to a mini version of a full-scale study specifically aimed at pre-testing the research instrument as, for example, an interview guide. A pilot study may not automatically guarantee the success of the main study, but it has several implications to

researchers in their fieldwork. In any research it helps researchers in their field work in many ways. Perry (2001) and Beebe (2007) described pilot studies as a process used by qualitative researchers to check their preparedness, capability and commitment to carry out research. For these reasons, pilot studies have become important components to providing valuable insights in any good research process. In this study, a pilot data study was carried out by the researcher and the assistant in a small community in the London area to identify issues that could emanate during the research process. In the process, the researcher had the opportunity to pre-test the interview guide, probe into the time duration for each interview as well as check the use of the recorder and the whole recording procedure and modify changes needed where appropriate

3.9.3 Selection of Setting and Case

The initial selection of setting and site together with cases in the study was very crucial and necessary as they helped in determining the appropriate choice for the research. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) asserted that selecting the appropriate setting prevents unexpected issues that might affect the development of the research questions or changing sites altogether. The practical consideration at this stage was the visit to the two suburbs - Sites A and B to ascertain if these were useful sites and their suitability for observations, and enough space for young immigrants to carry out their daily activities. For example, questions asked were, whether there were opportunities to find willing participants, whether the researcher would be able to address the research questions and problems, and what the limits might be, whether the sites had substantial number of Ghanaian immigrants and the selection of these sites purposely aimed for a variety of characteristics. The required information proved positive with Ghanaian immigrants who speak and understand the Ghanaian language and therefore was less expensive to interview as the researcher did not need interpreters. Besides proximity to the sites (researcher lives in site B and site A is about 12 kilometres from where researcher lives), the researcher speaks and understands three major Ghanaian languages which were positive for the researcher. Creswell (2014) described the researcher's knowledge of the research site as more positive than negative. The researcher used the setting to establish contacts and engaged with young immigrants

through informal conversations, remaining open to new scenarios of observation and interactions. The two settings were close in proximity so there was easy access without expensive travel costs.

3.9.4 Approaching Interviewees

Even though the researcher and her team were not prone to any dangers during fieldwork, there was still the need to ensure safety of the research team especially in Site A by setting out some successive steps in identifying the interviewees, approaching them and conducting interviews. In any research, identification of subjects to be interviewed is as important as the interview itself. In this study, the key informants were not difficult to find as there was high population of Ghanaian residents in the two areas. Gaining access and finding interviewees was thus made very simple for the researcher. By the time the team arrived, there was a ready list of participants to contact and meet. The team met and gave them a briefing and took their contacts.

3.9.5 Self-Presentation and Gaining Trust

The decision on how to present oneself to participants in a research is very important because a researcher should leave an indelible impression on participants since they can have great influence on the success or failure of the study (Fontana and Frey 1998). Buttressing this idea, Atkinson *et al* (2001) described the need for researchers to develop rapport with participants and both groups should make it a point to let communication flow with no friction between them. In this research on young immigrants aged between 16 and 24, the researcher ensured not to present herself to the participants and local leaders as a superior with a perception to lord over the young because they are considered as little children, rather, the researcher went there as a collaborator, expecting them to act in reciprocity with the aim of having a goal to achieve. Regarding this study, the researcher's major role was to stand in front of young children and try to elicit information rich ideas to help the research work. Although a Ghanaian immigrant, the researcher's viewed her position as being both an insider and outsider confirming what Stephens (1990) said about

researchers being outsiders in a research context no matter whether as expatriates or scholars and examining new situations in a familiar setting. She was very aware of different power relations between herself as the researcher, the research assistants and local leaders. However, she paid great attention to customs and traditions followed by the local people, spending more time with participants before starting interviews, including exchange of greetings and welcome handshakes. Edgerton (1996) was of the view that spending time together and getting to know one another as researchers go about their daily lives is one useful way to get to know their views.

3.9.6 Access Negotiation

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argued that one of the main criteria in gaining access to research settings was through gatekeepers who may facilitate access to documents, people and sites necessary to carry out the research. Hobbs and Wright (2006) also stated that access is one major hurdle to clear in ethnographic research. From the onset, the investigator identified and established contacts with key leaders in charge of the two sites by emails, telephone and met them to explain the research project and the ways in which the research is intended to be carried out. Site A is regarded as the Headquarters of Ghanaian immigrant groups housing the Ghana Union which is the umbrella association of Ghanaians and other smaller associations of the various tribes and most Ghanaian churches. It is also a hub for Ghanaian restaurants and shops and several youth groups making it a one stop shop for the research. In terms of proximity, because the researcher lives in London, it cost less travelling to spend more time on the ground. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) cautioned researchers not to overlook pragmatic considerations of proximity, travel cost, availability of documentary information, contacts with key leaders and safety before selecting sites. Sampson and Thomas (2003) also cited how a group of researchers selected a ship which made long sea passages with few port calls as research site to enable them have longer time with sea farers.

Research Site B is near Site A, and highly cosmopolitan in nature and it serves as home to diverse ethnic groups from the Diaspora. It was thus very useful to find other forms of

engagements between young Ghanaians and other non-Ghanaian immigrant youth. The Researcher initially identified and established contacts with these groups and their leaders, by emails, telephone conversations and arranged meetings to explain the research project in detail to them. The essence of these processes was to build rapport and trust with the local leaders who signposted the researcher to other participants. Spradley (1980) supported this strategy since false and dubious entry might lead to ethical misconduct. Multiple strategies were then used to contact the youth, by establishing rapport through informal conversations, emails, through snowballing. Contact with key informants through snowball sampling gave the researcher an easier access to the youth. A good way to begin recruitment of participants is for the researcher to give a briefing of the research plan and aims, giving reason for its importance; a well-presented research idea makes people realize they are doing something worthwhile and therefore the need to engage in it. It was also important for the researcher to present her ideas on the topic to participants (O'Reilly, 2009). This was done formally through the University of Sussex's approval letter. The sample size was 25 and the reason for the choice of this sample size was to have in-depth and broad-based information needed to achieve the desired results. Aside this, the researcher thought it was helpful in getting different perspectives directly from longer established Ghanaian immigrants in the UK and Ghanaians in the Diaspora. The choice of using key leaders as participants in the research led the researcher to choosing the right participants. The researcher, however, reiterated that the key leaders did not take over the selection and that she was connected to the larger group herself. This is to avoid any influence they may have on the research. A reflexive diary was kept by her for taking notes, recorders for recording and a computer for data analysis throughout the field work period.

3.9.7 Working with Research Assistant

In the beginning of the fieldwork period, the researcher picked one research assistant, a Ghanaian and an elder of one of the churches, to help with data collection. The researcher settled on him because of his level of education, knowledge of research and fluency in Ghanaian languages, spoken English and French. After careful consideration of his background, the key persons in both sites approved the research assistant. Key persons

were local executives of the Ghana Union within the research sites who were consulted about the research plan including choice of research assistant and participants. The researcher and research assistant visited the research sites two days in a week, and he was very supportive in the interview process. Given his knowledge in research, he also helped in the design of the interview check list, conduct of interviews, recording and transcribing. Generally, he helped to make the whole process a participatory one.

In the beginning, it was agreed that the research assistant should assist in the recording process while the researcher conducted the interviews. Another role of the research assistant was to transcribe the first few interviews, but due to time constraints on his part, the researcher had to help with the transcriptions. Transcriptions were done daily while all the interview engagements were still fresh. The research assistant spent several hours transcribing tapes of the first few interviews on paper and later transferred to Word-processing. However, due to his busy schedule as an employee, a parent and a church leader, he could not make time to transcribe the last few recorded interviews. It got to a point where the investigator had to rely on the rough transcriptions done after every interview to continue the analysis write-up until the transcriptions were completed. After reading through the final work from the research assistant, the researcher was given a good opportunity to do a few follow-up interviews to clear certain areas.

3.9.8 Place for Interviews

Before applying for ethical approval the researcher made a reconnaissance visit to both sites to acquaint herself with the locations and to pick possible places suitable for the interviews. In research site B, the only available places were the church halls and homes of participants (with parents' consent). Site A had one special meeting room in the Ghanaian restaurant close to the Ghana Union office. Unfortunately, anytime the team needed the place, it was fully booked and this proved very challenging for the research team. Even in days that the room was available, noise coming from those having their meals in the restaurant rooms made it inconvenient to use the tape recorders. Plans had to change to use the Church hall of one of the local churches after seeking permission from the clergy. The

church hall is a space within the church reserved for organizing church and other important activities like birthday parties, funerals and important programmes. In Site B, some of the participants did not want their homes to be used so interviews took place in the church hall, and other parents' homes.

3.10 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis involves a 'systematic search for meaning' from a pool of data in a manner that allows for its processing, 'so that what has been learned can be communicated' to readers (Hartley 2004:148). It demands of researchers to reflect on data by taking steps to understand what it represents; its significance and then interpret the larger meaning of the data (Creswell, 2013). Yin (2009), observes that the most difficult part of analyzing data is adopting the right strategy to use. Due to the nature of data and the study's epistemological orientation, content analysis was deployed for inductive data analysis. Plummer (2001) described analytic induction as the most suited logic to life stories. Inductive analysis is process of deriving patterns, themes and categories of analysis from data using the categories developed and articulated by the people in a study. Bryman (2008) described the challenges faced in analyzing and interpreting qualitative data due to its reliance on participants lived experiences expressed in field notes, interview transcripts and documents, which makes qualitative data an 'attractive nuisance' because regardless of its attractive nature it is difficult to find analytic paths through such qualities (Miles 1975). To find an analytical path for this study, the researcher took immediate steps to lay the foundation for data analysis by transcribing and coding interview tapes using a template to structure and organize data in a way that will represent who said what, what they said, why and when responses were made. Grouping data using this format was thus a sure way to generate themes for the research.

3.10.1 Post-Field Work Data Cleaning and Transcriptions

After the fieldwork was finally completed, the researcher got herself immersed in the data to listen to the tapes again while going over what the research assistant and herself had done earlier. Data transcriptions were concluded and organized including already

transcribed ones according to responses made to semi-structured interviews ensuring that different interviewees' responses as in parents, church leaders and the three groups of immigrants and their opinions were organized and analyzed in their own right in line with Mergenthaler and Stinson (1992:129) guiding principles as spelt out below:

Preserve the morphologic naturalness of transcripts by keeping word forms and commentaries as close as possible to speech ensuring they are consistent with what is typically acceptable in written text

Preserve the naturalness of transcript structure by keeping texts clearly structured by speech markers

Make transcript an exact reproduction of speech by generating verbatim account rather than prematurely reducing text

Transcription rules are universal and complete by ensuring that transcripts could be used manually or with a computer and written in non-technical everyday language.

As a researcher, sticking close to these points at the transcription stage of the study helped to get acquainted with the data and gave a better contextual understanding of young immigrants' experiences with social capital. Participants' views were equally examined to identify opinions which made transcriptions look dynamic and thematic. It was through this same process that themes for the study were classified.

3.10.2 Coding and Categorization of Themes

Initially, the researcher opted to use N-vivo for the analysis but changed her mind due to the complexities that come with keying in descriptive codes. Researcher changed her mind due to lack of expertise in the NVivo programme. Taking a single Nvivo training programme was not adequate to use as analysis for this study. The researcher thus decided to use thematic coding, thereby all interview transcripts were coded manually throughout data analysis. In this study, transcripts were coded and analyzed mostly using information and opinions expressed by young immigrants interspersed with those of parents and church

leaders. Each interviewee was given a code. Themes used were induced from participants'
responses, developed from key words and issues that emerged from interview transcripts.

3.10.3 Thematic Analysis

A broad range of data analysis methods is available for qualitative studies. These include
interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith and Osborn, 2015); conversation analysis
(Hutchby and Woolfitt, 1998), grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1998), discourse
analysis and thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006). The use of any of these methods
however, depends on the research design and the nature of the data collected. For this
study, the thematic analysis method was used. Thematic analysis is an iterative and
reflexive procedure of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) from a data
set in a rich and detailed way, including interpreting various aspects of researcher's topic
(Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Braun and Clarke (2006) observed that the thematic method is intrinsically linked to the
social constructionist epistemology where patterns identified are socially produced but not
discursively analyzed, and is similar to interpretive repertoire form of data analysis. The
method was chosen for two important reasons. First, it offered the researcher a good
measure of theoretical freedom and flexibility in providing rich, detailed, and yet, complex
accounts of the social capital influences that impact on integration of immigrants. Second,
it provided a useful and more nuanced approach to reducing the large volume of data that
the researcher had to deal with, into more meaningful themes that facilitated easy analysis
and interpretation.

To get around the voluminous data that were collected during fieldwork, the investigator
generated broad themes from the transcripts to allow meaningful analysis and
interpretation. After thorough reading and re-reading of transcripts, various themes and sub
themes were arrived at, and later trimmed down to three major themes to be developed for
the research. Ryan and Bernard (2003) described themes as being only visible through
expressions in data and recommended some guidelines to look out for in thematic analysis

which are listed as repetitions, indigenous typologies or categories, metaphors and analogies, transitions, similarities and differences, linguistic connectors, missing data and theory related material. They concluded that regardless of their clearly specified procedures, the framework approach lead researchers with some ideas on how to organize their analysis. To Ryan and Bernard (2003), a researcher would know a theme when it answers the questions 'what is this expression an example of?' To answer this question, researchers are cautioned to look for broad themes and constructs, which link different expressions in a meaningful way. Ryan and Bernard (2003:88) explained that "themes may be derived from different sources, notably from raw data or from the researcher's prior theoretical understanding of the subject under investigation.' The former refers to themes that originate from data with empirical basis and the latter professional definitions in literature reviews or common-sense constructs and researcher's personal experience. In this study, and from researcher's point of view, the main themes originated from existing literature on social capital and integration and also from interview data. Ryan and Bernard (2003:88-94) advised that searching for themes in interview transcripts go beyond just repetitive reading but looking for the factors listed above in the guidelines.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

For an ethnographic-type study of this kind, the researcher had to deal with a number of pertinent ethical issues (Murchison, 2010). These ethical issues, which span matters of standards, moral judgments, and disclosures at every stage of the research project, were even more pertinent in this study because of the involvement of young participants who were interviewed outside formal arrangements and therefore were not under any clear rules and regulations. Merriam (1998) points out the obtrusive nature of ethnography research and the need for researchers to ensure that they respect the rights, needs, values of the informant, since strategies like participant observation invade the lives of informants and therefore could expose sensitive information about them.

In line with these concerns, the research was designed and conducted in accordance with the 2013 ethical principles and guidelines of the researcher's university and the Economic

and Social Research Council (ESRC) 2010 guidelines. In keeping to these standards, the investigator observed the rights of participants to personal privacy, voluntary participation and withdrawal at any point in time, confidentiality and anonymity. A letter with form attached from researcher's university contained information on the research; its nature, research aim, the age and number of participants needed, date of supposed meetings, number of meeting times with young people, assuring them of the researcher's trust and integrity with no intentions of any witch-hunting; research not intended to harm participants. The forms and guidelines for participants highlighted elements of respect and promotion of their rights, needs, values and desires. Forms were given out to participants at the start of interviews to read and append signatures or to decide not to take part in the research without any pressures from the researcher. In seeking participants' consent, the purpose of the research and its attendant risks and other disadvantages were disclosed before the interview session began.

Before the start of each interview, a consent form was given to interviewees to read and sign. The form was written in English and contains the aim and purposes of the research and voluntary participation. Although informed consent was used, the researcher was aware of the challenges of using this with young people below eighteen without seeking parental consent for them. Details on the form include- right to privacy, anonymity, protection from physical, emotional and or any other kind of harm (Fontana and Fray 1998).

Harvey *et al*. (2000) also argued that not only should researchers seek the interests and needs of their subjects but also those of the wider society. Being ethically sensitive helped to prepare against issues that could arise at any stage of this research process. To be able to achieve this, potential risk factors associated with the study were assessed with the techniques and research protocols approved. Initial consent was given both orally and in written form as well as participants' right to stop the interviews at any point during the interviews. The researcher was aware of the power differences that existed between the interviewees and her and worked to ensure that participation was voluntary. The general observation, however, was the reluctance of some young people to participate in the

research. They just did not feel like talking to the investigator until after several persuasions. Most young people did not also like to be recorded and permission was sought for their interviews not to be recorded, which was obliged. After the interviews, interviewees were given the chance to listen to the recorded interviews and to make further comments, corrections and or to ask questions. The questions asked varied from enquiries about what would happen to the recording after its use and the possibility to see the final work.

In order not to influence respondents to give biased responses, the researcher did not financially induce or reward participants for their participation in this research. Just a toffee and thank you was offered, and respondents were happy to have participated. They were told that the research would form part of larger interventions and efforts for immigrants in the UK society. Issues of ethics usually involve careful and respectful treatment of participants in a research and in ensuring that they are not adversely affected by it (Bryman, 2008). Aside of the prescribed codes, the researcher also needed to be sensitive and exhibited a high degree of ethical decorum especially when working with vulnerable groups; minors below 18, women, prisoners, children in order not to expose the researcher to legal challenges (Creswell, 2014).

Ethics during participant observation sessions was considered. Silverman (2010) cautions researchers to be as open as possible to informants when doing participant observation since it "invades the life of the informant" (Silverman (2010:30). Very much aware that participant observation goes beyond seeking informed consent, the researcher ensured to protect her informants and key participants. The investigator was open with all her respondents and did not to keep any secrets about the research from them. Their rights, interests and wishes were considered first and they were picked from the Ghanaian community. Fortunately, there were two people who were willing to work longer with the researcher throughout the whole process. On the whole, it was very useful developing such respectful relationship with participants based on researcher's ability to listen to the participants without judging them. The following table prescribed by Miles and Huberman (1994) was used as checklist for evaluating the ethical status of research projects and it

raises fundamental questions that could have ethical repercussions at different stages of the research process.

Table 6: Ethical Factors and accompanying questions

Before Fieldwork	Ethical Questions
Worth of the Research	Is the study worth doing? Will it contribute in some significant way to (policy, publication opportunities and researcher's career)
Competence Boundaries	Do I have the expertise to carry out a study of good quality and am I prepared to study, be supervised, trained or consulted to get expertise? And is such help available?
Informed Consent	Do the people I want to study have full information about what the study is about and what it involves? Is their consent to participate freely given? Is there a hierarchy of consent?
Benefits, costs, reciprocity	What will each party in the study gain from taking part in the study? Do they have to invest time, energy or money?
During Field Work	
Harm and Risk	What might this study do to hurt the people involved? How likely will such harm occur?
Honesty and Trust	What is my relationship with the people that I want to study? Am I telling the truth and do we trust each other?
Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity	In what ways will the study intrude, or come closer to people than they want/ how will information be guarded and how identifiable are the individuals studied?
Intervention and Advocacy	What will I do when I see a harmful, illegal or wrongful behaviour by others in the study? Should I speak for anyone's interest besides my own and whose interest do I advocate?
After Fieldwork	
Research Integrity and	Is my study being conducted carefully, thoughtfully and

Quality	correctly in terms of some reasonable set of standards and under supervision?
Ownership of data and conclusions	Who owns my field notes and analyses; me, my university or my sponsors? And once my thesis is written and completed, who controls its diffusion?
Use and misuse of results	Do I have the obligation to help my findings to be used appropriately? What if they are used harmfully or wrongfully?

Source: Miles and Huberman (1994)

3.11 Positionality and Reflexivity

Given that the study was conducted within the interpretive paradigm, issues of positionality and reflexivity, were very much considered in this research. While positionality concerns the relationship between the research, researcher and researched, 'relationality' on the other hand concerns the social relationship between the researcher and the researched in terms of power balance, equity, and reciprocity (Darbi and Hall, 2014). These issues were considered important because of the effect of the self on the research process; and how the social construction of the research process may have influenced the research findings.

In many respects, the background of the researcher as an insider living within the Ghanaian community served as a valuable tool. As a symbolic capital in the Ghanaian society, it facilitated access to participants through the instrumentality of other Ghanaians. It also made it possible for the researcher to appreciate the social context of respondents much better. This is because she has knowledge of Ghana, its people and the Ghanaian culture. Also, having lived among Ghanaian immigrants both abroad and home for several years, the researcher had firsthand knowledge and experience of Ghanaian life both home and abroad. This proved critical, not only in understanding the experiences of the young Ghanaians, but also the contexts within which they were shared.

Notwithstanding, the researcher was conscious of the possible biases and prejudices that her personal background and presence could generate. She therefore tried to be objective as possible and reported the issues as objectively as possible. Holding an outsider position in this ethnographic research enabled the researcher to critically review all knowledge gathered extensively, having at the back of her mind the values, biases and certain challenges she might encounter. Creswell (2014) describes the need for self-reflexivity as dwelling on experiences that the researcher has and their role in shaping the direction of the study.

In pursuit of reflexivity especially during observation and to be able to account for the subjective relations of the researcher to the researched, the researcher tried to analyse the objective structures of the experiences shared in relation with the researcher's own social position and other alternate dispositions. The researcher kept an eye on the social conditions, contexts and dispositions subsumed in biographies: gender, shared belief systems and thoughts, education, nationality, ethnicity, as well as the objective structures of respondents (Splitter and Seidl 2011). In addition to these efforts, various meetings, discussions, inputs and guidance from the researcher's supervisors were of great value and importance. It is through such meetings that the researcher was able to hone her topic and execute it to a successful end. Aside the guidance from supervisors, long discussions with friends, mates and insiders of the various communities proved useful.

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodology that was used in conducting the research. The discussions covered the methodological design and approach adopted to understand the social capital influences on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. Because the research intended to gain insights on the subjective interpretations and experiences of respondents, the study was steeped in the interpretive paradigm. Following this positioning, the qualitative approach was used, and an ethnographic case study design was adopted, where varied data sources and cases were used to reflect as much as possible, social capital influences on immigrant's integration. Other themes on how the data was

analyzed, and access negotiated, have also been discussed in the chapter. The chapter ends with a reflection on the ethical ramifications. The following chapters discuss the analysis of data.

CHAPTER FOUR

Forms of Social Capital Available to Young Ghanaian Immigrants and Influence on Integration

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analysis of the data gathered in response to the first research question, thus, the forms of social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants. The data was collected from six young Ghanaian immigrants as active agents, consumers and recipients of social capital. The chapter documents the personal experiences and circumstances of each immigrant as a means of determining the forms of social capital available to them. It also serves as a basis to analyse how social capital influences their integration. In the data analyses process, attention was paid to both the structural and cognitive components of social capital. While the structural aspect covered the externally observable social structures, such as; institutions, networks, associations and the rules that make up social capital, the cognitive aspect focused on the intangible and subjective elements such as attitudes, shared values, reciprocity and trust norms that underpin the social relations of these young immigrants.

The chapter is in two parts. The first part presents the case study interviews with six key respondents in England, while the second part discusses the forms of social capital captured during the ethnographic observation period. In so doing, the common life experiences abstracted from their stories are analysed and presented in themes. Semi structured interviews and observations were the main research tools in this research. Interviews were conducted individually. This method was assumed to be flexible and allowed respondents to provide answers more on their own terms but still allowing space for enough structure and comparability (May,1999). The six young immigrants are three young ladies and three young men named Tracey, Kofi, Mike, Juliet, Jessica and Jofael (all pseudonyms). The youngest was 19 years and the oldest 24, at the time of the interviews. In order to have a comprehensive view of the social capital of respondents, data from their parents and other community members are also included in the responses.

4.2   Case Study Interviews

4.2.1 Kofi

Kofi is twenty-four years old and the only child of his mother. He was born and raised in the Ashanti Region of Ghana where he had his education up to the secondary school level before migrating to England to join his mother at age eighteen. While in the UK, Kofi did not attend mainstream school to further his education neither did he apply to adult education class to improve his English Language. Kofi lives with his mother in Research Site B area and they share their two bedroom flat with an aunt and her family; husband and their two children. Kofi and his mother occupy one bedroom while her aunt, husband and children occupy the other bedroom. This system of sharing flats is very common in Ghana where families live together (see chapter 2), and there is a long-standing tradition of sharing family responsibilities like bringing up children with aunties, grandparents and other members of the external family. This is especially the case when a child's parents have migrated abroad to seek greener pastures and their child is being looked after by a family member while they are away. Kofi is one such case. He lived with his grandmother in Ghana for several years before joining his mother in England. Kofi's mother is single and widowed, and the family is a very happy one regardless. This is because Kofi's family members live together, support and share common bonds with each other. According to Kofi, his family relates and bond so well. They spend a lot of time together, eat together, watch TV in their spare time and play cards together with his cousins occasionally.

Kofi's mother and aunty work as caregivers in the same organisation with other caregivers and bond very well with everyone. It is through a colleague friend of his mother that Kofi found a job. According to Kofi, he lived in England close to six months without a job. His mother discussed his situation with her colleague and the colleague in turn spoke with her son who informed them of a vacancy within his organisation. Kofi was connected to the job by the woman's son and through that he was into the job. This was after the mother's colleague's son spoke with his boss and Kofi was asked to apply online, after which he was interviewed and got the job. This is social capital through acquaintances and friends at work, but remarkably, Kofi indicates that he only has a few friends at work, home and

church and that he does not like making many friends due to some personal experiences. He observed:

"I maintain quite a few friends in my workplace and sporting activities, I don't like too many friends and I am not a friend person. I prefer to spend more time with my family because of bad experiences with some friends".

Kofi recounted how he passed out and landed in hospital with a puff of a strong drug some time back. According to him, he thought it was rolled cigarettes when his friend offered it to him but noticed it was stronger than he thought. That is how he got into hospital. It was confirmed it was a drug called Skunk. That is how he decided to cut out some friends because they disappointed him. Be this as it may, Kofi is a member of the local football association with members from Poland, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, Britain, China, India and Romania. The team plays football after work on weekdays and Saturday mornings when most of them are off duty. On weekends, they usually group themselves into teams to play and socialise with food they bring from home or visit the nearest MacDonald for snacks before going home. Kofi is also part of the Neighbourhood Watch; a small group of community members that go around the community in turns during the day, evenings and nights ensuring the safety of the community. He explains as follows:

"Yes, I belong to a voluntary association, which is free to join, free to leave, free to take a break from on anytime basis. We work to protect the community and ourselves. Members meet locally once every week to decide who is doing what and who is free at what time. The community members show their appreciation at the end of every year"

The local Pentecostal church has been of immense assistance and support to Kofi's mother. When she first arrived in England ten years ago, the church assisted her with accommodation and other personal issues. He said the church has been supporting her every year in cash and some items till now. This assistance comes from funds reserved for widows and widowers in the church. According to Kofi, when his mother arrived in England, she lived with her friend and family for several years. When it was time to rent

her own house, some members of the church offered to guarantee for her freely without any charges. This is how Kofi's mother got a place of her own. Asked whether she got the house from the local council, Kofi said his mother had been in a queue for ten years now and still waiting. He was hopeful it would soon be their turn to be offered a council house. Kofi said the language was not an issue for him per se, but his speech was not very fluent with a few wrong constructions. Kofi blamed his accent on where he grew up in Ghana. It was a remote area in Ghana but believed his accent could improve the more he engaged with colleagues and friends at work. Kofi was optimistic and said this:

"My colleagues and my boss have been very supportive. They usually correct my grammar and guide me with the daily report writing at the close of work. They want me to improve and I am grateful"

According to Kofi, he feels very integrated in the UK, and although he sometimes misses his grandmother, he is happy here. About food, weather and access, he indicated that he had come to like some British foods such as fish and chips and some puddings, however, he still preferred his Ghanaian foods. For the weather, he indicated that it is too cold here in the UK, and he misses the hot weather in Ghana. He was, however, happy in this country and felt welcome and very integrated. Interviewing Kofi and listening to his life story made the researcher believe that he felt satisfied so far with issues going on around him. He was happy to have a job, happy with his family around him. He also believed that his accent would pick up with time.

4.2.2 Tracey

Tracey was twenty years old at the time of interview. She entered the UK at age 11 from Ghana. She had completed primary school then and was about to enter secondary school. Tracey's father first arrived in the UK before Tracey, her mother and young sibling aged nine years arrived in 2010. Her mother and father are separated now so Tracey, her mother and younger sister live in a rented two-bedroom house. According to Tracey, her father was not allowed to come to their home, so they only spoke with him on phone. She said they had close relationship with their mother who took care of their daily needs. The father

worked as an industry hand and the mother is a cleaner in a disabled school. Tracey is in the university and her younger sibling is in secondary school. At university, she has three special friends, Ann from Congo, Sarah from Senegal and Charlotte a British. Ann and Sarah live with their parents within the local area while Charlotte is from research site B. According to Tracey, she found out about Charlotte and the other two friends when they met in the hostel on university campus. In the beginning they were just 'hello' friends but became close with time. They cook and eat together, wash together, shop together and study together, although some of them are in different programmes of study. During weekends, they sometimes go out to visit other friends or go to parties and attend church service on Sundays together. When term time ends, her friends go home to their families and Tracey comes home to her family.

During holidays in Site B, Tracey connects mostly with family and other old school friends in church. She has other friends in the same church and they connect mostly through a group called Youth for Christ Evangelistic Group, an active group in their church that meets and pray together and connects with other churches to win souls for Christ. The group organises annual conferences in a city of their choice; engage in full week activities and fraternise. At the conferences, they connect with friends from other schools, universities and communities and always look forward to meeting again. When discussing issues about neighbours and neighbourhood, Tracey described their area as a white majority, occupied by elderly people and immigrant families. She commented:

"Most inhabitants of the area prefer to stay indoors and keep to themselves but our next door neighbour is exceptional, very kind and shows great passion towards my family. Anytime he mows their lawn, he does ours as well and shows great concern for me and my younger sister. They have no children living home, so they love to connect with me and my sister by asking about us anytime. Their children are grown, married and settled with their own families."

Tracey works as front desk assistant in one airport near research site B whenever she is on holidays. She was connected to the job through a senior friend in church who asked her to

apply online. She has worked there for several years now and has connected her friend Charlotte who is also working there. She said:

"The airport is an all people's home, none claims ownership. It is lots of multi nationals that work there. We work so happily together, in fact, we are a team. Some are cleaners, tower control staff, security, and departure and arrival staff. It is not only a specific nationality that cleans or works in special places, it is everyone anywhere according to their qualifications and skills and interest"

Tracey thinks her language has improved significantly compared to when they arrived. Language was a big problem for them when they arrived in the UK. They lived in a very remote village in Ghana, their mother is semi-literate, and they also could not speak nor understand English language very well. Both girls and their mother were enrolled in English for foreigners' class to polish their language. Tracey is also grateful to Adwoa and Mina her secondary school friends for the role they played. She now has great command over the English language and speaks flawlessly. Tracey's mother said:

"What would I do without my children? They read and explain my letters to me, help me to fill out questionnaires from NHS and Home Office and accompany me on most of my important engagements. I am really proud of my girls"

On food, way of life and climate in the UK, Tracey loves puddings and roast foods mostly. She does not like Ghanaian foods much since they involve lots of chewing. On way of life, Tracey says she loves UK and anything about it. She feels happy being with family, friends and acquaintances especially being together and sharing bonds and healthy relationship. Tracey does not like the cold weather and wishes winter is never here but she has no choice.

During the whole interview process, the researcher noticed the quiet nature of Tracey. She gave very simple answers and felt uneasy when asked to elaborate them. It took several days to reach out to interview her. Finally, the researcher had to do it at home after several

efforts of persuasion and interventions from her mother. Tracey is very happy and loves to connect with friends.

4.2.3 Mike

Mike is twenty-four years old and was born in the UK. His mother is semi-literate and completed basic school in Ghana, while his father is a retired auto mechanic. Both parents have lived in the UK since 1988 and have two children namely Mike and Dina who live in UK. Mike is older and Dina is the younger child. Both parents look healthy and receive the necessary annual health checks. Mike's parents live together in a Mortgaged house bought and occupied since year 2000 and are still paying for the mortgage. The house has three bedrooms, a living room and a garden. Mike says they feel comfortable in there and they are a happy family. Mike has two friends; one Nigerian called Ibrahim and a Caribbean called Mori. Mike and friends are always seen together and love to hang out every weekend. According to Mike, they attended the same primary school and have been friends since childhood, although admitting he has other friends but separated from since leaving school. They are in university and he connects with them when they meet in town. Mike and Ibrahim work in the same organization as factory hands and work five days from Monday to Friday. According to Mike, weekends are their 'spreading times'. They go out to parties and other places to drink and enjoy with other friends. When asked what other things he and his friends engage in Mike asked 'what other things do you mean?' 'Any use of drugs in your excitement periods?' Mike responded, 'never, we only smoke cigarettes and have never done drugs.' Asked how come he is speaking for his friends on drug issues, Mike said:

"I know both of them inside out and can bet my last penny on each of them, they have never tried it nor have been near any drug area."

However, once after a visit to the local area the researcher was surprised to hear what a whistle blower said about Mike's Caribbean friend. After assuring him of confidentiality he narrated how he shouted and got disturbed throughout the night. Police have had cause to search his flat and found the drug weed in his bedroom. Neighbours were tight-lipped

and the whistle blower pleaded with to keep the information between us. With Mike's permission, the researcher interviewed his parents to enquire whether they knew their son's friends. His father did not hesitate to buttress the same points the whistle blower told said during the interview. They knew about their son's friend and had warned him severally to desist from having anything doing with him but he would not oblige. His mother has the following to say:

"His father and I fret so much about Mike and his friends' behavior within the community; we cannot understand our son anymore. He is very adamant when it comes to his friends. We are tired, in fact very tired."

This is the only period his parents spoke so passionately about their child's friends. They think Mike is in a gang and they are not happy. When asked about his role within the community and his contribution, Mike said he is not involved much in anything except the annual Christmas events that he helps to organise with other community members. The community has more immigrants than natives and very cosmopolitan with Caribbeans taking the first spot, Africans and locals following in that order. Almost all the immigrant groups host some kind of activity or festival in the course of the year to which other groups are invited. In the Christmas season, there are several programmes lined up. There is the Ghana Union party, and its kind which are also organised by immigrants from other countries. There is also the very well patronised, joint annual party hosted by the Ghana Union. The community is a peaceful one, says one resident, and people from diverse cultures meet, bond and feel integrated during programmes of such nature. Concerning Mike's education, he blamed himself for his low academic achievement and how he did not continue to further his education. His sister was academically good and reached the top of the academic ladder. Some of his friends from secondary school entered university but he did not. He does not blame anyone for being a factory hand because he had the opportunity to do better but could not utilise it. However he is happy with what he does anyway, except his parents who feel disappointed with him for dropping out of school so early and not taking advantage of the free and quality school system in the UK.

Mike was born in UK so English language is not a problem to him at all. He speaks the language so well and fluently. He did not have to learn it in school, it is a natural instinct. It is the Ghanaian language that Mike sees as a problem. He understands when his parents speak to him but cannot express himself properly in it. When asked about church and whether there was any kind of support, Mike said he and his mother hardly go to church except when someone is bereaved and they are invited, because his mother works only on weekends. He, however, recalls his father used to attend the Baptist church in their former community, but no more since he had a surgery. Regardless, the Baptist church continues to care for his father and send him yearly gifts. He also recalls when his father had a surgery and how the church elders visited and prayed for him every day till he became fit. Now his father cannot attend church service any longer due to his age. Mike seem very sociable and comported on the outside, speaks so respectfully and is ever ready to help people in need. This notwithstanding, the community people describe him and his friends as a 'gang' and very problematic. His parents are not very happy with this turn of events. Mike loves Ghanaian foods mostly and always request food to be cooked for him. The only place he has known his entire life is UK, never been to Ghana. For the weather, Mike says he feels cool with it because that is what he has known all his life. Initially, it was difficult to get Mike to interview but he gave in to be interviewed with time and persistence.

4.2.4 Juliet

Juliet is the third born of five children and she is 22 years old. She was born in the UK. Juliet has lived in the UK all her life and had all her education in the UK. Her mother is a district nurse and her father a pharmacist who had his education in the UK and did not return to Ghana. All five children were born in UK and their parents have lived in UK for thirty years. They live in a large five room house in the Research Site A area owned by the family. The first two older siblings are married and left home; living with their families. Juliet completed university a year ago and works with a reputable organization earning great wages. The family is well-to-do, consider itself British, happy to be in the UK and bond and relate so well. Juliet's contribution to her community is very minimal. She does not take part in any communal activities like other mates of hers do. She is not interested

in anything to do with the community except about her friends at work. She works in a very reputable job in London from Monday to Friday and is off duty in the weekends. During the weekend, Juliet stays indoors and chats with her friends on social media, watching television intermittently. Explaining why she stays indoors always and socialise less, Juliet said:

"This outing thing did not help me. I followed some friends to a friend's birthday party one evening and what happened is still a shock to me. During the celebration, some friends and I sat outside the party hall with our drinks. I'm not sure what happened but I remember visiting the washroom. I took the rest of my drink when I returned from the washroom and little did I know I had been drugged through the drink. Up till date I don't know how I ended up in my own car and raped. I woke up in despair, called the police and reported the case to them. Some guys were picked up but they denied any knowledge, and till date the culprits have not been found".

Juliet stressed that this as the reason why she does not like many friends but sticks to her family. With time, however, she indicated that she had made two trustworthy friends she trusts and bonded with. She noted:

"They are my English and Caribbean friends; Jill and Kemisha. We go out once a while and book holidays to travel in the summer. I trust them and have bonded so well with them and believe they will never turn their backs on me. Regardless, my mother and siblings are my most trusted; the reason I am always at home"

Juliet does not cook or eat Ghanaian foods. All she prepares is pasta, cheese and ham sandwich and her favourite roast dinner on Sundays. If she is not able to cook, she orders Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), pizza or Chinese food. Juliet completed her bachelor's degree in King's college and had all her education from preschool to year one through to secondary, college and university in the UK. She landed her job through her father's friend who worked as a Manager in the same organisation and informed her dad of available job vacancies to which she applied on line, was interviewed and placed. Halpern (2005)

described this as a social capital in employment. Like children who were born and bred in the UK, Juliet is very fluent with an English accent. She tells me all her family members including mother and father speak English fluently. Asked about neighbourliness, Juliet said her mother's sister and step daughter lived close by and were always on point to help. She recalls how she and siblings spent some afternoons at her aunt's place after school because mother was at work and vice versa when her aunt was at work and needed help. Juliet does not worship with any church; it is her decision and has to be respected. But she is aware there are some churches around and more springing up within the community. She knows it because she sees their flyers in the post and sometimes they write to solicit assistance in cash and clothes for the needy. On the weather and way of life in UK, Juliet feels very happy and well-integrated. She has her family and they bond and relate so well. Her two friends have also been of immense help and support and helped take her mind off earlier occurrences. She says she has no command over the weather but was hopeful it will get better in future. Juliet is a bit reserved and withdrawn at home. However, when she is on phone with her friends, it lasts several hours. The interview session took place in her room at her own request. She feels very happy being on her own, she said. She eats in her room, drinks in her room and is in bed half the time. She goes down to the kitchen to pick water and or meet the delivery man. She would take the food upstairs, consume and leave the plates unwashed most of the time, says her mother, who complains about this behaviour, but says she cannot force her.

4.2.5   Jessica

Jessica is nineteen years old and a student in University of Norwich. She was born in Polma, Italy. Her parents migrated to the UK in 2010 from Italy and are beneficiaries of European Union's free movement. Her mother is a care assistant in a hospital and her father an industrial machine operator. Jessica was ten years old when the family moved to the UK. She has two siblings and they live in an area called Homebean Avenue in research site B. The house is rented and they pay close to 1200 pounds a month for the three bedrooms. In response to a question by the researcher about whether they had applied for a council house, the usual answer was given as 'yes and in a queue'. At home, Jessica bonds

very well with her family. She was in primary school when the family settled in the UK. She has completed secondary, college and is now in University.

Jessica believes housing issues seem the same everywhere in the UK, rent is very expensive and there are long waiting queues with people's needs unmet. According to Jessica, the family, had waited for ten years in the housing queue and are still waiting. She lives in a three-bedroom apartment with parents and other siblings. It is very uncomfortable when visitors arrive from Italy on a visit and one of them having to vacate her room to join another. Our only consolation is that they do not stay for long. Regardless of the delay in getting a council house, the family is happy because both parents have jobs unlike when they lived in Italy, and were able to pay the house rent. In university, Jessica has three friends from South Africa, Caribbean and Nigeria. The friends belong to a group called Robin Sisters. The friends are not in her class but live in the same flat and share the same kitchen with her on campus. Jessica described them as best friends. According to Jessica she and her friends do so many things together. They learn together, shop together and join the same social groups on university campus. Asked what activities they engage in, Jessica replied, we do lots of campus activities. There is the African-Caribbean social events group and Radical Youth group both on campus. The Radical Youth group is a non-denominational group belonging to no particular society and incorporates everyone on campus; there are Africans, Asians, Europeans and Americans. We meet twice every term. Our goal is to reach out to many people; by sharing the word and supporting those in need with food and clothing. The African-Caribbean group is more for fun and socialising. We have lots of engagements, parties and games occasionally to ease some of the tensions on campus and meet new people. The group has a big notice board where members are reminded of upcoming events like Independence Day celebrations of the various nation states and others. Jessica indicates that their group promotes positive values and tries to protect members from engaging in negative vices such as drug use. She explains:

"Our group always advises members to abstain from bad vices such as drug abuse, since it has serious repercussions on their health and studies. We know how tempting it is for us

at this stage of our lives to get involved in all manner of things. We have recently buried one student who died on campus due to drugs. He is gone"

When asked to describe her community and any social participation, Jessica said, although her community was established in the early 19th century with lots of Victorian houses, it still looks great and beautiful with lots of beautiful trees and flowers planted around. During the summer holidays, my friends and I take up activities to help keep the community tidy. We do litter picking once every month and help in the distribution of food items from food stores to Homeless people within the community described in the following words:

"LIDL Food Store engages the services of local young people to offload food from their vans and distribute to the poor and needy within the community and give us some incentives which I find very laudable"

Jessica described their neighbours (British and Asian families) as the best. The families get on so well. Their friendship has existed since they moved to the place several years ago and they still bond so well. They attend the same school and their parents have become friends as well. Instead of every parent going to pick their child separately, they decided to do it in turns depending on who is available that week. She indicated that:

"As children living in the same community flats, we attended the same school and our parents took turns to pick us depending on the parent who was free that week. The relationship among our families has been so cordial never did two parents meet in the school in a day. It was well planned, and trust was key. We as children got on well too and played together, not forgetting the celebration of birthdays, attending circus, and exchange of gifts during Christmas. Now we are grown and apart because of schooling but we are still close and send each other warm greetings through our parents and share common ties on social media".

Jess said, even though the community is peaceful and occupied mostly by diverse people, there are certain activities she dislikes; events like Halloween and Fireworks that take place annually stress her a lot, but she must cope with it.

Jessica works part-time during holidays and raises some money to support herself during term time at the university. Asked how she got her job; she said some friends of hers searched and found the job opening/vacancy online and asked whether she was interested and she answered in the affirmative. They gave her the web address and showed her how to apply. She applied and got a placement. In the workplace, she works in a different department from her friends but they have the same break time and they meet and order food and chat every time. She does not want to lose the connections they share so she does her best to be in touch with the friends and vice versa. Regardless of the social ties and bonds shared, Jessica's family remains special and she misses home whenever she is out. Jessica is multilingual. She is Ghanaian but speaks French, Italian and English languages. Previously, her only experience with English Language was as a taught subject in Italy. She had no knowledge of spoken English when she came to UK. This was her greatest challenge in the beginning until her father enrolled her in a private English class to learn to speak and write the language. According to Jessica, her friends Chloe and Abigail were a great asset. They encouraged her until she became perfect. Her two neighbours also offered maximum assistance by speaking with her. By the time she mustered the spoken English language Jessica had read 200 English books. Jessica's command of English now is fluent and smart. The church has been very supportive of her family in many ways. When her mother or any of them is unwell, they visit with presents and offer prayers for them. On her part, Jessica is a member of the church youth club. The youth club; has a programme of activities lined up all year round and join other churches annually for games and evangelism. Her mother and father and the whole family are members of the church. Jessica likes Italian foods most and a few English foods like fish and chips and puddings. For the weather, Jessica says it is nobody's friend. Jessica appeared to be very sober, sociable and respectful in nature. The Church finds Jessica a good example for other young adults, and is therefore planning to elevate her as a deacon. Most of her age mates and younger siblings see her as a great inspiration.

4.2.6 Jofael

Jofael is twenty-one years old. He was born in the Netherlands and his family moved to the UK by taking advantage of the EU free movement policy about fourteen years ago when he was 7 years old and in primary school. He lives with his mother and two other siblings. Due to a hip bone surgery, his mother is at home and lives on benefits while his Dutch father continues to live in the Netherlands and works as an Anaesthetist. According to Jofael, his mother and father have separated but the father takes care of their needs, due to his mother's incapacity, and comes to see them when he can. The family lives in a two-bedroom flat; Jofael occupies one room while mum and his two siblings share the other room. They are unable to rent a bigger place because of his mother's situation. The council assists his mother with monthly remittance and pays half of the housing rent. The family lives on the remittances and donations from the council, the church and support sent in by his father. Jofael is an undergraduate student and works part time in the airport. He supports his mother by paying some of the bills at home. Jofael spends his time shuffling between home, job and university and seem a very busy person. He got the job through a recommendation by school friends who work there. They introduced Jofael to their job and directed him to the job site online; he applied, was interviewed and accepted. The airport is within the community where they live and he does not travel very far to work and back so he can pick his younger sibling from school. Sometimes when he has to be in school till late, he asks their neighbour whose son attends the same school as his sister to pick her up from school and he trusts their neighbour to do that. Their neighbours are very lovely. They do not only pick up his sister, they also keep her in their house and provide her food as well. This gesture is reciprocal sometimes by Jofael's family in return.

Jofael loves his community and takes part in communal activities sometimes. Due to the absence of his father, Jofael supports the family by taking his mother for appointments and run her errands. Jofael has friends from the Netherlands who currently live in UK now. Not sure of the population of the Dutch community in UK, but they are enough to hold meetings and gather for events. Almost all of them migrated to the UK on same grounds - EU free movement. Jofael hangs out with friends occasionally when he is free. He likes his friends and share strong social ties with them. They do likewise but his circumstance will

not allow him to spend more time with them. Jofael has other friends in his work place. They meet during the break and discuss trending issues in the hour's break. He is not able to join any community groups because of his new role as family head in place of his father. Jofael is happy about one thing, his mother's care is very good and she encounters no long waiting times at the hospital. He says:

"Everyone is given the same priority and none is treated specially in health matters. Everyone has the same waiting times and appointments and only children and the elderly are given priorities which is quite understandable. Above all, we all have to call to book appointments and get appointment times".

According to Jofael, the family receives massive support in kind, cash and gets regular visits once every month from the pastor and elders of their church. His sister receives allowances in cash for her books and transportation to and from school as well. The church also takes care of medical prescriptions of members and non-members including his mother and his family is grateful for this gesture. Jofael is multi-lingual. He speaks Dutch, French and English so fluently. He writes very well in English too. In the beginning, it was difficult for him but with time and with the help of others, he was able to learn very fast. He was in primary school when he arrived in the UK but he is now doing his undergraduate degree in Medicine. Jofael receives Loans from the Student Finance like any other student for his education. He likes both Ghanaian and English foods. For the weather, he thinks it is very unfriendly. He misses his childhood friends in the Netherlands and wish to go back one day. He did not give any reason, except to say that he, "just loves the place".

4.3 Forms of Social Capital of Young Ghanaian Immigrants: Any Evidence?

This section teases out the forms of social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants as presented in the case studies above and from the observations from the two sites A and B. Within the life experiences shared, several analytical issues on the forms of social capital are embedded. These social capital narratives and practices needed to be brought out and discussed. Overall, the findings indicate that trust, bonding and bridging forms of

social capital are available to these young Ghanaians living in the UK, and they are expressed in different ways. These forms, their constituents and the way in which they contribute to young Ghanaian immigrants' social capital are discussed as follows

4.3.1 Family as a source of bonding social capital for young Ghanaian immigrants

As is evident in the case studies of all the six respondents, a central thread that runs through their experiences is that, the family structure serves as a major source of young immigrants' social capital. The findings indicate that, through bonds shared within the family structure; both nuclear and extended, a certain obligation is borne by members to support each other in times of need. Thus, bonding social capital, which is constituted through family relations, serves as a source of social capital for young Ghanaians living in Britain, and they called on them for several purposes. They form the basic building blocks of social life within the communities, with the different families and networks making up the big Ghanaian community. The single most important fulcrum for these groups is the solidarity they provide, which serves as a point of social support to help young immigrants integrate in England.

The sentiments expressed above gives support to how the family, both nuclear and extended serves as reliable bastions of support for young people in the communities. Bonding within the 'familial' unit is expressed through commitment and attachment to other members' needs and concerns and young Ghanaian immigrants indicated that they get all sorts of support from their immediate and distant family members. Consequently, they also felt a sense of obligation to their families, indicating that their way of life and actions are influenced by their family values, which they felt obliged to comply with. These obligations are expressed in several ways including helping family members to attend to their health appointments, taking care of younger siblings of family members, and providing them with financial and educational support. These findings are relevant for the literature because it promotes the importance of the family structure as an important source of bonding social capital. It shows that in the context of immigrants from a developing country, bonding social capital mainly expressed in familial relationships and its associated norms of trust, solidarity and reciprocity are important for these people (Halpern, 2005).

These findings resonate with the theoretical and empirical literature on social capital and with the classical work on family solidarity by Banfield (1958). Like Banfield, the study established that the family structure still serves as the immediate bastion of support for young people, and they derive social, emotional, and economic support from them. The next section discusses narratives of social capital outside the family unit.

4.3.2 Community networks and connections: friends and neighbours

Beyond family bonds as a source of social capital are other connections with friends and neighbours in the Ghanaian communities. These community connections serve as a source of social support on which people fall on in times of need. Most young Ghanaian immigrants indicated that they have connections with friends and neighbours, and they served as a source of support for them in finding their way around their new environment.

"Although my immediate family serves as a primary source of support, I also have connections with friends and neighbours in the community. I must relate with my neighbours and others in the wider community because it is not everything that my family member can provide for me. There are so many things I do with my friends. We go to the sports club together and try to see how we can get opportunities in school and work. In fact, if something happens in this house right now you will see how my friends and neighbours will troop in here to ask what happened and to offer their support. Relating with others beyond the family is important here and people are expected to join in" [Field data: Interview transcript from Jofael, a young immigrant]

As was shared by members in the case studies, these community connections with friends and neighbours provide them with sociability, information, comfort, security, material help, social identity and sense of belonging. Beyond the family, these localised interpersonal networks served as a form of bonding available to community members in times of need. As was noted by Jessica:

"P*arents belonging to the same groups took turns to pick the children from school depending on the parent who was free that week"* [Field data: interview transcript from Jessica, a young immigrant]

These findings are significant and validate the literature that community networks with friends and acquaintances are important sources of social capital. For example, Sørensen (2016) found that community networks in the form of friends and neighbours are important sources of social capital. Not only do they serve as building blocks to facilitate mutually beneficial and collective actions through the establishment of social networks and roles, they are also ways through which bridging social capital is determined.

4:4 Bridging Social Capital: Groups and Associations

In the theoretical and empirical literature on social capital, groups and association membership is generally discussed as a basic determinant of bridging social capital (see Bourdieu 1986; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Consistent with this position, findings of the study as shown in the case studies above; revealed that groups and associations are common features of Ghanaian communities in England, and they served as a major form of social capital available to young immigrants studied. Almost all the respondents acknowledged that belonging to one group or the other, such as youth groups, Ghanaian community associations and the church, aided their integration. Although membership of these groups and associations are largely voluntary, young Ghanaians like Mike are encouraged to join because as Ghanaians, it signifies communal connectedness as well as considered as a means of giving back to their community. Groups and associations cut across homogeneous ties and family relations and served as important means of expressing solidarity beyond the familial unit. As is evident in the experiences shared, participants regard membership and contribution to these social groups as an important obligation to be accepted as part of the general Ghanaian community and they valued the relationships and connectivity built through these groups and associations.

However, it was also clear that they derived certain reciprocal benefits by joining these groups. The benefits include, enhanced information sharing, capacity building, joint

communal action and risk sharing. Most importantly, they trusted other group members and leaders to act in their interest. These serve as key ingredients for lubricating the relationships and placing obligations on group members to support one another. As can be seen in the experiences, the single most important fulcrum for these groups is the solidarity they provide, and they were found to be predominant because these benefits they provide helped the participants to integrate in respective English communities. Trust in other members and leaders served as 'binding glue' that kept young immigrants in these groups and associations.

These findings are consistent with Hardin (2002) who assert that trust is a rational expectation based on iterated relationships and reputation building between two agents and it is also a key component of social capital. This is because a high level of bonding ties among people engenders higher levels of altruism; making it possible to consider the welfare of other members of the group and thereby encouraging all members to take collective actions (see also Durlauf and Fafchamps 2004). As argued by Lin (2017:5), social capital "entails the resources (information, ideas, support) that individuals are able to secure by virtue of their relationship with other people". These resources are social in that they are only accessible through relationships, and with a potential for common actions. Overall, groups and associations like the Ghana Union served as a major form of social capital for the young immigrants studied, so are churches which I discuss below.

4.4.1 Churches as a major source of Bridging Social Capital
The case studies as presented above also show that churches stand out as an important outlier as far as the bridging social capital for young Ghanaian immigrants is concerned. The experiences gathered from the study reveal that almost all the respondents belonged to one church or the other. These churches are three and comprised the Baptist church, the Methodist church, and the church of Pentecost, all of which served important purposes for respondents.

4.4.1.1 Baptist Church in Site A
The church's slogan: "we are a community of all people, of all ages, from all nations and cultures being renewed by the Gospel, where individuals who are redeemed by Jesus love

God with all their heart." The aim is to impact their neighbourhood and beyond with the Gospel, Christ-like love and His presence. As a believing community, the church is united by faith and love for Jesus, the Messiah. Coming from different backgrounds and walks of life members strive to remain united in God's work for His kingdom and to shine His light in the world. Copied boldly on the wall, the church's vision reflects the notion of "being renewed by the Gospel of Jesus Christ (1 Cor.15:1-6), a mission minded community for all people, of all ages and from all nations and cultures". Most activities listed in the church's brochure include; "Please read-on and get in touch, whatever your age or social status, we will be pleased to welcome you. We believe in the Doctrine of Grace, That God takes the first and the initial step to save mankind through His Son Jesus, by the Holy Spirit. That man's condition without God is fallen (Depraved), that the work of God the Father in salvation is unconditional (Grace) that the work of Jesus the Son in salvation is personal Salvation (Election) and subscribe to the Evangelical Alliance Statement of Faith and Basis of Faith." (Baptist Yearly Brochure March 2018). Church services are run concurrently and structured to reflect its vision and mission for three groups of people; children, youth class and adults, involving and meeting the needs of all ages and cultures. Like the other churches in the community, several packages of help are in place to take care of vulnerable members. They include widows, the sick and a community wide support such as feeding the homeless.

4.4.1.2 St Andrews Methodist Church Site B

John Wesley is the founder of Methodism. The church particularly emphasized the following statement:

"We are a welcoming, friendly church family, worshipping God and sharing the good news of his love for all. We worship, pray and learn together about following Jesus Christ. We also meet for fellowship, fun, and helping the local community."

A lot of groups have been formed to strengthen the church's sense of community and fellowship. They include the women's fellowship, a friendship group, coffee mornings, monthly lunches, a play group, a Ghanaian Methodist Fellowship, occasional Church dinners, parties, fetes and weekend away group. The church shows great concern for those

who are struggling with poverty, loneliness, depression, mental / physical illness, and addictions. This is in regard to its support for the Harlow Food Bank, Action for Children, the White Chapel Mission and 'Hope' initiative that provides shelter for homeless people one a week in January and February nights. The church continues to work with businesses within The Stow area in developing a safer local habitat. It also works throughout the year with children and adults collecting items for "Junior Mission for All" (JMA). The Methodist church also supports Christian Aid week in May every year by raising funds for their work. In addition, the congregation and Women's Fellowship (MWiB) regularly collect items for World Mission. The church is proud of its young people and believes that they are a precious resource for the future. The children and young people of St. Andrew's Sunday Club are valued as part of the Church of today, not just of the future. The Pastor however spoke passionately about change of lifestyles of young people and their indifferent attitude towards church.

4.4.1.3 The Church of Pentecost Site B

The Church of Pentecost is a bible believing church whose mission is to spread the gospel across the world, including the most remote area in the world. The church originates from Ghana and claims of having over 20,000 congregations with more than 3 million members. The founder is Pastor James McKeown a Northern Ireland missionary who lived in Ghana between 1953 and 1982 for missionary work. The Church believes in communal living with members supporting one another and participating in communal work. The Church also helps the entire community by providing social needs such as health services, schools, agriculture as well as donating to the needy in the society. The following distinctive attributes help identify The Church of Pentecost, namely; support for members and others, faithfulness and integrity, prayerful attitude, discipline without fear or favour of members; irrespective of position, race or colour, respect for authority, mutual respect and sense of belonging for all members without discrimination based on tribalism, racism or nationality among others. Generally, young Ghanaian immigrants consider their membership in Churches as an important obligation and value the relationships and connectivity built through these groups and associations. Tracey captured this well when she said:

"I have to attend Church meetings, not because my parents and other family members will be unhappy if I do not, but also because I consider it as part of my responsibility to the Church and the community" [Field data: interview with Tracey, a young immigrant].

Generally, the churches provide various kinds of support to respondents. This support ranges from service, altruism, as places of solace and providing care for members' welfare. This support system trickles down to the communities through jobs, funding, visits, and a range of benefits set aside for other people outside the church. The church supports the local food banks by providing them with weekly cash donation. The slogans of the different denominations say it all, with one church having its slogan as '*a lighthouse in the midst of darkness and an oasis in the midst of desert, welcome home!*".

Another church, describes itself as very friendly with a sense of community towards members and a five core ministerial mandate which are, Word (teaching of the Bible, Worship (praising the Lord), Witnessing (believing in God), Welfare and Warfare (5Ws) aimed at producing corporate fruitfulness in the church and individual lives. One other denomination prides itself of being a community for people of all ages, from all nations and cultures and aims to impact the community and beyond describing itself as a welcoming and friendly family church, doing a lot to strengthen its sense of community and fellowship through friendship groups, coffee mornings and monthly lunches. The needs of society are taken seriously and there is concern for those who are struggling with poverty, loneliness, depression, mental and physical illnesses, and addictions. One international English church described the fraternity it has with a branch in Ghana and their bi-annual conferences every summer. There is also a lot of rebranding among churches to attract and maintain young members. Although, being in Church may not be the desire of these young people, both parents and community members felt that church membership help young people to stay focused. Apart from programmes for the young people, the churches connected with one another and took great care of the homeless and vulnerable in the community. In practice, the churches' roles signify both bonding social capital; caring for their members and bridging social capital towards community members.

Overall, the findings show that not only are churches a central source of bridging social capital, but they also play important roles in immigrants' lives. It was found that as a means of expressing solidarity, a common practice among churches was the pooling of resources to support other needy members. As a result most Ghanaians youth consider the church and religion in general as a key part of their associational lives. These findings are not only insightful but they sit well with earlier studies (see for example, Pokimica, Addai and Takyi 2011) which establish that religion is a key part of social life of Africans and Ghanaians.

4.5 Ethnographic Observations

This section puts together the findings that emerged from the auto ethnographic observations made in the study. The research team spent half to full working days with young Ghanaian immigrants doing naturalistic observations in order to triangulate interview data with observational ones. The observational data collection schedule included a day's visit to sites A or B, which begun as early as 6am and finished at 6pm. Weekend schedule started at 7pm to 12 midnight with observations on actions, activities, events, time and feelings of respondents' defined as their social capital and its influences on integration. Furthermore, parents, friends and church leaders and their roles in the relationships, interactions and networks of respondents were observed. The researcher's background and overall ethnographic observations were pivotal to the entire data collection and analysis process and provided a platform for negotiating access, creating rapport and a high level of trust between her and her respondents.

4.5.1 Ethnographic observations on forms of social capital

Throughout the interview process, the research team came across several real-life situations in which young Ghanaian immigrants under study lived and expressed different forms of social capital available to them. The researcher observed that almost all of them lived within closely-knit family structures where certain norms of solidarity, trust and reciprocity were generated and shared. These norms nurtured a sense of belonging, fellow feeling, affection and mutual support for one another, within the familial unit. For instance,

it was observed in the case of Juliet that her family depended on support from her mother's sister and step daughter who lived close by. Her siblings sometimes spent their afternoons at their aunt's place after school when their own mother was at work and vice versa when her aunt was at work and needed help. Spending time with Juliet, the researcher observed that she related well with her new friends and shared close bonds with them. Similarly, it was observed in the case of Kofi that he and his family spent a lot of time together, ate together, watched TV in their spare time and played cards together with his cousins. Kofi appeared comfortable with his home environment and satisfied with life in the UK. This was evidenced in Kofi's response when asked how he felt in the UK. Kofi affirmed that he was happy because he had his family around him in the UK. Like all the other cases studied, families of young Ghanaian immigrants are closely knit, with expressions of bonding social capital shared among familial members.

Beyond the familial relations and bonds, it was also observed that young Ghanaian immigrants connected with other friends, acquaintances, groups and associations. As was reported in chapter four, both in sites A and B, the researcher observed groups of young girls and boys chatting, engaging in arguments and or smoking in the Town area, even when all shops were closed. Such gatherings of young adults; a very common phenomenon among Ghanaians back home, is an expression of bridging social capital.

During one of such observations, the researcher chanced upon a woman who had picked four children from school and brought them in their various homes as she moved along. She had only one child among the four but because of the existing bonds among them as neighbours, they helped each other out. The children were two Caribbean, one Ghanaian and one British. The woman was Caribbean married to a British man and they had one child. She indicated that:

"*There is the need to be one and avoid animosities. Sometimes it is sad when we meet immigrants who are divided. Helping each other is the best we can do for each other. As neighbours of the same area, we need to help one another. Nothing is lost if I pick children*

of my neighbours, instead of all three parents going to pick one child each from school."
[Field data: Interview transcript from Caribbean mother Lisa]

Young Ghanaian immigrants also joined various community groups for activities, researcher observed. Almost every respondent is a member of one group or the other. The neighborhood watch was one such example. Young immigrants helped families in need with their language studies as a Diaspora young immigrant assisted some families to learn Spanish. Jessica is a member of the Robin Sisters, the church group that works with the church to promote young people's love for church business. These bonds and bridges are important for young Ghanaians because they provided them with sociability, information, comfort, security, material help, social identity and sense of belonging. For instance, in the case of Juliet, it was observed that with time, she became comfortable around friends and trusts them to offer her support in times of need.

4.5.2 Observations on impact of bonding and bridging social capital and integration

Spending time with young Ghanaian immigrants, the researcher experienced at first hand, how bonds with family, friends, neighbours and the community impacts on their integration in areas such as sociability, employment, and religion. For example, in terms of sociability, the researcher observed Mike meeting with his friends in the neighbourhood to have fun on weekends. With regards to language, it was observed that some respondents improved on their ability to communicate in English language through support from their friends. This language proficiency support resonated very much with the researcher who worked and interacted with people in the work place, in the university and the home during her stay in the England. She could also relate well with the assistance provided to the young immigrants by the Ghana Union where every Ghanaian is welcome to seek assistance with issues because as a Ghanaian who had lived outside for a long time, she herself had benefitted from such support before and therefore considers it as an obligation to also offer other Ghanaians such support. Young Ghanaian immigrants had a sense of concern for each other, indicating that the need to care for others particularly the older ones is an obligation to belong to the family and the community. For example, the researcher for example witnessed how young people helped some elderly women to either lift a bag into a

car boot or willingly obliged to assist others in several other tasks. In Site A, a young immigrant expressed the joy of being a member of the community Neighbourhood Watch Committee that ensured the safety of its members and supported the community in many ways. Thus, he was inclined to reciprocate all the benevolent support and assistance he received from others, but also as a liability in doing his part to produce a common good.

Therefore, as was amply discussed in the analysis chapters, social capital of young Ghanaian immigrants impacted on their integration by placing on them, a sense of obligation to support their family members and other members of the community. From the researcher's background as a Ghanaian, she readily understood this obligation of reciprocity and why young Ghanaians attached importance to such an obligation. Not only are social obligations considered a positive gesture, but young people saw it as a means of giving back to their communities. Such a disposition is part of the general Ghanaian culture and positively influences cooperative and collective decision making. Young Ghanaian immigrants regard membership and contribution to social groups as an important obligation to the general Ghanaian community and they valued the relationships and connectivity built through these groups and associations. The groups and associations serve as a source of network and information for them, giving them access to resources they could not access on their own. As was noted in chapter five, this impacted their sociability, employability, and other areas such as their learning of the English language, For example, Tracey underscored the role played by her secondary school friends Adwoa and Mina in helping her polish her English language. The researcher could relate with the need for young immigrants to learn the language of their host to enable them fit in, because while living in Sweden as a student, she also learned and communicated in the Swedish language by sometimes coming back to ask friends what some expressions and jargons meant.

Also, during the six-month observation in research sites A and B, the researcher noticed young immigrants returning from school with their friends always in a queue. They would usually go through the library first before leaving for their various homes. At the library, I noticed three groups; some meet the home work teacher, some play cards and the third group chats on their phones and among each other. I spoke to two people from each group

to know their ethnicity. They are from secondary schools within the area and are from different ethnic groups; Chinese, British, Ghanaians, South African, Black Spanish, Dutch, and Caribbean; a way of promoting UKs integration policy by regarding immigrants as full and equal rights citizens as British citizens (Ager and Strang 2002). In research site A, there is the very ubiquitous Ghana Union office building which is situated in the centre where every Ghanaian is welcome to seek assistance with issues.

It was also observed that the acquisition of education has led to accumulation of social capital directly, by helping individuals develop the civic skills and cognitive capacities that facilitate participation in groups and associations. It has also done so indirectly, by lowering the cost of engaging in civic activities, and fostered immigrants' civic skills directly through the curriculum by providing the individual with opportunities to discuss social and political issues and by promoting habits of associational involvement.

4.6 Summary

This chapter analysed the case studies of six young immigrants used in analyzing the first research question, what forms of social capital is available to young immigrants. The second part of the chapter presents an analysis of the ethnographic observations that took place within the communities. The chapter identified strong bonds and bridges among family, close friends, neighbours, community groups and church support as important forms of young immigrants' social capital.

CHAPTER FIVE

Social Capital Influences on Integration of Young Ghanaian Immigrants

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of data relating to the second research question, thus, the social capital influences on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. The chapter is a follow up on the previous chapter which explored the forms of social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants. While that chapter focused more on identifying the structural components of social capital, this chapter delves deeper into the cognitive dimension; examining the extent to which respondents utilise these structural forms to enable them integrate in England. The chapter examines the various social relationships of respondents, their underlying norms, and how they influence their integration.

5.2 Entry to England

All the three groups of young immigrants' entry into England are represented in the six case studies presented in Chapter Four. The case studies show that all but one young immigrant were born to Ghanaian parents. For those born to Ghanaian parents the main differences being where they were born and entry to England. All six interviewees were born between 1994 and 2000 and are aged between 18 and 24 years. Out of the six young immigrants, two were born in Ghana, lived part of their lives in Ghana before migrating to join their parents in England, two others were born in England and had lived there all their lives, and the third group members were born and raised in other European countries and migrated to England with family as part of the European Union's (EU) free movement policy. There is a very high population of Ghanaian immigrants numbering about 113,000 living in the UK (see chapter 2), though it is believed that the population of Ghanaians in the UK could be more. This can be partly attributed to the fact that UK, unlike their counterpart countries in Europe, accept immigrants and support them to succeed (thanks to the Home Office integration policy of 2002) to a very large extent.

The first group is those immigrants born and raised in Ghana before travelling to England to join their parents. Tracey was born in Ghana. She entered the UK from Ghana as a dependant at age 12. Her father has lived in the UK since the 1990s and worked hard to bring Tracey, her little sister and their mother to the UK as dependants. Kofi entered the UK at age 18 as a dependant of his mother and lives with his mother and aunty. Kofi's mother is a widow and she lives with her sister, her husband and two children in the same flat. The family comes from the Ashanti Region of Ghana. They speak Twi, a Ghanaian language spoken by about eighty-five percent of Ghanaians. Members from this region consider their extended family members as nuclear ones, with children regarding their parents' siblings as their mothers and fathers. For example, Kofi calls his mother's sister 'Mummy' and relies on her for advice and other personal needs in her mother's absence (Chapter 2). Most young Ghanaians back home like Kofi and Tracey wished they could use family links to travel abroad (Gyeke 2016).

The second group is young immigrants born and raised in the UK. Mike and Juliet were both born and raised in the UK to Ghanaian parents respectively. Both Mike and Juliet's parents have lived in England for a long time and had some form of education up to an appreciable level. Jofael and Jessica make the third group. They were born and raised in the EU nation states. Jofael is 21 years and was born in the Netherlands while Jessica is 19 and was born in Polma, Italy. Jofael's family migrated to the UK when he was 14 and Jessica's family while she was 12 years. Jofael has completed college and is in his final year of an undergraduate degree in Science. When the family came to the UK, Jofael spoke few English words and could not communicate fluently in English although fluent in the Dutch language. Jessica on the other hand is in university pursuing a degree course in Architecture. Like Jofael, Jessica spoke the Italian language fluently. With time, motivation, help and encouragement from friends she now has total control of the English language and speaks it fluently. Thanks to her two English friends Charlotte and Mina who corrected and guided her along. She is grateful to them and connects with them any time she visits home. Both Jofael and Jessica's parents are happy with their children's progress. All the three groups of young Ghanaian immigrants living in England gave vivid pictures of their life experiences in England (see chapter 3).

The justification for using these three groups in the research is to give a clear report of not just one immigrant group, but also to understand the cultural diversity and identity of Ghanaian immigrant groups and how they integrate in the UK. It is to tell whether they see and regard themselves as Ghanaians, or how each group regards itself. This and many more are what this research seeks to ascertain. The six case studies for this research focused on these three young immigrant groups, their background stories, and stories to make meanings of how they integrated in England.

5.3. Parents' Views on Moving to England

Parents of young immigrants living in England were also interviewed to elucidate their reasons for migrating to the UK. This was to explore how these young immigrant groups, especially, the Diaspora group left their comfort zones and places they had lived for decades to begin life anew in a new place. According to parents, moving out of such places has been a step in the right direction and has been worth the move. Parents expressed authentic concerns for moving to the UK and thanked the EU for this laudable idea of free movement. Danny is a parent of three girls determined to make it in life. The family lived in Italy for almost two decades, but they had to migrate to England for jobs and secure a better future for their children. Danny said that he could see prospects in his girls and wanted them to reach their potential. It was not because there were no good universities in Italy, but the language was a big challenge. In Italy, English is taught as a subject in schools and his children could hardly communicate in English, he reiterated:

"Now the world is very global and international. So people need to be prepared for better prospects. Ghana is English and English is international. I do not regret emigrating to UK. Now my girls are doing very well in school. Ten years ago when we moved in we nearly gave up but with extra inputs now they are doing well and are well integrated. I am grateful to some friends for their immense assistance and support for my girls" [Field data: interview transcript from Danny, a Diaspora parent].

Another parent was happy to be here in England, she prefers to be called Dina. Dina and family emigrated from Spain to the UK. They had lived in the UK for fourteen years, and

were very grateful to the UK government for providing jobs and education and for integrating them into the system. She is happy and said "the reason for migrating to England with my family is answered." According to the parent, jobs were their main challenge back in Spain and it was very expensive to enroll in an all English school. She described the reason behind her family's move to England as:

"Jobs! Jobs were missing due to the world economic crunch of the early 2000 which affected our jobs till today. We run shifts with the jobs; one group goes one week and another the next week. We could not even guarantee that we will go to work the following week. We could stay home for weeks without being called to work. Sometimes we work for only a week in a whole month and it was very frustrating". [Field data: interview transcript from Dina, a parent]

Another parent is grateful for the EU policy on free movement and expressed her gratitude to the British government for allowing immigrants in their country and placing them in jobs. He is also grateful for giving their children free education and granting them loans for their university education, and had the following to say:

"My three children are all in university and I do not pay anything; something quite difficult and rationed in Italy". Life was very difficult for us over there. The sky is the limit for my children now in England" [Field data: interview transcript from Solomon, a parent]

Parents of young immigrants expressed their profound gratitude to the UK government for their migration to England, because they got jobs and attained schools for their children. They feel better integrated. They also feel very welcome and happy. They expressed their utmost gratitude to the UK government for accommodating them, treating them as one and especially for their children's education. Despite all these supports, some still wish they could go back to their previous homes.

5.4 Family Characteristics and Living Situations

According to Putnam (2002) immigrants' welfare is paramount to any nation's development, and any country that wants to succeed must make immigrants' welfare and development their topmost priority. The UK has been a member of the European Union for several decades and a signatory to its Free Movement policy, a policy which paved way for some members to migrate to other places where better opportunities can be found. It is therefore a step in the right direction that many Ghanaian immigrants and their families from other EU nation states live in the UK. All six case studies presented showed that some of the Ghanaian immigrants have lived in England several years with the least number of years being six.

The young immigrants were born between 1995 and 2003, a period characterised by anxieties of the new Millennium saddled with introduction of most sophisticated technological gadgets and increase in high crime rates in the world. Four out of the six immigrants were born in Europe, had their education to a certain level in Europe with a sound financial support through part-time jobs. Conversely, their African compatriots who came to England as adults lived in their parents' home without jobs throughout their education. A young immigrant born in Ghana explains:

"Unlike abroad where fifteen-year olds work part time, it is not so in Ghana. The jobs are absent. I completed secondary school at age 18 in Ghana but never had the opportunity to work part time. There are many unemployed graduates in Ghana, let alone secondary school leaver. Most of them continue to live with parents. The results, their yearning to seek greener pastures abroad" [Field data: interview transcript, Kofi, young immigrant]

This concurs with Gyekye (2016) who asserts that there are significant differences between European migrants and their Ghanaian immigrants to the UK.

Three out of the six parents are married and live with their spouses and children while the remaining three are divorced, widowed or separated. Out of the six, five parents have reliable jobs that feed them and take care of their personal needs. One of the parents is a

very sick person who relies on benefits and support. Juliet's parents are well to do and belong to the affluent class in the society while the other parents engage in odd jobs to survive. Some of the parents are happy and grateful that they have reliable jobs which help them to take care of their families and personal needs. A mother who migrated from Italy to the UK is grateful for having a job, a situation which was missing in Italy and feels happy and grateful to be working:

"It is a joy to have something to do. My family struggled in Italy to fend for ourselves. That is why we are grateful to the British government. My husband and I are both university graduates. My husband had his university education in Italy while I completed mine in Ghana. But there are no jobs in Ghana as well. We know that with time, we shall get the right jobs tantamount to our qualifications" [Field data: interview transcript from Monica, a Diaspora parent].

Not only are immigrant parents happy to acquire jobs, they are also grateful to the British Government for the opportunity given to their children, in terms of free quality education and the opportunity to learn the English language, not as a subject but to communicate and write it. A Diaspora mother migrated to the UK because of her children's education. They are French but she wants them to learn the English language. She commented:

"Aw aw, this is a dream come true. Thank God for this EU free movement which paved way for my children and I to migrate to England. It was always my wish to have my children learn English and become multi-lingual. Thank God Edwin can read and write and express himself in the English language. He is not there yet but I trust his friends are supporting him. They meet in the library after school daily and he is picking up so fast. I have equally benefitted from the Adult Education class and now my English has improved" [Field data: interview transcript from Joyce, a Diaspora parent].

The safety of young immigrants born in the UK is comparatively higher. There is low rate of discrimination against immigrants in England schools. All students attend the same school and sit in the same class from age three till they complete. Young immigrants have

established connections with their classmates and know who and where to go in the event of a need. In class, they rob shoulders and make the sky their limit. Juliet for instance is very talented. She attended one of the best institutions in Britain; her parents are well to do and middle class and connected with middle class members of the society. She is also connected to many popular people and is very confident and self-assured. That makes the difference between immigrants born here and those who entered later in terms of how they are connected in their communities (Gyekye, 2016).

5.5 Friendship Networks

Pahl (2000) describes friends as the important people needed to raise one's self esteem, health and well-being and that people in close relationship are healthier compared to those without friends. Morrow (2001) describes friendship relationships as being necessary and associated with the values of social capital such as trust, reciprocity, emotional support, community and identity. In this study, almost all the young immigrants studied expressed profound interest and gratitude to their family, close friends and acquaintances that have been helpful to them.

The section explores the perspectives of the research participants in terms of how friendship networks aided their integration in the UK. The research showed that the young people studied have a vast array of friendship networks from their ethnic background and across diverse ethnic groups and these friends most strongly matched the values associated with social capital, such as trust, reciprocity, emotional support, community, and identity (Pahl, 2000). Drawing on the theory advanced by Robert Putnam (2000), the study identified how Ghanaian young immigrants use 'bonding' social capital to establish same-ethnic friendship networks and 'bridging' social capital to develop cross-ethnic friendship bonds, which would be fully discussed in the next chapter.

The results of the case studies and analyses show that all young immigrants have friends and networks. For example, Natalia who was born and raised in Spain and now lives with her parents in Research Site B, describes her British and Ghanaian friends in school as people who supported her to stay in school without dropping out. She pointed out:

"Friends are the people you can count on. My two close British and Ghanaian friends have been my source of happiness otherwise I would have dropped out of school. Their friendship made it possible for me to continue in school till completion" [Field data: interview transcript from young immigrant Natalie].

Parker and Song (2006) reiterated that, same ethnic friendships are important as it helped to improve shared bonds. Conversely, cross-ethnic friendships are important for social cohesion. It was noticed during the interview sessions and observations that all interviewees engaged with great friends totaling 3 to 4 and had healthy relationships as a result. For those in universities outside where they lived, they had friends from home, church and the university. Jessica is from Polma, Italy, where she lived till age 10. She described her friends as great source of inspiration and the reason she was happy in England. She recalled how she and her childhood friends, also neighbours bonded so well. They celebrate birthdays together, exchange gifts and even encouraged their parents to establish bonds and friendships. She illustrated:

"Where would I be, had it not been for my friends born in England? They are a great asset. I am well integrated in school and in England because they took me in and helped me. When I came to England, I did direct translations from Italian to English, it was very funny and some of my mates laughed at me but my British and Chinese childhood friends accepted me and helped me. I am grateful to them. Now we are separated because of university studies but we still keep in touch on social media" [Field data: interview transcript from young immigrant Jessica].

Juliet was born and raised in the UK and has no problem with the language, but she describes her friends as a pillar to lean on. Her friends at work have been with her through thick and thin. She values the social connections and supports the friendship bonds shared. She mentioned:

"Cherished friends are a person's greatest asset. When I am down, my friends keep me going with their words of encouragement. Several times, I get emotional due to what I have

been through. I call any of my friends and they come and either advise or drive me to hospital. In the summer, we travel abroad to Spain or Greece for holidays and we have wonderful time together. I really love my friends and appreciate everything they do for me" [Field data: interview transcript from young immigrant Juliet].

Aside bonds shared, friendship networks are essential social capital resources needed by young people to construct their identity (Pahl, 2000). In other words, the more people connect through friends, the easier and greater their integration. In a study to examine young Caribbean immigrants' perspectives on friendship networks and social capital, Reynolds (2007) established that young people who have friends have high level social contacts and networks with great benefits for individuals. This is very true of all the young immigrants interviewed. They could not hide their gratitude to their friends for the wonderful relationships and networking. These friends have supported them in many ways including reciprocal exchanges, emotional support and trust. Jofael thinks his friends have been extra-ordinary and trust them to support him at any time. For example, when he is late for classes, his friends will record the day's lectures for him to catch up on. Trust is reciprocal and Jofael equally lends a helping hand whenever it is needed. His classmate and friend Joe in university has no vehicle and sometimes has to be somewhere immediately after class and Jofael offers to drive him to his appointments. He highlighted this in the following way:

"Friends are people you can lean on and I am grateful to my friends for the support I receive from them. I am also grateful to my neighbours for the goodwill I receive by taking care of my siblings in my absence. This is all due to the connections and bonds we share; I pray that I am able to do more for my friends in return" [Field data: interview transcript from Jofael, young immigrant].

5.5.1 Neighbourliness and social capital
This sub-topic explores the structural relationships between individual level cooperation and the overall social capital, in relation to household and neighbourhood characteristics. These relationships are complex as various factors are interlinked, and influence

cooperation at both individual and group levels. It examines how the contemporary residential neighbourhood fits into these wider debates, particularly in relation to the interaction between social cohesion and social capital.

According to Ingham and Redshaw (2018), neighbourly relations had been theorised as friendly but distant relations with weak ties. This study is based on an ethnographic study which used semi-structured interviews and long periods of observations within two local communities in the London Borough. During the interview session the participants were asked a wide range of questions about their communities and neighbourhoods. The questions mainly centred on social cohesions; interactions, neighbourhood cohesion and togetherness with questions bordering on help in need, safety and support. Analysis of transcribed data from the interviews showed that 10 out of the 15 interviewees, making about 66% of respondents were satisfied with interactions and togetherness with their community members. Jessica describes good neighbourly relations between her family and two other families within the same block of flats where they have lived for almost ten years, and how this impacted on their lives as children growing up and summed it up as follows:

"As children growing up, we shared common bonds with our neighbours which eventually trickled down to our parents, such bonds continued for a long time till we completed secondary school, even till date" [Field data: interview transcript from Jessica, young immigrant]

The observation data on the two selected sites found that teenage girls and boys in secondary schools were mostly seen in groups of five to ten after school. They retired one after the other to their various homes within the two neighbourhoods. In research site B, for example, the first point of call after school for the teenagers was the library where the young people congregated together to spend hours chatting and playing games on the computers with friends from same or different schools before proceeding home. In research site A however, little children were picked up in groups by nannies or by parents'

representatives and dropped off at their doors or in other circumstances kept in the representative's home till parents or older siblings returned home.

With regards to making friends, it emerged that all the 15 respondents had friends they connected with at work, school and in church almost every day. Participants in universities outside their area, they had friends they connected with in school and at home. Edwin told the researcher that he felt happy anytime he was with key trusted friends. Mike also lives in the same area with his friends and works in the same organization with his friends. He is always happy to have people to talk to and turn to when his spirit is down or is upset. On weekends, Mike meets with his friends in the neighbourhood to have fun. Occasionally, Mike helps the Ghana union with their planned activities by setting the venue up.

5.6 Language and Integration

Language proficiency is significant for effective integration and yet, has been found to be a major challenge for most immigrants living in the UK (Ager and Strang, 2002).In his study on language and social capital, Thuesen (2016) established that communication is a major challenge for most immigrants in their new place and affected the extent to which they could utilise their social capital. This language proficiency challenge resonated very much with the researcher who worked and interacted with people at the work place, in the university and at home during her stay in England. The researcher was born and raised in Ghana but spent many years studying within the Scandinavia region. Whiles living in Sweden as a student, she learned and communicated in the Swedish language and therefore can relate to why learning the host country's language facilitates the integration of new immigrants.

The UK is an English-speaking nation and most immigrants who travel to England have their own languages which they speak at home. However, this home language cannot be used at school. For instance, Polish, Romanians, Africans and Asians who speak different dialects other than English find it difficult to integrate (Thuesen, 2016). While most immigrants enroll in special schools to learn the language, others rely on friends to help them learn the language and find their way around. Despite this, oral and written language

remains a major problem for immigrants. Ager and Strang (2002) confirm this describing language as a key factor in any successful integration with young Ghanaian immigrants and their determination to succeed.

The data revealed how language impacted on different groups of immigrants' integration. Respondents from the Diaspora found it challenging to speak and write good English, relative to their Ghanaian immigrants. To each of the three groups of young immigrants, the command and use of the language is different. Tracey is one of the Ghanaian immigrants. She travelled to the UK with her mother and sister to join their father. According to Tracey, it was through her friends' (Adwoa and Mina) encouragement and part-time enrolment in English-learning classes that made her successful. Answering questions about language and integration into the English culture, Tracy responded:

"Language was a big problem for me when I arrived in the UK. We lived in a very remote village in Ghana, my mum is semi-literate, and we all could not speak nor understand English very well. I was laughed at and sometimes I skipped school by feigning sickness to avoid being mocked by my classmates. My dad enrolled all three of us including my mum in English class for foreigners. We learned to speak and write the language and now I have great command of the language" [Field data: interview transcript from Tracey, young immigrant]

Jessica arrived in England from the EU zone. The family has lived in England for eight years. They left Italy due to harsh economic conditions and lack of jobs. Jessica is multi-lingual and she speaks many languages including Italian, French and some Ghanaian dialects with little knowledge of the English language upon arrival. This made it very difficult for her to adjust and participate in school activities. When Jessica was asked to describe her experience with the English language, she replied:

"I am multilingual. I speak French, Italian and Ghanaian languages. My only experience with English Language was as a taught subject in Italy. I could not express myself in English when I came to the UK. This made matters worse for me. I had lots of challenges

anytime I tried to express myself. This bothered me greatly until my dad enrolled me in a private English class to learn to speak the language. My friends Chloe and Abigail were a great asset. They helped and encouraged me until I became perfect. By the time I mustered the spoken English language I had read about 200 English reading books" [Field data: interview transcript from Jessica, a Diaspora immigrant].

For those born in England to Ghanaian parents or are from mixed percentage, the English language is the main language mostly spoken at home. Mike and Juliet are typical examples of this group. They speak very fluent English with British accents and have never had problems communicating with people. Speaking to Mike's mum, a first generation Ghanaian immigrant about how she communicates with her son Mike, who has little knowledge of Ghanaian languages, she revealed how communicating with him gets very difficult for her. She finds Mike constantly correcting her English while laughing at her by saying: *"Mum, stop destroying the Queen's language."* Mike's mother works as a housekeeper in the hospital. She has lived in England over thirty years. She had the opportunity to enroll in an English language school for six months. This was part of her integration process when she first arrived in 1988. She did not have the confidence to enroll in the mainstream school. However, she now speaks a few simple sentences in English that helped her to communicate at work, at the GP Surgery and at other important places. The next section discusses the link with education and integration.

5.7 Education and Integration

Akiwimi (1970) observed that "education is a weapon of liberation from ignorance, poverty and disease". Similarly, Putnam (2000) asserts that education is a major component of social capital and a key factor in determining a person's future and their development. Further, Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) concur that education is a tool for enhancing human and social capital with a view to promoting economic and social development. The authors associate education with knowledge acquisition and view it as a source of power for cultivating social and cultural norms. Apart from being a source of power, education is also necessary for acquiring training in moral and cognitive capacities. Through civic education students learn the basic norms and responsibilities within society

and how democracy and citizenship function. To this end, the young immigrants were grateful to the UK government for the quality education they received. This suggests that a successful integration also depends on the existing policies and their implementation by the host country. As discussed in the earlier chapter, the UKs education is linked to social capital in several ways.

According to Coleman (1988), education is linked with social capital in the form of parental expectations, obligations, and social networks that exist within the family, school and the community. These are also important for student success. The author further argued that these attributes are linked with academic success. Thus, the parental expectations and obligations for educating their children, the network and connections between families whom the school serves; the disciplinary and academic climate at school; and to the cultural norms and values which promote student efforts. Therefore, the concept of social capital is a useful theoretical construct for explaining the disparities in students' educational performance among different nations.

Coleman (1988) further indicates that at the family level, parents' cultural capital and financial capital become available to the child only if the social connection between the child and the parents is sufficiently strong. Additionally, youths from single-parent families or with larger numbers of siblings are more likely to drop out of high school.

At the institutional level however, Fukuyama (2001) argues that with Coleman that schools pass on social capital in the form of social rules and norms. Thus, the academic norms established by the school community are major forms of social capital and these in turn, contribute to student learning outcomes. Coleman (1988) summed up that the concept of *social capital* as a useful tool for understanding differences among student learning outcomes. Nations with high stocks of social capital are more likely to produce students with better academic performance than nations with low stocks. They have been shown to have a significant impact, not only on creating a learning and caring school climate, but also on improving the quality of schooling and reducing inequality of learning outcomes

between social-class groups. Overall, the data strongly revealed the role education played in shaping young immigrants' social capital formation in the UK.

Out of the 15 young immigrants studied, 12 had access to education in the UK upon arrival. Out of these 12 participants, 8 have been educated beyond college and are in the university. Tracey was 12 years old when she arrived in the UK. She could not cope with studies in the UK. Both Tracey and her mother enrolled in adult education classes and through connections and encouragement from friends, Tracy is now in level two hundred in university degree. She explained:

"I have benefitted from UKs free education. It has not only increased my knowledge but shaped me and connected me to people I never dreamt of ever encountering" [Field data: interview transcript from Tracey a young immigrant].

 Although schooling is free in the UK, 3 interviewees out of the 15 did not take the opportunity to further their education nor enroll in school as they did not see the need for it. Two out of these three respondents migrated to the UK from Ghana, while the other one was born in the UK. According to them, they have had enough and reached their limits in the educational ladder. They felt they lack a natural aptitude for academic subjects and that their brains were not ready for studying. Those from Ghana had education up to secondary and high school respectively and the one born in UK dropped out after year ten.

Kofi had completed secondary school when he joined his mother in the UK but did not further his education. According to him, his colleagues at the work place had supported him to speak very good English. He could not express himself fluently even though he had completed secondary school. He is very grateful to friends at the workplace and expressed his gratitude to his boss and colleagues who took it upon themselves to communicate regularly with him. He sees this as a way of helping improve his communication skills. a way through which his colleagues helped improve. This confirms how language serves as a necessary bridge essential in any social relations. One of the parent respondents was very

emotional and upset because his son refused to better his education when he arrived in the UK. In expressing his disappointment, she lamented:

"In the 1990s when we arrived in UK, we did not enroll in school to improve ourselves or learn the English language even though it was free, we put money first and suspended education, we thought money was everything. Those who opted to go to school and learned the language have reaped the benefits for those who made schooling their priority, as they are now in good jobs. In those days, it was easy to find good jobs because the population was not large, but not now. I am now old and cannot go back to school to learn the language. That is why I convinced my son to go to school and learn the language so he can find a better job but he refused. I know he has regretted following in my footsteps because no company will hire him but cleaning agencies. "How long can you do cleaning job when you are only twenty-four?" [Field data: interview transcript from a parent]

This is a real case of Putnam's like beget like (Putnam, 2000). In the researcher's observation period, many such parents were seen in the Research Sites A and B; cleaning the offices and shops. They mostly cleaned in the morning and came back in the evening to clean. Speaking to a few of them, it was found that, they were not happy with what they do but had no choice. Some were tired by their actions and expressed their disdain for those low level jobs. However, the respondents had mixed feelings when the researcher attempted to understand why they were in jobs they did not like.

In the researcher's attempt to know whether they opted to clean or they had opportunity to improve their lives but did not, they expressed mixed feelings. Alesina and La Ferrarra (2000) found that, well educated people higher trust in people, tend to be part of their social organisations and participate in group activities more frequently compared to those with less education. Speaking about her roles both in the university and at home, Jessica describes herself as being part of several groups both at home and in school. She is a member of Robin Sisters, an evangelism group within the local church. It is an open group and everyone is free to join. They meet once every week when school breaks for holidays. They help the needy and homeless in the community by raising funds and collecting food

which they distribute to them. In school, Tracey and her friends belong to a voluntary group called Radical Youth that counsel students within the school and support them in many ways. They work in collaboration with the protestant pastor and the student union leaders. The group counsels students who are going through both academic and personal challenges; such as conflict resolution among friends on campus. Tracey thinks her group is impactful in resolving various other issues.

These therefore support Putnam (2000)'s position that education is a major component to social capital and a key factor in determining a person's future and their development. Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) further stressed that education is a tool for enhancing human and social capital with a view to promoting economic and social development, and they associate education with knowledge acquisition and a source of power for cultivating social norms. Apart from being a source of power, education is also necessary for training in moral and cognitive capacities. Also, through civic education students learn the basic norms and responsibilities within society and how democracy functions. This discussion shows how education is linked to social capital in several ways.

5.8 Social Capital Influences on the Integration of Young Immigrants

This section sums up the key themes regarding social capital and its influences on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in the UK. The findings and analysis are summarized under the two key forms of social capital, bonding and bridging, which I discuss in the following two sections that were found to be dominant for the six respondents.

5.8.1 Bonding Social Capital and Integration of Young Immigrants

The study established that bonds within the family unit, friends and other acquaintances in the Ghanaian communities studied, are instrumental in the integration of young immigrants in various ways. As found in the study, these bonds expressed in terms of solidarity, reciprocity and trust influenced the decisions and actions of young Ghanaian immigrants and their families in migrating to England. There are some immigrants who arrived in England based on information and guidance they received from trusted family members. In

this way they served as important sources of information which is a key component of the utility of social capital.

While in the UK, the findings revealed that family members and friends in England served as important sources of information on employment opportunities. The shared concern for each other within the family unit, places on members, a sense of responsibility to support other family members to find jobs. This serves as an important influence on the integration process because it makes it easier for new arrivals to find their way around their new environment.

Due to the forms of support that young immigrants acknowledged getting from their parents, neighbours and friends, they also feel a sense of responsibility to give back and this is what influenced some of them to engage in evangelism and other voluntary activities. It also influenced the immigrants in terms of caring for incapable members of their families and people in the community. Therefore, while older family members for example deemed it their responsibility to provide for the young and non-working family members, the young people reciprocated this by offering an in-kind support such as offering in-kind support, such as offering to take older members for hospital appointments. These findings demonstrate that relations and associations between people of the same family and other friends generate forms of compatibility and foster trust among them. It shows that bonding social capital reinforces homogeneity and solidarity among people and that propels them to embark on actions that will serve the interest of the collective. Indeed, as has been clearly demonstrated in this study, solidarity, reciprocity and trust among family members creates in them, a certain orientation and obligation to act in ways that benefit other members, and in this case integrate well in England.

5.8.2 Bridging Social Capital and Integration of Young Ghanaian Immigrants

The various groups and associations that young immigrants belong to are important sources of bridging social capital in the communities studied. They influence the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in several ways. These include sources of information on employment opportunities, emotional and financial support for others and

pulling resources together to help group members to integrate. It was found that various groups and associations such as the Ghana union and the church are particularly important for young Ghanaian immigrants. They positively impacted on immigrants; integration in England. At the centre of these groups are; solidarity and trust norms which makes it successful.

Group members also served as important sources of information on employment and educational opportunities. As has been the experience of most of these young immigrants, they got connected to jobs through friends and other group members and that helped them to earn a living. They connected to their jobs through a friend's friend or someone they never knew some of them had their friends searching for job opening/vacancies online for them. In terms of their education, the study found that some young immigrants were helped by their colleagues to learn to speak and write the English language. This helped them to negotiate their way around. In this way, they influenced student learning outcomes towards their overall integration.

Apart from everyday assistance derived from groups, various groups and associations also served as platforms for communal actions. For example, the Neighbourhood Watchdog Committee goes round the communities to ensure the safety of members. These findings support Putnam's conception of "trust as key component of social capital in lubricating cooperation" (1993: 171). Various groups and associations such as the Ghana union and the church are particularly important for young Ghanaian immigrants integration in England. Apart from group members and leaders providing information on sources of employment and how to get by in England, group solidarity exerts profound impact on members of the Ghanaian community making it mandatory for them to support one another. Group members and leaders provide social networks that connect young people to acquire better education and by so doing enhanced their employability. These findings sit well with previous literature. For example, Lin (2017) avers that social capital entails the resources (information, ideas, support) that individuals are able to secure by virtue of their relationship with other people.

Associations and groups also inculcate in members, values, norms and a sense of responsibility to engage in actions that will serve the interest of the collective. These played out in the churches, food banks, donations, in the form of clothes, food items and cash by group members and other forms of volunteering. The food stores served as platforms for people to contribute something extra for others; even if they were not going to benefit directly from it:

"In my church, there is conscious attempt to identify people who need help and they are supported. That is the Church's way of showing love to the poor and vulnerable as is demanded by the Bible. Last year, a family which was struggling to pay their rent was supported financially" [field data: interview transcripts with a church leader].

These sentiments underscore the position that solidarity and networks among members of various groups and associations enhance common identities and common interest and that allows them to pool resources to facilitate young Ghanaians integrate. Placed in the context of the overall influences of social capital for cooperative activities and integration, the findings corroborate a similar finding by Wang *et al*. (2018) who used structural equation modelling in a multi-level investigation in China, and observed that social capital as part of culture positively influence cooperative and collective decision making.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter focused on case studies from interviews of six young immigrants and observations data of research. The chapter revealed young immigrants' family characteristics, friendship networks and experiences with language, education, social capital and their integration. The responses highlighted important issues about their friends, family and community which are essential in answering the research questions outlined for this study. The next chapter will identify answers to the main research question on conceptualization of social capital and integration.

CHAPTER SIX

Impact of Bonding-Bridging Social Capital on Integration of Young Ghanaian Immigrants in England

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data gathered in relation to the third research objective which sought to examine how bonding and bridging social capital impacts on young Ghanaian immigrants' sociability, employment and religion in England. To enhance understanding of the bonding-bridging influences, young immigrant's relationships that border on networking and associations, trust and norms with homogeneous groups as well as with others in disparate relationships are discussed. Whilst sub-topic 6.2 discusses bonding social capital and its effects on sociability, employment and religion of young Ghanaian immigrants, sub-topic 6.3 dwells on bridging social capital and its implications for sociability, employment and religion of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. The chapter would therefore delve into the meaning, importance and relevance of the results by explaining and evaluating the findings.

From the analysis of data, young immigrants' experiences with social capital could be categorized under the bonding and bridging forms of social capital; both signifying established relationships with strong and weak ties; strong ties such as with family and close friends that provide stronger forms of support which last longer, even forever and weak ties being acquaintances useful for certain purposes like jobs and other short-term purposes. The ensuing sections will be analysed and discussed under both bonding and bridging social capital in relation to young Ghanaian immigrants' experiences with the three emergent themes from the interviews. These emergent themes are sociability, employment and religion.

6.2 Bonding Social Capital and Young Immigrants' Sociability, Employment and Religion

Putman (2000: 22-23) averred that some forms of capital were by choice or necessity, inward-looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. He gave examples of this bonding social capital as ethnic fraternal organizations and church-based women's groups. Bonding social capital; thus refers to the values assigned to social networks between homogeneous group of people within a group or a community. As explained above, bonding social capital refers to the values assigned to social networks between homogeneous groups of people. It is the relationship among the group or community, and describes the connections within a group or community with high levels of similarity in demographic characteristics, attitudes, available information and resources. Bonding social capital exists between people who have strong close relationships like family members, close friends and neighbours. Chapter three described the history of Ghanaian immigrants with regard to their sojourning to foreign land and subsequent emigration into the UK by some of them. The main data analysed in this chapter were collected from the two sites namely Site A and Site B. Please refer to Chapter three (Methodology and Methods) for the main characteristics of the sites A and B.

6.2.1 Bonding Social Capital and young immigrants sociability

Analysing the bonding social capital and sociability experiences of young Ghanaian immigrants anchors the research into one of its main research objectives expressed in chapters one and four. According to social capital theorists, positive association with family and close friends has considerable benefits to individuals than those without any social networks, and that people who engage with friends are more likely to increase their social capital (Halpern, 2005). This research has shown that sociability forms a greater part of young immigrants' integration in England. Sociability means the friendliness and any form of relationships that exists between young immigrants and several others. Sociability is also explained as being friendly and willing to engage in activities with other people. The Cambridge dictionary defines sociability as the quality of meeting and spending time with other people. The related words for sociability, according to Thesaurus, are friendly,

affability, agreeableness, cordiality, warmth, togetherness and welcoming. In an article on the history of the term, Ninomiya (2001) defined sociability as:

"A notion used by historians to apprehend different forms of social relationships in particular interpersonal bonds that are initiated either consciously or unconsciously in a given context"

To break down Ninomiya's definition, sociability exists in social relations through interaction with people and occurs in a given context. That is why it is applied to different social groups, in different social aspects and different cultural areas. For example, in the past, Germans referred to sociability as an association, Italians called it friendship and England named it neighbourhood while it is simply the art of making friends in Ghana. These descriptions are still regarded relevant in present day (Ninomiya, 2001). The research has shown that all young immigrants have several sociable engagements with their social groups and relations who are family, close friends and people from same ethnic groups. Young immigrants from the Diaspora describe how such bonds shared and engagements with close friends have been of immense benefit to them. From the interviews, it was gathered that some immigrants from the Diaspora arrived in England already grown, 18 years and above and some as children aged below ten years. Those who arrived as little children had no problem at all integrating in schools and learning the English language. An immigrant who came to England with parents when she was eight years has lived over a decade in England, told the researcher how she learned the language at a very fast pace and got the British accent. He intimated as follows:

"The only language I understood and spoke fluently was Italian and Ghanaian languages. I understood no English words or sentences but thanks to my friends at home who communicated with me and those in school who always helped me with school work and also my parents for buying me reading books and introducing me to the library. By the time I was in secondary school, I had read 200 story books in a short period. This is how I became fluent" [Field data: interview transcript from Vanessa a young immigrant]

With the exception of those immigrants born and raised in England, those young immigrants who joined parents from Ghana also faced the language challenge. An eighteen-year old young immigrant who completed secondary school in Ghana before joining parents in the UK explained to the researcher how he had problems with spoken English at his work place. He thought there was a difference between how the language is spoken in England and Ghana and described how he was assisted by his boss and other colleagues at the workplace with whom he had so much social ties (sociability). He argued thus:

"*It was as though the English spoken in Ghana was different. My colleagues who have lived in England for a longer period spoke it succinctly and beautifully but when I did, it was very sluggish and slow, until some of my colleagues decided to help me. Today, I am also perfect and speak it almost succinctly. Thanks to my colleagues and boss*" [Fieldwork data: interview transcripts from Kofi a young immigrant]

Not all those immigrants who entered from Ghana had education like the one described above. Some immigrants who arrived in England already in their teens disclosed how they could not express themselves at all due to a few years' education attained. For such people, they refused to enrol in any form of education or adult education class in England. Like their fathers, they claimed they came here to better their lives through making money, so they are till to-date chasing after the business of their parents- cleaning. Asked how he goes about life with the present day procedures of calling the General Practitioner (GP) to book appointments and everything including job applications on line, he boldly responded the following way:

"*I fall on my friends and siblings to help me. I have friends who are very educated, reliable and trustworthy. My siblings assist me with my letters and explain the difficult parts to me. In their absence, I have my colleagues at the work place. Fortunately, I have a job which has a supervisor. Everything goes through them and I am not contacted directly. I regret though for not heeding my father's advice of repeating his mistakes by refusing to go to school*" [Field data: interview transcripts from Albert a young immigrant]

A Diaspora immigrant raised an interesting issue with regard to her background before entering the UK. She recalls how she almost dropped out of school upon arrival and became a laughing stock and how she could not cope in school until some friends came to her rescue. According to her narrative, she and family entered the UK when she was of age. She recalls the happiness within her when her mother informed her they were moving to England to join her father. Although her English language ability was very poor she was sure she could manage it. However, she really struggled with her studies when she started schooling and realised along the line that some of her classmates laughed at her any time she contributed in class, but thanks to some friends who accepted and made a promise to help her. Through her friends she has improved and made inroads in her studies.

The friends have been her source of motivation in her studies otherwise she would not have survived in the school setting. She remembered cautioning her mother about the language of communication before entering the UK since, according to her, she could not speak the language but her mother told her she would find her teachers to enable her catch up. She indeed described her friends as awesome and appreciates them for the assistance they rendered to her. Expressed in the following way:

"*What is the essence of going back to school if I could not communicate in class or with friends? No one ever felt disappointed like me. I came so close to withdrawing from school and told my parents I was not stepping back to school. I was born and bred in the Diaspora and my whole life spent in Spain. The farthest I traveled was to visit my cousins in Germany. I always wished I could learn English and speak it fluently, but almost gave up the dream. But thank God for the encouragement from new friends through whose guidance I made it this far. Through this friendship, I am no more a laughing stock and I am happy that I had these friendly ties*" [Field data. Interview transcript from Natalie a Diaspora immigrant]

Most young immigrants who travelled from Ghana and the Diaspora are full of praise for such close friends through social relationships and ties, and appreciate all the efforts made

for their successful integration in England. To them, there is no better way to feel included than what they are experiencing now.

The study also finds that informal associations and relationships of social trust with family and close friends was something appreciated by young immigrants, and they expressed profound happiness in the time spent with their close friends. According to young immigrants, having friends and acknowledging the support received from them provides a sense of emotional well-being and form part of the value added to the support from networks of friends. A young immigrant referred to his close friends as the best he ever had and noted that:

"Friends are a source of great strength, support and backbone. My friends help in my lows and highs and direct my paths. Although some argue that friends can be disastrous, my friends have provided more support and done more good to me than harm and I am happy with them" [Field data: interview transcript from Albert a young immigrant]

The above therefore means that through social interactions, students succeed academically and remain in school. Social interaction has positive impact on students' retention in school and academic performance (Halpern 2005). But not all interactions are positive, there are some negative ones. This was reiterated by Moerbeek and Need (2003) who described good friends as great and bad friends as a sting in the tail. Social capital, although very positive, could prove negative in some cases.

Some parents who were interviewed could not hide their feelings concerning their children's behaviour in their new place England. They believe they came to England to make their lives better and to attain what otherwise was missing back home from where they emigrated. But they believe something has gone amiss. They spoke passionately about the worries and problems they have with some of their children as a result of their (children's) associations with friends who may expose them to bad habits. To the extent some have regretted migrating to England. Illustrated here as:

"This EU free movement is good and a step in the right direction. I had to emigrate with my children leaving my husband behind due to lack of job back home and to enable my children better their English communication skills because the language is international and added to the French language increase their prospects for future job search. I got a job in England alright but my son is picking up a behaviour that is very disturbing leaving me to think whether it was worth the move. He hangs out with friends a lot, never stays at home most evenings, and is always giving excuses. I have encountered the group many times but nothing has changed. I wish my husband joined us. There will be some form of discipline if my husband lived here with us, but he has no intention of joining us because of his job back home and my son has no fear of me at all unlike his father" [Field data: interview transcript from a parent named Joyce].

The above quotation goes to affirm what Halpern (2005) wrote that weak pro-social relationships lead to negative social capital. In Ghana, culturally, a father's continued presence at home leads to discipline at home. Fathers are seen as the main pillar of discipline and most children will not do anything that will incur a father's wrath or displeasure at home. Even when they are out to work, and children do something wrong, a mother's warning using the father's name is enough to put children on the right path. Not surprising, the statement above by the mother speaks volumes about not having the children's father around.

During the fieldwork, one young immigrant interviewed described time spent with friends as profitable explaining that he and his friends spend time in the library doing their homework and finishing it off playing cards and denied any engagement with a gang or a group doing something else.

"As young people we love spending time together as a group helping one another with school work. No one is allowed to veer off doing something else at such meetings. We are each other's keeper and ensure serenity while at the same time putting sanctions. That is how come we have as our motto 'name and shame' with sanctions placed on people caught

engaging in any kind of offensive behaviour" [Field data: interview transcript from Ben a young immigrant].

Asked what he meant by "name and shame", the young immigrant mentioned theft, robbery, crime and any form of hooliganism. Several times during observation in both Sites A and B, groups of young girls and boys were chanced upon chatting, engaged in arguments, challenging one another and or smoking in the Town area when all shops were closed. Interestingly, there were complaints of broken shop window glasses, stone pelting at people that were all vehemently denied by almost everyone interviewed except one young immigrant who admitted being part of the group because he was seen in the act by the reaercher. This is a clear indication that young people are ever ready to shield and protect friends who go the wrong way, described this way by another young immigrant:

"It is a disciplined group and members of the group only sit outside to have fun and socialize with friends after school every evening. It is a network of people who believe in doing the same thing from discussion of football to rugby and issues about the community. It is unfortunate bad things happen every time we gather making it appear like it was us. The police have encountered us several times and they are certain it is not this group" [Field data: interview transcript from Albert a young immigrant]

While majority of these young immigrants acknowledge that friends have been their backbone and are full of trust for them, others indicated otherwise. Some respondents have withdrawn from friends and public life due to breach of trust in their relationships. Social capital is about relationships of trust, which if breached, could lead to withdrawal. Some young immigrants recall how they were deceived by friends and the harm caused them which brought attendant repercussions on them; the results very appalling. This picture as painted by one young immigrant as follows:

"My whole world was completely shattered and for once thought over how some people I trusted could do this to me. I still wonder how trusted friends could do this. But I have

learned my lessons and pray such incidents do not repeat themselves again" [Field data: interview transcript from Juliet a young immigrant]

As a researcher and assistant, we invited Juliet for an evening out to have a chat. She declined at first, but gave in upon a second try. Through this outing, I had the opportunity to talk to Juliet one to one. The conversation was very positive and I introduced her to keeping a journal of her itinerary and to do things that will keep her busy instead of indoors every time which she obliged. Thankfully, the young lady Juliet has recovered from the pain and made some new friends in the end. When asked about the way forward with her new friends, Juliet said, she trusts her new friends and loves them describing the bond they share as awesome. They are together most of the weekends at the movies and travel together in the summer to other places of interest outside England.

This research also identified bonds shared with members of the same ethnic group in the local Ghana Union (see section 2:12), a group of Ghanaian people who live in the UK and work to provide support for members of the association. The union has a quarterly magazine which is published and distributed to all members to keep them abreast with pending events and programmes. On a visit to interview a parent who is also a member of the union, the researcher was invited by her to attend one of such functions of the union which was a funeral celebration. It was a very solemn function and saw members of the Ghana community express their support for the bereaved woman in several ways. The woman described the support received from the association when she was bereaved of her husband and daughter; she said the following:

"These were really hard times. Mourning a dear one in February and a daughter a month later was a difficult and traumatic period for me and my family. The Ghana Union led by its leadership paid me several visits to console me throughout the difficult period. I would not know what to do in this difficult period without the association. Apart from the support received from the group, individual members paid me regular visits, presented gifts,

groceries and encouraged me. This is the joy of joining associations, especially as we live as sojourners elsewhere. It was really a difficult period that can never be forgotten" [Field data, interview transcript from Felicia a parent and union member]

Young immigrants are not left out even though they are not recognized union members until they turn twenty years. Some attend the union's activities with their parents, and or take up responsibilities as event organizers, setting up the venue and seeing to the final clearing and tidying up of the venue. Implicit in the above quotation is an affirmation that young immigrants experience bonding social capital in several ways and use that as a means to resolving major problems faced by Ghanaians in their integration in England. The union is not created for socializing only, there are occasions the union calls on experienced professionals who are well vexed in tax, immigration, Home Office and insurance issues to educate members on very important matters.

The research identified time spent with family as important to respondents as anything else. Family contact and support ran very common in all interviews in both Sites A and B. For some young immigrants, family bonds shared is the best thing that ever happened to them and they are excited to be part of their families. In most Ghanaian homes the extended family is considered part of the family and share very strong ties. Most tribes in Ghana do not call mother's sister aunty, they are all mummies, likewise daddies. Families are happy and engage in conversations a lot at home and anywhere. While the elderly people are seated together in conversations, the young and little ones are also playing in another corner of the living room which signifies great bonds and strong ties between the Ghanaian nuclear and extended families. Families eat and sleep together and help with the chores. Single parents did their best to control their children assisted by the males in the family. All these are done with love and care in most homes. Social control was thus present within the homes, with all parents contributing to raise children while maintaining discipline, research findings revealed:

"*Ghanaians love children and want the best for them just like some natives discipline their wards when we walk about in town. But it needs to be told, regardless, that we never fail to*

discipline our children when they go wrong. This is as a result of the present day kind of children who have no fear for anyone. We love them so much but we never fail with discipline" [Field data: interview transcript from Cynthia a parent]

To buttress the above, the fieldwork data revealed bonds shared between families as necessary in their integration. Young immigrants are in close relationships with parents and are of the view that parents are part of their lives growing up. Parents interviewed are also of the view that they need to support young immigrants and keep eyes wide open on their movements. Families cook and eat together at the same table signifying the bonds shared. At the dining table parents enquire about how their children spent the day at school, work, friends and events of the day. After supper, the family listens to television news chatting, encouraging and advising one another before retiring to bed. The following quotation captures the issue well:

"A*ccommodation may be difficult to find and expensive, and our wages cannot support us to rent two different houses or a bigger house with many rooms, but we feel happy and do not ignore the little helps. We remember the effort made to get our son and nephew his first job when he first entered UK. He stayed home for months with no job in sight until our colleague in the workplace connected him through his son for a job placement"* [Field data: Interview transcript with Dina a parent]

Accommodation issues remained a dilemma to almost all parents interviewed and even young immigrants expressed their disappointment about the issue. A parent told the researcher how she has been in queue for almost a decade. All parents interviewed described housing issues as a dilemma. They do not know what to do to arrive at answers. It is difficult to get a house provided by the Council. The highest number of years on the council's housing wait list is eleven years and the least is five years. Most immigrants rent houses from owners and they are very expensive. The Council should support immigrants with accommodation by building more structures if the policy on immigrant integration is to be effective.

The research also finds that most of the young immigrants trust their friends and family to protect and guide them and they will also do their part. This is as a result of the rich, interconnected social networks maintained by young immigrants. Almost all the young immigrants interviewed spoke positively about collaboration, cooperation and trust from their friends. One immigrant described the trust he had for his network of friends and believed that whenever he had to take his mother on her appointment rounds, his friends at university helped him out by recording the day's lectures for him and is also sure that his colleague would cover his shift for that day so he will also reciprocate the gesture anytime needed. He described the trust in the following way:

"I trust my family and network of friends to pull through for me. They never disappoint and are always there for me. We work as a team and we always stand up for one another" [Field data, interview transcript from Edwin, a young immigrant]

Not only do young immigrants trust friends and family to help them, but they have trust for the police as well. It is usually shown on television several riots between the Police and the youth. Almost young immigrants and their parents described the connections with the Police as positive. In Site A, young immigrants told the researcher how Police followed them home after nights out describing them as very disciplined. This was expressed in the following way:

"The most surprising gesture is the help received from the police. My workplace is very far from where I live and my shift usually ends around midnight. I have encountered police presence returning from work many times. But they have always protected me and followed me to my house. Sometimes to my surprise since I hear of several encounters in many forms between immigrants and the police in research Site A" [Field data: interview transcript from Jofael, a young immigrant].

Sometimes, withdrawal becomes imminent in the event of breach of trust in relationships and networks. Social capital includes those resources which are norms and trust inherent in our relationship with others (Coleman 1988). There are also norms that make certain

behaviours possible. However, when trust is breached, relationships turn sour with possible withdrawal from family and social life. In such circumstances, people withdraw from society and sometimes from family and live life the way they want it but not what society wants- isolation. In some cases, people relate with family only and ignore friends. During the fieldwork period an interviewee expressed gross disappointment in friends that she entrusted her life with. As a consequence, she decided to withdraw from most friends and all associational activities with them even extending to her family. This is what happens when trust is breached as reiterated below:

"*The worst thing to ever happen to someone in life is to be betrayed by people they entrust their lives to. Broken trust is like injuring someone with a sharp object, very painful. Words are not enough to describe it. But all is not lost; the broken pieces have been picked and glued together. Now trust is restored and concluded thus, better to do one or two friends than none at all*" [Field data: interview transcripts from Juliet a young immigrant]

Costa and McRae (1988), however, think trust is dependent upon a person's behavioural trait and that a person's level of trust towards others is dependent upon who he or she is. A world values survey (1997) also established that the wider a person's social networks and associational life and engagements within their community, the more trusting they could be. According to the parent of one young immigrant, their child had withdrawn from friends due to broken trust, and described how their child used to be very lovely and sociable until trust was breached. Another interviewee described how he became uncooperative and lost trust in his friends after an issue on drugs. This turn of events is confirmed by Liebert and Spiegler (1990) that people tend to display agreeable behaviour in a trusting and cooperative way towards others or become antagonistic in a negative way otherwise. Described in the following words by a parent who wanted the best for his daughter:

"*I had a lovely daughter until the unexpected turn of events happened. Now I do not know her any longer. I feel disturbed at the turn of events*" [Field data, interview transcript from John, a father of a young immigrant].

The research also finds that high familial support increases community social capital to the advantage of families. Within the communities, working class parents are not worried leaving their children with neighbours after being picked from school. A young immigrant described the long term fraternity between her family and their neighbours since they were children. They attended the same school and lived on the same floor in a block of flats, close to one another and were taken to school and picked up by the parent who was available. The families, though of different ethnic backgrounds; Chinese, British and Ghanaian bonded so well. The children were picked from school each day in turns by the parent who was available. The children attended each other's birthday party, exchanged Christmas presents and sometimes slept over. The children are grown and in different universities presently but they still maintain the strong ties and bonds through social media and spend some time out visiting or going to films during holidays. The bond shared was expressed thus:

"*A feeling of great love has been exhibited among us since childhood and has even trickled down to our parents. As children, we have had our differences sometimes but we have enjoyed more time together than the pettiness. Never a day passes without us checking on each other*" [Field data, interview transcript from Jessica, a young immigrant]

Love and support for each other is paramount in this community which is also a form of social control. A research by Coleman (1988) on the Israeli immigrant communities in America proved how close community bonds facilitated rearing of children. Within the community, every adult is responsible for the well-being of all children; a form of community bond and social control. A working mother can leave her children with her neighbor and expect the child to be well taken care of while she is at work. One of the interviewee parents who received help on child care from a neighbour expressed her thoughts thus:

"*Knowing that support is there for your family while you are away is the best form of emotional support. Why will I not reciprocate this gesture in my free time*" [Field data, interview transcript from Monica, a parent].

6.2.2 Bonding Social Capital and Young Immigrants' Employment

This part of the study provides a relational account between bonding social capital and employment, or describes the degree to which bonding social capital relates to employment or the extent to which boding social capital influences or impacts employment. Halpern (2005) theorised the effect of social capital on employment and describes people's networks as evidence in their finding jobs rather than those without. In discussing social capital and employment, Halpern described how one person's address book and contacts led him to people capable of helping him to get a job (Halpern, 2005:43). Most young immigrants who were interviewed described how they acquired their current jobs through referral from friends, and how most employers relied on referrals from employees' social contacts to expand their firm's recruitment horizon (Fernandez *et al*, 2000).

The research has amply confirmed that many young immigrants relied on family and friends' guidance to find jobs on arrival in the UK because they did not know how to go about it. In recent times, however, employers use improved technology and no longer accept handwritten job applications but usually ask job seekers to go to the company's website to apply online. Applicants were then asked to upload Curriculum Vitae and other important documents and given interview dates later. Described in the words of a young Diaspora immigrant as:

"I am in full time employment now, thanks to my friend. The main challenge was the language and how to do it appropriately. Through the assistance and support of my friend, now colleague, I was able to do it and now have a job. I have known my friend from Italy where we lived earlier until we migrated to England. This friend has lived here for quite some time and knows so much more than I do. That is how he was able to guide me and I am very grateful" [Field data: interview transcripts from Edwin, a young immigrant].

The above illustrates the usual openness and friendliness from people we call friends. The adage, "a problem shared is a problem solved" applied to landing a job. Most young immigrants who migrated into the UK from the other EU nation states have been desperate

on arrival in their job search because they did not get connected to the main source of help. Some young immigrants with part time jobs got their jobs through referrals from friends who worked in big organizations. It is through such jobs they saved enough to pay for their accommodation in university. This goes to support the notion of social capital as a gainful venture using people's networks. Halpern (2005) describes this as 'not what one knows but the people one connects with' that leads them to get jobs.

One thing is laudable, most young immigrants confirmed in their interviews how they were connected to their jobs through family, friends in school, people in the community, neighbourhood and in some cases, church members, signifying the impact of social capital and its impact on immigrants' development in a host nation. Beautiful as it is and a great advantage to immigrant integration, young immigrants address their friends as a great source of inspiration due to massive support they received.

The findings also revealed that education plays a significant role in one's employment success, and this is because the higher ones level of education, the wider their networks, which in most cases pave way for them to land jobs. Social capital and education thus affected people's lives positively; this is not only because education brings knowledge, but through education most people have connected with friends who have been of immense help in their future job roles, the reason why the middle class through education have extensive social networks and greater job opportunities asserted by Podolny and Baron (1997) that highly educated people met many people along the educational ladder and had more contacts and strong networks leading to successful employment search.

Bourdieu buttresses this nexus between education, social capital and employment with his social reproduction theory (see chapter 2) which is simply cast as 'like begetting like'. This was affirmed in the interview sessions held by the researcher with some young immigrants from working class families who followed in the direction of their parents by not taking opportunity of the UK's free education to improve themselves for a better future. In some of the instances the children were not good academically while with some, it was just refusal to go to school. A parent of a young immigrant regrets not improving himself

through education on arrival in the UK several decades ago and advised his son not to do the same but the son ignored the advice. Both parent and son regret as they struggle to make ends meet with menial jobs with virtually no contacts. This is reiterated here as follows:

"How *can I blame anyone for my predicament? I had all the opportunity to educate myself when I first arrived but I opted for money first by working and working to get power. But I am tired now doing the same cleaning job for decades now, but I am worried about my son. I still wonder how long he can do this cleaning job. There were many open doors and opportunities that he could grab by going to school first but did not. He wished it could change now but it is late now"* [Field data: interview transcripts from Samuel, a parent].

The above quotation is the opposite situation of what goes on in Ghana, where many young people are highly educated but cannot find jobs at all. That is why the parent was unhappy that his son did not take advantage of the many good opportunities including free education offered by the UK government to upgrade himself (Home Office 2002 Integration Policy Document). Halpern (2005) describes how educational attainment affects economic results through social capital. But most Ghanaian immigrants who came to the UK earlier in the 1980s did not take the opportunity to enrol in school. They were only eager to succeed in the present through menial jobs rather than considering future opportunities that would open doors to better jobs, even though the economic situation in Ghana was not good at that time of leaving. Ghana is a nation endowed with lots of natural resources and is a leading producer of cocoa in the world after Cote d'Ivoire but poor, and this led to massive brain drain abroad with everybody rushing to get out. Things have changed now and young Ghanaians see education as a great necessity and privilege, with their slogan "Get Education first, Get the Networks and Wealth will Flow". In the words of one of the young immigrant:

"*Why should we allow such great opportunity to pass by in this new place? We need education first before all other things follow. Opportunity knocks but once and we need to grab it. We are no more in the days when our parents followed money to the neglect of*

education. This country has been the centre of great education and we need to grasp it. Sometimes when I see MPs who are originally Ghanaian, I feel proud and wish to be like them. I will never allow an old saying which puts ethnic minorities at a disadvantage due to lack of social networks to affect our accomplishments within prestigious professions and among the Bretton Woods. This is our time and it will happen" [Field data: interview transcripts from Tracey, a young immigrant]

The research also emphasises the roles played by family to provide employment to young immigrants. Portes and Zhou (1992) described economic investment from parents as the best way to invest in their children's future and make them independent. By investment, they mean providing private tutoring, travel and language lessons, paying for their fees as important in promoting the human capital base of young people to fit them within different social settings. This is supported by Majoribanks and Kwoks (1998) who postulated that the more parents were involved in their children's education and job aspirations, the higher their children's attainment and achievements in life. According to Ommen *et al*. (2009), social capital is closely related with employment, and further pointed out that adequate social capital has the capacity to enhance opportunities for employment through information sharing and mutual support. The authors also supported the opinion of Leana and Van Buren (1999) that the workplace represents institutional social setting ideal for employees to better achieve their goals with the assistance of adequate social capital.

Erickson (2001) also averred that personal social capital can exert impact on employment and vocational experience. Ericson's position is also shared by Drukker *et al*. (2003) that individuals who possess a greater amount of social capital have more opportunities to receive information regarding new jobs and thereby reducing job-searching stress. For example, Erickson reiterated that adequate social capital can help individuals who are temporarily unemployed to successfully cope with the situation to maintain good quality of life (QoL). This is because more social capital means more emotional, instrumental and social support to deal with the stress and more resources and information to help with job searching. These are exactly what the findings of this study have revealed with respect to the young Ghanaian immigrants in England studied.

6.2.3 Bonding Social Capital and Young Immigrants' Religion

Religion emerged as one of the major themes regarding young immigrants' social capital and integration. The theme on religion is chosen to depict religion as an integral part of young immigrants' integration and social capital in England. According to Durkheim (1912), religion plays the role of shaping social life. Religion and social capital can be described as both intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsically, it is about the beliefs in the Supreme Being and ruler of the universe and the ability of pastors to solve issues facing the community. Extrinsically, religion is linked to social capital in terms of practices and the help it provides to its members.

This part of the analysis discusses the role of the present-day churches in England and the support offered to young immigrants, their parents and communities. Almost all the young interviewees and their parent believed that there is the existence of a Supreme Being who they serve and worship. They also believe that He can turn things around. That is why most Africans fill up churches on Sundays to seek atonement of their sins, whilst believing that He created them and He can do things they ask for. Asked whether religion is being unpopular in England based on how empty churches are, a parent agreed but said he believed in God because of what He has done for his family. He averred that he had nothing to say about the empty churches now, as far as he was aware, there is still God, the creator of people on earth. He emphasised:

"*There may not be many people in the church building these days but as far as I know, people in this country believe in God. The weekly aired Songs of Praise interspersed with church history and the Word of God shared by Pastors on British Broadcasting Corporation TV (BBC) is one programme followed by many people in this country. Not only do they love to sing along, they follow the word of God shared by the producers. Also, as far as I know, most young people of today, not specifically whites but those of African descent, are not in church either. This is due to several missing factors and blind copying; regardless they believe God exists*" [Field data: interview transcripts from Daniel, a parent]

This was a parent's thought on the concept of religion. He believes that attending a church service is more personal these days and that people choose to do what they want with their lives. However, he admitted that churches are truly empty. Some people also believe in the role of the church as a correctional centre for young immigrants who need some form of correction. The churches are available to help shape lives and bring out the good in people. Some church leaders described what is going on with young immigrants today and why they need to attend church and study the word of God. They described the need for encouraging the youth to run their own service and be in charge of the whole programme. They saw this as an effective way through which might connect with one another. Some parents saw the role of the church as more than going to worship. While at church, they expected their children to be counselled and believed that that would positively impact on their lives and behaviours. One Elder of the church who is also a parent emphatically stated that:

"*Most parents see the church's superior role of molding young people and complained to the head pastor about their children's waywardness. They were not happy with their friends and the kind of behaviours being exhibited. They wanted the church to intervene - to save the situation from getting out of hands*" [Field data: interview transcript from church elder]

Some young immigrants described their engagement in religious work by spending time evangelizing to people within the community. One such group was called "Youth for Christ" meets to pray for themselves, families and community and attend annual conferences hosted by other assemblies (branches) of their church in other areas of England. An interviewee added that:

"*Our support for the church and its members is not only towards members, their families and the community alone. It is one church with its headquarters in Ghana but have branches scattered all over England. That makes our yearly conventions very successful and interesting. At the annual meetings of the group, we share the word of God, listen to advice from our Pastors and patrons and socialise with new people we meet, This gives*

opportunities for networking and future group associations" [Field data, interview transcript from Vanessa, a young immigrant].

Implicit in the above quotation is an affirmation that religion is inextricably linked to the social capital framework. This is shown in how young immigrants and parents frequently use the church to resolve issues and turn to the pastor for all forms of support. A Diaspora single mother of three was sick at home and had to fend for her family. She is a member of an all Ghanaian church. Sometimes it is difficult for her to pay for her prescriptions and rent. The Council supports her with half rent but it is not enough to take care of her family. Her church supports this lady and other Ghanaians who are in need of money and other household items. She also gets support to buy her medication. In the interview, she expressed appreciation to her church leaders and her son for their support. This was confirmed by the Pastor who was in charge of family support by saying:

"The *church's first duty is to God and man. We believe in God as the Supreme Being. But there is the other side of religion which is enshrined in the churches roles and mission statements boldly inscribed on the board as providing help and support to our own people and others. This is a church with its Headquarters in Ghana; and because some immigrants usually have challenges, we would do ourselves a great disservice if we cannot resolve members' challenges. This support for our own members will continue and extend to the community"* [Field data: interview transcript with Pastor Michael, a church leader].

The research finds long term bonds and links between religious groups, and makes significant contributions towards ethnic minority groups in England. Social capital may be declining in America and people are no longer joining associations and volunteering (Putnam, 2000) but religious gatherings continue to rise in England especially among immigrants. Walking through site A on a Sunday morning and observing the number of religious places of worship, the researcher counted as many as twelve church houses and rented premises with the name of the churches boldly written on the edifices. There were some mainstream churches which worshipped in their own buildings namely, Church of

England, Jehovah's Witnesses, Salvation Army, Catholic, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches with their different ideologies.

During the fieldwork and observation period, the researcher joined members of the Church of England in Site A on a Sunday morning. The purpose of this was twofold. First, I wanted to worship with the research participants. Second, I wanted to take this opportunity to interview the Pastor at the end of the service. The church was about 50% filled. This included diverse groups of worshippers; white British, Africans, Americans and Caribbean. The language used was English and the Church seemed to be welcoming, judging from the friendliness and smiles of members. The leadership comprised of a mixture of the different groups in the church. The songs were diverse and cut across groups as well. Speaking with the church leader about the diversity of its membership and programme of activities, and how they impact the local area, he noted that:

"N*ot sure how many British are in this church presently. I marvel at how diverse the church is. There is a lot of differences in terms of ethnicity, but we see each other as one. When we started, it was an only white church, but things have changed over time. That is what you are seeing today"* [Field data: interview transcript from Elder Emmanuel, a church leader].

For the typical African churches with headquarters in Africa, services took place in the evenings because most of them used rented premises. The churches are usually filled with some standing behind except when they split the congregation into two; youth and adult services. Majority of the immigrant-led churches had Ghanaian or Nigerian membership and some had mixed racial membership from diverse nationalities mainly Zambia, Togo, Caribbean, Ivory Coast and South Africa. All the churches were bible-believing churches but with different ideologies.

The research also finds that all the churches saw their roles as something that go beyond just worshipping. They equally build social cohesion and networking among their members and carry out altruistic roles which include providing support for the needy such

as the homeless and widows within the community. On several occasions, they hold programmes that benefit all members and create opportunities for bonding and networking. They organise Sunday afternoon tea and snacks for the members. They also organize club meetings for members to form connections and network. A church member explained:

"The network is strong. I could not believe it. One Sunday in church, I chanced upon another young immigrant who was introduced to me by a church leader. This was his first time in church and needed assistance and clarifications on so many things. He asked to be directed to where to find a job. A strong network was established and I led him to the Job Centre to register. Few weeks later, he was asked to enroll in a training programme and later to a job and has never ceased to thank me" [Field data, interview transcript from Edwin, a young immigrant].

In Site A, the choir groups of all the local churches have one major yearly activity that bring them together with proceeds used to cater for the needy and the homeless within the community. All churches provide food items for the local food bank. The Food Bank (Chapter three) is the name given to food items distributed to homeless people in many chosen centres around the community. The days of the week are allocated for the chosen centres to provide food items for people to take home for free. They also share lunch together. It was very interesting to note how this is patronised by needy members of the community, some travelling all days to the various centres to eat freely and pick up food items. An interviewee emphatically described how he benefitted from such benevolent acts:

"The church is doing well to provide food items to all members in need. I have personally benefitted at a time when my mother who is single was taken ill and admitted to the hospital. I struggled with finances. I appreciate the money and food items provided me by the church" [Field data, interview transcript from Jofael, a young immigrant]

Furthermore, the study also finds that networking plays an important role in religion and social capital. Almost all the churches visited had a way of helping their members succeed.

The leader of one Ghanaian church described the ways in which they connected with members in need of jobs, prayers, directions and help with legal and many other issues. The church has a social media platform where people announce all available jobs and prayer requests. The researcher was very impressed with how quickly the requests and needs of members were responded to. A sick person is always visited and prayed for and supported with food items and money for prescriptions. If the person has children the church takes care of their needs until they get well. Several members have benefitted from these arrangements. This is not only through monetary and food donation, but also in the event of deaths, church members contribute money and made arrangements to either bury the person in England or have it flown home to Ghana.

"As members of the same fraternity, we can do nothing but help one another. Most people do menial jobs and are paid very little. It is such support from the church that binds us together. Something we could not handle singly" [Field data, interview transcript, Pastor Bismack, Church leader]

The motto of one of the mainstream churches in Site A is "Unity for all". The church plays the crucial role of fostering unity of its members and the community through fellowships and activities through community links. As part of its activities, the church organizes quarterly seminars in a programme that connects young people and their parents. The Women's Fellowship group also has connection with a sister group in Ghana and they come together in a bi-annual conference either in Ghana or in England. This is aimed at supporting immigrants to succeed. This was affirmed in the following statement:

"Both groups organized a very successful grand congress last year in England. At such congresses both groups learn from each other and exchange ideas on how best to move the church forward. The Ghanaian group taught their British counterparts bead making and the British group taught the Ghanaian group marmalade making. All aimed at raising funds to support the needy among them first, and others second. Meetings have been very successful and members look forward to such bonds every other year" [Field data, interview transcript from Deaconess Susan, a church leader]

The research also finds that some parents complained about the unruly behaviours of their immigrant children. In pre-modern societies the church and parents were regarded as final authorities in ethical behaviour, values and principles (Smidt, 2003). In those times, there were laid down rules for children especially, young adults to follow with tougher punishments meted out to those who broke the rules. Religion was a moral force then, but in modern times acceptance of these church rules is voluntary and the church's scope narrowed. Most young people do not accept the church as the final authority anymore and do as they please. Two parents described how problematic their young children have become regardless of the number of times they have been advised by the church. The Youth for Christ group led by one young immigrant in Research Site B in collaboration with the Women's Fellowship work for young adults' progress in one of the all Ghanaian churches. They meet with other youth groups from other churches to pray and organize seminars during school holidays. They usually invite resource persons from the main church to speak with them. All group members are in the young age range and discussions border on sex, education and financial management. There are annual conferences organised by the mother church for all young adults. All these programmes are aimed at keeping the young people away from bad behaviour and focused on spiritual things. In her opening speech the church leader shared some insight into what she thinks the current role of the church should be:

"*My mother used to tell me about the role of the church in their time as young people. The church wielded so much power and was regarded as the final say in almost all issues. Most children or teenagers then were sent to the church to be groomed and it was very effective then. In my opinion that power should be given back to the churches*" [Field data: interview transcript, Deaconess Julie, a church leader]

6.3 Conclusion

This aspect of the discussion focused on bonding social capital in relation to young immigrants' integration in the UK. It analysed and explained the three major themes identified in this research - sociability, employment and religion. So far, there are clear

indications that all three groups of young immigrants believe in how supportive families and close friends are. Their friends have made significant impact on their lives by supporting, empowering and helping them to integrate and develop self-confidence. Issues discussed relate to young immigrants' networks and associations with family, close friends, community, neighbourhoods and issues relating to trust and sanctions. The chapter has revealed how family, neighbours, close friends and colleagues influence young immigrants' lives generally, and promoting their integration and welfare in particular.

The discussion also brought to the fore the extent to which bonding social capital proved to be an excellent ingredient in the landing and securing better education and employment. It also discussed how higher education expands people's social capital and networks. This enabled young immigrants to have greater access and ability to secure jobs thereby enhancing their wellbeing. Also, some members of the three immigrant groups in the study had their welfare greatly boosted through their association with their religious groups. The church, according to the authors, has become the caretaker of all or some of the needs of the immigrants, whose situations would have been miserable had it not been the church. Widows, orphans, the needy and the vulnerable immigrants find great solace in the benevolence of the church. The church also became the advice centre for character molding, counseling and transformation of young immigrants whose behaviours were found to be out of good character, with some parents referring wayward children to the church elders for advice.

Section 6B

6.4 Bridging Social Capital and Impact on Sociability, Employment and Religion

The section presents the data regarding bridging social capital and integration and their links with sociability, employment and religion and their impact on weak ties. Weak ties relate to networks that link dissimilar acquaintances such as shopkeepers and their customers or other disparate groups to create new opportunities.

In this case, bridging social capital embraces all social networks between socially heterogeneous groups such as relationships between someone and his friend's friend. This makes bridging social capital secondary to bonding social capital which relates to relationships within a group or one's neighbourhood community. The concept of bridging social capital therefore evaluates connections between dissimilar individuals. It again refers to forming social ties across cleavages, outside of the family and close neighbourhoods, requiring people to transcend their simple social identity (Gittell and Vidal 1998; Leonard 2008). According to Lin 2001, inhabitants of richer countries are relatively more willing to form and maintain numerous social ties with people dissimilar to themselves. This means that have bridging social capital, whereas in less affluent areas, people are more likely to restrict their social ties to groups consisting primarily of family members, constituting bonding social capital.

6.4.1 Bridging Social Capital and impact on young immigrants' sociability

An important outcome of sociability in young immigrants' bridging social capital endeavours was engaging in regular recreational activities like football clubs and games with other youth groups who are not known earlier to them. The interviews revealed that some young immigrants are members of networks of dissimilar group of footballers who gather to play football every evening during week days and Saturday mornings and usually follow it up with snacks at a close-by McDonalds or a bi-monthly "Bring Food and Share" Activities. On such occasions, members are encouraged to bring food of their native homeland to share. There is usually much to eat and share on these days and people get the chance to connect to each other and taste foods from other ethnic groups. This group is not for any single national or racial group, but comprised of a diverse and multi-ethnic group member that live in Site A. Through playing, social connections and networks have been established with some engaging in other socio-political activities other than playing football. One such experience was shared in the following message:

"There is nothing as frustrating as having a broken car sitting in your garage with no funds to repair. I called one garage which asked me to deposit a thousand pounds before they can begin to work on it because it is a major fault with the engine. Through my

association with the football team, I spoke in passing about it to one member who said he could connect me to his father's garage and promised to make enquiries from his father. Through this network, I was connected, and the car is on the road with just about half the cost" [Field data, interview transcript from Loretta, a young immigrant]

Many of such stories that revealed associations between weak ties and opportunities were heard during the fieldwork. Some young immigrants shared stories about successes chalked in their connection and networking to groups and acquaintances other than their own inner groups. Some of these acquaintances put smiles on the faces of others and gave hope to people they hardly knew. The end results were very positive. One good thing about these networks of acquaintances was the diversity, inclusion cohesion it portrayed. The football group comprises of different groups of people such as UK, Caribbean, Africa (including Ghana, Nigeria) and Asia, but respondents described the relation they have among themselves as "shoulders to lean on". According to some immigrants who migrated from the EU, when they sometime felt down in school and became laughingstock due to their inability to express themselves in English, their classmates made it possible for them to cope. Some recall their experiences from their first day in school and how they wanted to quit, but until some classmates with weak ties supported them. For those young immigrants in universities, living in the same apartment or flats shared by six to seven students from different countries of the world provided a source of bridging social capital by sharing and using the same kitchen and equipment. An interviewee described sharing a flat with other different nationals and the connections made as:

"Being *new students in first year we had the opportunity to move into the same flat. In the beginning it was mostly keeping to ourselves because we did not know each other but with time we began exchanging greetings and engaging in conversations whenever we met in the kitchen to cook. With time, we opened up to one another and exchanged phone numbers which paved the way. Some of us attended the same church, pursued the same courses and joined various groups within the school campus, and began discussing daily events when we got home and deliberated on which clubs to join. This is how we found*

out about the Radical Youth Club and African-Caribbean group which some of us joined." [Field data, transcript data from Tracey, a young immigrant]

The interviewee expressed her utmost appreciation to her new friends. This is the first time she has been out of home and she did not know how she was going to manage. However, her new group her new group of friends on campus and the networks built on campus helped her to fit in. The African-Caribbean group is a multi-national group on university campuses, set up to improve support among members through networks and connections. These aimed at helping students cope with the stress and demands during term time, especially during examination period.

The interviews revealed that voluntary associations yielded positive outcomes. Voluntary associations such as being members of the neighbourhood group resulted in no charges or remittance for work done. The researcher observed how young people helped some elderly women to either lift a bag into a car boot voluntarily. This considered a positive gesture through bridging social capital in which young people learned to be helpful to their communities. In Site A, a young immigrant expressed the joy of being a member of the community neighbourhood watch as:

"It is a great joy to serve this community job and I will continue doing it. My family has achieved many things living in this community compared to our former place. The community which once had no trust for immigrants accepted us in their fold. Hardly did people respond to our greetings within the neighbourhood when we first moved in. But with time, they saw us differently and begun to open up to us. This was when they saw us return from school with friends in the neighbourhood and they asked questions about us and that changed the stories" [Field data: interview transcript from Eunice, a young immigrant]

Not only did members of the group express their joy of helping others, the data also revealed instances where young Diaspora immigrants got part-time teaching jobs in French and Spanish, teaching children in the neighbourhood for a token. On one of such occasions

when they were out volunteering one young immigrant described how she engaged a friend on the phone call in the Spanish language surprisingly led to a sign posted job. She highlighted:

"*At the beginning of this community volunteering, we thought we were giving a helping hand to protect the community from hooligans and thieves, little did we know it was going to yield other positive results*" [Field data: interview transcript from Vanessa, a young immigrant].

Another young immigrant narrated how rewarding it was to volunteer in the Neighbourhood Watch. Through the Neighbourhood Watch, young immigrants got to know about job openings through Chief Executive Officer of an organisation. This Officer rewarded young immigrants with jobs offers. One interviewee said:

"*Imagine the joy of being offered your dream job. It was amazing. I have been in the neighbourhood watch for several years, helping my community voluntarily. I did not know my good deeds were being observed until one day I was called and offered my dream job as a security official ... the benefit of serving your community*" [Field data: interview transcript from Albert, a young immigrant].

The data also revealed that specific unions such as the Ghana Union, organizes programmes that embrace all other multi-nationals. These multi-national groups celebrate their national days and invite all other nationals in a special way. Through such functions, some have found their life partners and reproduced families in the process. These events are considered big time events that most people look forward to. In this regard, the Ghana Union Union (section 2:12) organises one such event every March to celebrate Ghana's Independence Day. This is a great event and all other multi-national associations are usually invited. The most interesting part of the day is the presentation of food, drinks, and dance from difference nationalities. This is also an opportunity to develop special networks, and other bridging opportunities that led to marriages and jobs. Talking about the impact of bridging social capital that led to a marriage, an interviewee said:

"My mother was connected to my father who is British on one such occasion and the result is what you are looking at, me. They gave birth to me and my brother and raised us in this country. My dad has visited Ghana many times and he loves to go every year. I am 21 years now and I have also benefitted from the Ghana Union because I was connected to my job through my mother's colleague whose husband owns and manages a credit finance company. All these made possible through the Ghana Union" [Field data, interview transcript from Isaac, a young immigrant]

The research also found that young immigrants and natives of different ethnicity in the community are sometimes contracted by food stores like Tesco, Asda, Sainsbury, Lidl and Aldi to distribute food to the Homeless especially during Easter and Christmas breaks. The Local churches also use the young immigrants to distribute clothing to the needy within the community. Most young immigrants love these opportunities as it creates avenues for networking between them and others they did not know. Parry *et al* (1992) identified in their study that 66% of British society belongs to an association and being members of such associations have high benefits than challenges especially to young immigrants. Every respondent was a member of a voluntary organization such as recreational club, and organised football groups or politics. This is how participants confirmed their integration in England. One young immigrant affirmed the joy of such engagement as:

"Happy! Happy! Happy! That is the feeling now. Unity is the word. We are different and diverse people but one. A community that lives in peace stays forever. Several times we hear in the news about communities that are at each other's throat. This community, though diverse, is very peaceful" [Field data, interview transcripts from Tina, a young immigrant]

The findings of the study are consistent with Kawachi and Berkman (2000) who confirmed how immigrants' social capital said that immigrants' social capital, both bonding and bridging, enable them to acquire better education. The participants study used their sociability to form friendships and acquaintances. This improved their social interactions and lives with others. For example, sociability developed in education institutions broaden

and expanded participants' social networks and interactions. It was also observed that the acquisition of education led to accumulation of social capital directly, as it helped participants develop civic skills and cognitive capabilities, necessary for participation in groups and associations. Social capital was indirectly acquired through lowering the cost of engagements in civic activities. It also fostered immigrants' civic skills directly through curriculum by providing the individual with opportunities to discuss social and political issues which promote associational involvement in participants' communities. Lastly, social capital helped participants to develop bureaucratic competencies.

6.4.2 Bridging Social Capital and Impact on Young Immigrants' Employment

The importance of social networks in labour markets is well documented in the literature. For example, Granovetter (1985) found and reported in his survey that over 50 percent of jobs were obtained through social contacts. Also, earlier work by Albert Rees (1966) concluded that over 60 percent of jobs were obtained through social interactions, be they bonding or bridging social capital. Consistent with this position, the data revealed how young immigrants landed jobs through people they hardly knew and met but received support from the shortly afterwards. The literature, although confirmed the decay of bridging social capital in a short spate of time compared to bonding social capital which is long lasting Halpern (2005). Some young immigrants described how they were connected to their jobs through a friend's friend or someone they never knew. A young immigrant who arrived from Ghana described how he stayed home several months before being connected to a job through his mother's colleague's son. He recalls the stress he went through without a job initially as:

"*It was a very stressful period I went through just staying home, eating, sleeping and idling; I am very grateful to my mother's friend and colleague for connecting me to a job through his son. What a kind gesture*" [Field data. Interview transcript from Kofi, a young immigrant]

As argued by Growiec (2011), the study also confirmed that gains or earnings through social capital employment are positively correlated to social trust in bridging social capital.

The more individuals trust others, the higher their bonds. This supports the idea that social trust enhances incomes by opening individuals to more beneficial opportunities. This in turn enhances profitability through expansion in employment and business. This resonates with the view by Fukuyama (2001) that social capital built on trust reduces transaction costs and promotes the kind of associational life which is necessary for cooperative activities

The study also corroborates the position of Kawachi and Berkman (2000) on the ability of immigrants' social capital, both bonding and bridging, to enhance their acquisition of better education in England, UK, and by extension enhancing their employability in the UK. As was found in this study, more educated individuals enjoy higher levels of social capital because they have jobs that allow for greater flexibility in time management and the development of strong links with others.

6.4.3 Bridging Social Capital and impact on young immigrants' religion

Smith (2003) defined religious social capital as the social resources available to individuals and groups through their social connections with a religious community. This section examines how forms of bridging social capital such as religious observance and participation significantly related to cross-racial, cross-family and cross-neighbourhood interaction.

According to Halpern (2002), other forms of associations including religion and church membership have declined in the UK. However, churches manned by immigrants continue to increase. This shows great signs of success due to the increase in the number of immigrants in the UK presently. All the interviews took place in churches and church halls in sites A and B and it was noticed that several church buildings had inscriptions of church -names on them. Some of these churches were single-ethnic, while others some multi-ethnic with almost the same mission statements of providing care and support to its members as well as the larger community. Young immigrants were occasionally invited to join church elders to visit needy community members especially the elderly who they identified as needing support. On such occasions, the church request for donations in the

form of clothes, food items and cash donations to distribute to them. In the words of one member:

"*The role of the church and its mission is to do good to all people not only to members of the church fraternity. We do our best to support all members of the community regardless especially the elderly. Sometimes, it is not even about the donations but to visit and engage them in conversations and checking up on them*" [Field data, interview transcript from Pastor Michael, church leader]

Churches really play dynamic roles within their communities. The church as an entity is responsible for managing the Food Banks. All churches and food stores are responsible for donating food items into the bank to support the poor and the homeless within the community. It is not the brain child of any church but a project belonging to the community with the church named as a contributor and coordinator as the following quotation clearly illustrates:

"*Not sure how many members of the church benefit from such a laudable gesture. But we do it because as far as we are aware, the church's role and function is not only to show people Christ but to emulate the good works of the Saviour*" [Field data, interview transcript from Deaconess Joyce, a church leader]

As Putnam *et al (*2003) posited, the study has also found that religion is a very important source of both bonding and bridging social capital. The results indicated that faith communities in which people worship together are the single most important repository of social capital in the target area in England.

The findings also confirm the position of Zrinscak (2005) that religion is an important source of social capital in many modern societies, and as a body of beliefs, values and norms drive believers to volunteer in community affairs to provide social services such as healthcare and helping the poor as witnessed in the target areas of the research. As opined by Ugur, (2007), the findings revealed that religion provides a source of common identity

to its followers and creates bonds between them; is only one source of civic engagement and is recognized as one form which acts among other forms of organization and encourages solidarity in the modern civil society.

Furthermore, the study found that religion, as Bodenhamer (1996) and Putman *et al* (2003) averred, encourages volunteering for the general good and instigates altruism and disinterestedness through socialization. It also supports Norris and Inglehart (2004)'s position that belonging to religious organisations goes hand in hand with the engagement in community participation.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the young immigrants' experiences with bridging social capital, discussed alongside the three main themes identified from the interviews with young immigrants. The chapter has revealed that although bonding with close friends, neighbours and the community are an essential part of young immigrants' social capital and integration, the role of dissimilar groups as in acquaintances and outside immigrants bonding groups cannot be overlooked even though admitting that they are short lived.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1. Introduction

This study investigated social capital and integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England to understand how young immigrants' social capital influences their integration in the UK. The study was steeped in an interpretive framework and conducted from a qualitative approach to effectively answer the research questions and objectives of the study. This concluding chapter presents the overview of the study. This is followed by discussions of major findings of the research. It goes on to clarify its claim to knowledge, limitations of the study, direction for future research, and personal reflections of the research process.

7.2 General Overview of the Study
The study comprises of seven chapters. The first chapter introduced the study and defined the research problem, from which the research aim and questions are formulated. The significance and scope of the study are also discussed in the chapter.

In chapter two, the literature from which the study draws on are presented. The chapter focuses on young immigrants' social capital and integration in England and a theoretical reflection, contextualised through a critique of existing literature. The review provided a background literature for the study and mapped out the knowledge gaps that needed scholarly attention and which provided justifications for this study. An integration framework which draws on Ager and Strang's (2008) integration is outlined, while focusing on linkages between the study's research objectives and other key issues explored in this research.

Chapter three focused on the research methodology for the study. It presented the appropriate methods that suit the study within the context of the research aim and objectives which guided the research process. It further discussed the suitability of the interpretive philosophical paradigm and provided justifications for using the qualitative approach and its associated ethnography design. The interpretive framework was considered the most suitable theoretical orientation for the study because it allowed the co-creation of knowledge between the researcher and the researched, based on the understanding that arriving at a comprehensive picture of social phenomena and the social

world derives from the subjective experiences of participants and interpretations of the researcher.

Following an outline of the research methodology, chapter four to six presented the analysis of the empirical data collected. In chapter four, data collected from case studies were analysed and the resulting findings presented with the aim of identifying and exploring social capital experiences of young immigrants and how it influences their integration in England. Chapter five further used findings from the case studies to analyse young immigrants' views and experiences on social capital and integration. The chapter established that social capital has profound effects on young immigrants' education, employment, and language, social and political life in England generally.

Chapter six explored the impact of social capital on young immigrants under three main themes identified from the cases. These themes are employment, sociability and religion represented as churches. In the latter part of the chapter, an attempt was made to synthesise the main findings from the study and analytical issues presented considering reviewed literature and theory. The last chapter, Chapter seven, summarises the major research findings from which the relevant conclusions are drawn. It also outlines the study's contribution to knowledge and implications of the research for both theory and practice. It also highlights some limitations of the study, makes recommendations and concludes the study.

7.3 Summary of major findings of the study

The study produced several key findings which this section summarises, as a basis for drawing the relevant conclusions and policy recommendations for effective integration of immigrants generally. The findings are presented in line with the study's research questions: (1) What forms of social capital are available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England? (2) In what ways does social capital influence the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England? (3) How do bonding and bridging social capital impact on young Ghanaian immigrants' integration in England? (4) What are the implications of social capital for integration policy making and implementation? Major findings that emerged

from this research in response to these questions are presented in the following sub sections.

7.3.1 Social Capital Available to Young Ghanaian immigrants

The research has shown that young immigrant's definition of social capital, although varied, was largely based on their networks, associations, connections, trust and sanctions that exist in their social relations. This includes the bonds shared and the obligations imposed by such bonds, together with how young immigrants think and feel about their social capital and benefits accruing to each individual as a result. The data for this section was collected from six case studies, representing two young immigrants each from the three groups used in the study; those born in England, those born and raised in Ghana to a level before joining parents in England and those born in other parts of Europe and migrated to England on the EUs free movement policy, totaling six in all to find answers to the first research question:

What forms of social capital are available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England?

Consistent with the literature, the study established that two important forms of social capital; bonding and bridging are available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England. Bonding social capital, which is derived from family relations and close friends serve as an important source of social support for them. Within the family structure, and among close friends and associates, a web of relationships and networks are built between members, which provide social support to young immigrants in times of need. Similarly, bridging social capital in the form of acquaintances outside of familial ties, groups, associations, broader membership, and links to wider networks also made a difference in young Ghanaian immigrants' integration. For most young immigrants, social capital in the form of relations with acquaintances, groups within neighbourhoods, communities and associations like religious groups, are a basic social need.

Another important finding that emerged in this research is trust, which represents a key aspect of social capital. Trust appeared to be important for most young people and they do

not take it for granted, with young people's experiences with significant others a positive sign. For example, one immigrant who had to take her mother to the hospital for an appointment relied on their neighbour to pick his little sister from school and keep her at home until they returned; which she willingly obliged. Along similar lines, one respondent relied on his classmates in university to record the day's lessons so he can study it when he had to miss a three-hour lecture. These experiences convey a high level of trust by these young immigrants in their family and acquaintances. It also signifies the presence of social capital.

At the centre of the social capital available to young immigrants is reciprocated trust among members. Trust is usually good if reciprocated. One young immigrant reciprocates his friend's good deed by working for him whenever he has appointment with his family. They both work in the same job and same department which makes it easier to reciprocate the good deeds. A young immigrant who asks the neighbor for a favour to pick his little sister from school gets assistance from the young immigrant with the same gesture when she must be at work. Some young immigrants interviewed had lost interest in their friends due to breach of trust, which she described as unfortunate. Another young immigrant described how she was poorly treated during a night out with friends; and another quitting school until the mother intervened. Regardless of a few young immigrants who described falling out in many ways with their friends, most of them have had many exciting experiences in their dealing with friends; leading to some feeling empowered, some gaining back their self-confidence and some making more special friends. In effect, although trust was breached and broken sometimes, some young immigrants picked up the pieces and connected with friends again.

The research also established that young immigrants' self-esteem was raised through the help received from key trusted friends who connected them through diverse ways. Almost all young immigrants entered the job market through their friends' recommendations, describing the support received as awesome. The typical cliché was "this person knew this person and that person" leading to their dream jobs. It was easier to get connected and enrolled for a vacant position because people had friends within the organisation. Some

recall the help and direction received from friends with filling online applications and offered jobs. This was same for schools and universities; with most young immigrants going to the same university because a sibling or friend was already enrolled there.

Notwithstanding, some of the young immigrants who grew up in Ghana before making it to the UK had different intentions coming to England because they put jobs before education regardless of advice from parents on arrival. Such young immigrants, even though had challenges with simple everyday practices like reading and understanding letters, still made friends who came to their aid whenever needed, although admitting the friends are not available every time; buttressing the need to be literate so one does not have to fall on people to do simple everyday things like reading of letters and booking for hospital appointments. Noticeable among these young people was one young immigrant who chose not to improve himself educationally and opted for job upon arrival in UK. He expressed interest in working and looked for a job upon arrival putting money first, as his father did almost forty years ago, corroborating Putnam (2002)'s social reproduction theory.

The study also established that social capital available to young immigrants through association with friends, family, colleagues and acquaintances served as important sources of support that helped them to integrate in England, without which their integration in England will be problematic to a large extent. Through the networking and social contacts with friends and family, young Ghanaian immigrants found some assurance and comfort in their new place. It further identified that young immigrants born in the UK and Diasporas who entered the UK at early ages, bonded and bridged very well with family and others born in the UK, especially other nationals and natives who they have known from childhood. They speak with similar accent like them, sit in class with them, engaged them in games and are in very cordial relationships with them, some leading to marriages compared to their already grown Diaspora fellows who prefer to bond with similar people from the Diaspora because of language issues until they are confident and acquainted with speaking the English language. Natalia is from Spain and she feels ridiculed because her level of control of the English language is poor, which makes her feel more at home with

family and people within same group. The research has widely covered the assertion that most young immigrants from the Diaspora and from Ghana, who arrived as teenagers, connected more with family members who lived under one roof signifying strong bonds with family and close friends. They ate together and shared common areas other than each staying in their comfort zone.

Young immigrants from all the three groups have thus expressed a high level of contentment and satisfaction in relation to living in England, regardless of some regrets. This high level of contentment was as a result of strong, intense personal relationships, mutual support, understanding and great strides made with family, friends and acquaintances and life generally.

7.3.2 Influence of Social Capital on Integration of Young Immigrants

Out of the data derived from the case studies and the analysis gleaned, three main themes were identified as ways through which social capital influences integration of young immigrants in England. These are employment, sociability and religion (church support). These three main themes have influenced the integration of young immigrants in England as summarised below in research question two as:

In what ways does social influence the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England?

This research question is discussed under the three main themes as employment, sociability and religion.

Employment

Employment is important for immigrants' integration because it serves as a means through which young immigrants sustain themselves in their host country. For this study, employment was found to be critical for young immigrants from the Diaspora and Ghana because their parents migrated to the UK mostly in search of jobs which were absent in their home country. Consequently, most young immigrants are compelled to leave home

upon reaching age eighteen to search for jobs to enable them feed, pay for their accommodation in the university and sometimes support their parents to take care of the home. The study established that networks and relations embedded in social capital served as an important means by which young Ghanaian immigrants found jobs. Young immigrants managed to get jobs through help and support of family, friends and acquaintances and that influenced their integration. Majority of young immigrants shared experiences of assistance received from family and friends and how they gave hints of jobs and available vacancies in their workplaces without which it would have been impossible to hear of. One young immigrant recalls how he got a job through his mother's colleague. He had stayed home for quite some time trying to find a job that was just not available until his mother's colleague spoke to his son who in turn spoke with his boss about vacant places and was asked to bring him to be interviewed.

Some parents went the extra mile of introducing their children to colleagues at work and jobs were acquired from there. Most young immigrants also described how their friends connected them through online searches and how they got the jobs after applying online. Most young immigrants found their jobs through their classmates, family or a neighbor they knew from college or university. The findings explain why family and friends counted themselves as one and same and supported each other within the community. There are times where young immigrants were informed of available jobs by insiders and were asked to apply inside the company or apply online through their friends' guidance and have been accepted for the jobs.

Sociability

In terms of sociability, the research found that young immigrants have several sociable engagements with people both within and out of their groups. Apart from bonding with their families, they built connections and contacts with people from their neighborhood, school, church, and with other ethnic groups. The Ghana Union, an association of all Ghanaians living in the UK is one such umbrella organization that bonds with several

diverse people. The union organizes various social activities such as the annual end-of-year party, which was attended by different individuals from diverse groups and nationalities. Most of these invitees are colleagues from work, university, church, inter-marriages and neighbours. At such functions, all the local groups and associations are invited and there is much to eat, drink and music to dance to. The Ghana Union members also attend programmes of other groups and enjoy their group events together. Like all other programmes, young immigrants attended with families and helped with extra chores like males doing the setting up and finishing off with arrangements while females do the serving of guests and final cleaning up.

It also reflected in the interviews that young immigrants had crafted good self-images of themselves. Especially for young immigrants from Ghana and the Diaspora, and they did not feel perturbed being unable to express themselves in English, although difficult for them in the beginning with most of them almost giving up, they felt proud in the company of other Diasporas as they expressed themselves in the local dialect be it French, Spanish, Dutch, Italian and or Ghanaian language with most of them disallowing themselves to feel devalued. With time, after five or six years in the UK, through the effort of family, friends and the UK government's Adult education classes, most of them have picked up and are expressing themselves better in the English language. Several examples of this nature were reiterated during the interviews indicating the reasons behind most EU immigrants' migration to the UK, firstly, to learn the queen's language and to get a good life for their children.

For the young immigrants, their interpretation of a friend was the person they bond very well with and trust. They count the times spent with these friends and the socialisation periods in school as good times, full of excitement. All the young immigrants had friends then and now and were proud to have them, some describing their friends as their besties and family. The Radical Youth Group whose leader is Tracey is one such group that has made several impacts in the local area. They organise monthly events that bring most young people together in a positive way. They have organized seminars and invited resource persons over to speak to them and advised them on many topics. She thinks it is

too much going on with young people and it should not always be fun, fun, fun but counseling and advice from adults necessary. She also thinks friends can lead people to a better life or mar their lives and she wants a good life for all young immigrants in England; the essence of the formation of the Radical Youth Group confirming Putnam's definition of social capital as networks of citizens' activity, trust and reciprocity that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits (Putnam, 1993).

Another group formed in the university also creates an opportunity for people to bond and socialise, especially, on university campuses where some people feel sidelined. In a certain university campus, a group called African-Caribbean group is formed to foster love and oneness among the various ethnic groups on university campus. This group's major role is to foster growth of young people to believe in their fellows and helps in the bonding of students. Generally, young immigrants are very happy that they have people to count on, without which they could not come this far or would have returned home. They described the high-level motivation received in school and in finding jobs with assistance from native whites and other friends; majority stating that their friends were a great asset. Some young people came were close to returning to their home countries describing how inferior they felt initially compared to their counterparts born in England.

Religion (Church Support)

An unexpected source of social capital for young immigrants is religion, in this case the church. It was established that young immigrants received various forms of support from their churches within the local area. Some churches supported families with food, visited widows regularly to assist and comfort them and their children. The churches carried out these altruistic roles not only to the poor and needy members of their church but others in the larger society. The churches have several programmes for young immigrants to keep them active and retain them, especially in an era where young people are losing interest in church business.

The research also found churches' contribution to young immigrants' lives in England to be significant. Most parents are satisfied with friends of their young children and described

them as good people who they feel happy about. Others, however, did not feel good about their children's friends and advised them to move away from them. In the worst case, especially for those young immigrants who drifted from the norm, parents expressed their displeasures and sometimes hauled them before church elders for counseling and advice sessions. Such actions are consistent with the typical upbringing of Ghanaian children, and their behaviour in homes. As was noted earlier in section 2, Ghanaians generally have respect for the elderly and regard parental advice as important. Children must display good conduct before parents, and will not do anything that will incur their displeasure. Given how most respondents in the study described their churches as great avenues for family support, children feel unhappy when they are reported especially to no mean a person than the Pastor of their church or when told the Pastor had invited them for a word. Local churches within the communities like the Methodist and Pentecost churches visit their members and show great concern for them.

An important means through which the young people received support from the churches is through Food Banks. This is a charity operated by churches to feed the poor, needy, homeless and vulnerable people who cannot afford food and homes within the communities. They are managed by local churches within each local area and used as centres for preparation of food to feed the poor and homeless people. The various churches cook the food within the church premises in turns all day round throughout the week, and serve everyone, including the young people who are free to go in, eat, socialize and have fun. Hungry passersby only needed to enter the church premises, pick a sandwich or pie and start enjoying. Through the food banks run by the churches, many young people attend church programmes and spend more time within the church premises.

7.3.3. *Impact of bonding and bridging social capital on integration of young Ghana immigrants*

This section addresses the third research question:

What is the significant impact of bonding and bridging social capital on the integration of young immigrants?

The study found that there is a very strong impact of bonding and bridging social capital on immigrants' integration in the UK. Thus, established bonds and bridges provided great support to young immigrants in many ways. First, it was established that bonds within the family unit and close friends, and with acquaintances as well as within groups and associations in the Ghanaian communities are instrumental in the integration of immigrants. Second, in terms of bonding, not only do parents, family members and friends serve as important and trusted sources of information on education and employment, but they also provided social support to these young immigrants. Third, solidarity that is generated by these bonds, placed on young immigrants, their parents and friends, a strong sense of obligation to help and support one another to get by and ultimately integrate in England. Some could leave home and live with other friends and associates to be able to access education and job openings while some get support from other friends for language proficiency to remain in school and succeed academically. Also, family members and other reliable friends served as a bastion of support to help young immigrants find their way and integrate in their new environments.

Finally, bridging social capital served as a significant link to young immigrants' integration in the UK. Apart from group members and leaders providing information on sources of employment and how to get by in England, group solidarity exerted profound impact on members of the Ghanaian community making a tacit obligation or responsibility for them to support one another. Also, group members and their leaders provided social networks that connected young people to acquire better education and by so doing, enhanced their employability. Young immigrants acknowledged landing jobs through people they met among Ghanaian groups and associations in England. Furthermore, the groups instilled in their members such values, norms and a sense of responsibility, to engage in actions that will serve the interest of the collective lot. These played out in the churches, food banks, and donations in the form of clothes, food items and cash by group members and other forms of volunteering including churches and food stores where people were willing to contribute something extra to group even if they were not going to benefit directly. Solidarity and networks among members of various groups and associations

enhanced common identities and common interest that helped pull resources to support young Ghanaian immigrants' integration in England.

All these as it may, it was established that although bonding and bridging social capital had positive influences on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants, they also had negative consequences. This is particularly experienced in cases where some young immigrants got involved with bad company and friends to engage in all manner of vices, and when relationships of trust were breached by other family and group members. These are negative externalities of social capital for the larger society in which they are embedded, a phenomenon which has been explored by earlier scholars (see for example, Fukuyama 2001). It was also found that whether in the family unit or within groups and associations, trust is an important ingredient for building social capital and therefore breaches of trust destroyed any existing social capital whatsoever. These findings are consistent with the general position in the literature on the negative effects of social capital.

7.3.4 Implications of social capital for integration policy making and implementation

What are the implications of these findings for policy making?

This section presents findings regarding the last research question. Before then, I will discuss the structural factors regarding social capital and integration and discuss recommendations for the two components. The thesis has focused on young immigrants' integration in England aided by their social capital. It is the wish of the UK government to put immigrants on equal footing as members of the host nation, in employment, education, language, housing, political and social rights among others, hence the integration policy (Ager and Strang, 2002). Young immigrants thus must find ways to live in the UK.

The thesis focused on the bonding-bridging social capital with regards to the three groups of young immigrants. It was established that all three groups of young immigrants have high social capital, and experiences of it have been used effectively in their integration in

England although slightly different. It has been proven that the UK-born group regard themselves as British with no bounds to the bonding and bridging social capital including their sociability and employability with any group of persons. The second and third groups feel a bit reserved trying to open up to others due to the English language barriers, and mostly prefer to bond with families and bridge albeit sparingly.

Most UK immigrants, especially those who entered the UK already grown up have problems finding the right kind of jobs proportionate with their education due to language barrier and holding certificates from their home country. To make this possible, the researcher suggested to the young immigrants to either further their education or enroll in Adult education classes to learn the language to be able to get the right kind of jobs equivalent to their education, thus make it less stressful for young immigrants' sociability. Experiencing social capital is a step in the right direction but others have withdrawn from society due to broken trust. The people they trusted have let them down making them feel insecure and unwilling to trust anybody again. The research has also showed that the UK's integration policy is in the right direction, but provision should be made for non-English speaking immigrants coming into England to get the right jobs. Social reproduction which produces class systems should have no place within the society and every person should get the job befitting their level of education.

Consistent with earlier studies (see for example, CIDA 2019), this study has also demonstrated that Ghanaians are generally sociable and tend to come together to help themselves. They cooperate with one another to address common problems especially when they find themselves outside their own country (GAC, 2019). Most parents interviewed described their jobs as cleaners and care givers even with their high-level education. Some of the participants spoken to had Postgraduate education or were still students but were happy because according to them, they do not want to stress and gave up trying after one or two job searches. Such is the plight of most immigrants including those who have lived in the UK long enough. Ziolek-Skrzypczak (2013) describes the plight of immigrants as very disturbing in relation to employment. The study showed that, most immigrants, although very qualified were in jobs far not commensurate with their

qualifications. Even for young immigrants, even though there was positivity in education, majority confirmed being educated to the university level, only one or two people confirmed being in good employment, even that was because they were connected through their parents' networks.

In terms of policy formulation, the findings of the study have implications for policy making with important lessons to be learned from the implementation of young immigrants' experiences with social capital and their integration in England. It is recommended that policy makers take a second look at the Home Office's 2000 integration policy document for immigrants and reorient it to facilitate immigrant's getting appropriate jobs that suit their qualifications and status. The UK government should also introduce the teaching of other languages in schools and colleges to enable those who cannot cope with the English language enroll until such a time that young immigrants, especially those from the Diaspora and Ghana will be abreast with the English language before enrolling in mainstream schools.

It is also recommended that policy makers take steps to foster social capital within and among immigrant communities in the UK. Although policy makers do not have control over the stock of social capital among the immigrant community obviously because that lies outside the control of any government, an understanding of the social networks and shared values that are used by immigrants to integrate in the UK, should help them develop appropriate policies that will engender cooperation, unity and trust among them. For example, the home government can support the organization of Ghana union parties, Independence Day celebrations and other such programs to nurture social capital amongst immigrant groups.

Furthermore, against the backdrop that social capital of young Ghanaian immigrants can have negative externalities that can be detrimental to the larger society, it becomes important for policy makers to be aware and come out with programmes that will engage young adults and direct their energies to more useful endeavours when they arrive in the UK.

Finally, given the importance of bridging social capital structures such as the church groups and their leaders to the integration of young immigrants, I recommend that policy makers align immigration policies and programs to the social contexts within which immigrants live. Community groups and their leaders must be co-opted to support the integration of young immigrants. Involving these social structures and leaders of immigrant communities will leverage their wider network of connections, as well as their legitimacy and social acceptability to serve as sources of support for immigrants to enable them to live meaningful lives in the UK.

7.4 Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis was generally framed within the social capital framework to determine its influences on integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. Per its findings and analysis, the study makes several distinctive and original contributions to knowledge. While some of the contributions simply provide empirical evidence, others add to the literature and validate existing theories on social capital. Furthermore, some of the contributions are by way of entirely new and interesting findings that provide further insights on social capital and integration. These contributions are summarised below:

7.4.1 Theoretical Contributions and Applications of Social Capital

In terms of theory, the study validates existing definitions of social capital by aggregating several views of young people on what constitutes their social capital. This is in the context of varied definitions and operationalisation of social capital in the literature and the resultant confusion and debate among scholars, with negative implications for theory development. While respondents in this study shared varied views on what social capital entails, the different views, however, converged around the central theme that social capital results from the relations and bonds shared with family, friends and groups, and the valuable networks emanating from such relations. The key norms in these relations thus, trust, solidarity and reciprocity make it binding on individuals and groups to offer support to others in times of need. This resonates with existing literature on social capital that, although social capital is a common place term, the meaning assigned to it is in relation to the context of those using and living it. The study underscored the complex nature of social

capital by providing in-depth meanings and understandings to the concept from the perspectives of young Ghanaian immigrants in the UK. By establishing that trust and reciprocity, networks, connections and norms remain the most important features to discussing social capital, the study validates what is already known about social capital, but more importantly, from the perspectives of the younger generations, which had been absent over the years.

7.4.2 Methodological Contribution of the study

A major contribution of the study derives from the qualitative methodologies that were employed in data collection and analysis. As was noted in the introductory chapters, existing analysis on social capital and integration largely used quantitative methodologies and has been unable to account for the social capital influences on the integration of immigrants. Although social capital has been found to be an important ingredient in the integration of immigrants, using quantitative research design has muted the voices of young Ghanaian immigrants', and discounted the role played by family, friends, acquaintances, the church and communities in their new place. However, by using qualitative techniques, the study was able to detail the way social capital influences the integration of these young Ghanaian immigrants in England. Designing the study as an ethnographic case study made it possible to understand the values and norms underlying the social capital obligations of family members, friends, as well as other groups and associations and their impact on their integration. It allowed for the formulation of a well-defined checklist for eliciting socio-cultural knowledge which enhanced a deeper understanding of the social capital-integration nexus. The use of qualitative approaches allowed the researcher to follow an approach that evolved in terms of the guiding research questions, the approach taken to data collection and analysis in a comprehensive detail and enhanced a clear understanding of how social capital impacts on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants. The study's methodological contribution therefore lies in its departure from earlier studies that employ quantitative methodologies to study the impact of social capital on integration. This is particularly significant because it enabled the researcher to scratch beyond what is seen on the surface to understand the social forces underlying the integration of immigrants.

7.4.3 Empirical Contribution to the Study

A significant contribution of the study is its contribution of empirically verifiable data on the linkage between social capital and the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. As was alluded to in the problem statement, existing analysis on social capital and integration of young immigrants focused on parents and the older generation, thus, hitherto, social capital of the young generation was seen as dependent on their parents' social capital and therefore taken for granted. To a very large extent, previous studies did not account for the experiences of the younger generation and the role of social capital in their integration. However, this study has shown that social capital, which resides in the social ties and networks of these young immigrants, is important and serves as a means by which they negotiate the maze of integration.

The study revealed that young Ghanaian immigrants depend on their social capital in various forms in their day-to-day interaction with peers, in school, work, playground, homes and communities and sharing resources through personal networks. The findings brought to the fore the importance of social capital for sociability, employment and religion. Whilst sociability covered the bond with sociable others, employment covered the ability to secure jobs as a result of people's networks as evidenced in their finding jobs other than those without and identifies a strong correlation between immigrants' social networks and employment. Religion also plays a very vital role in young immigrants' social capital and integration and depicts religion as not only an association but also has impact on bonding and bridging social capital and integration dimensions of young immigrants. Young Ghanaian immigrants value the support received from family, friends and acquaintances and acknowledged that they helped them to 'get by' in England. It has made their lives, community and world better as well as turned it around. By these, the study has provided further empirical evidence on this previously unexplored area of social capital of young people by explicitly detailing how it influences their integration in England. In this vein, the study has conducted empirical work that has not been done before. The study adds new and fresh evidence on the linkages between social capital and

integration of young immigrants and has therefore contributed to knowledge (Phillips & Pugh 2010).

7.4.4 New Insights on Social Capital and the Integration of Young Ghanaian Immigrants from a Developing Country Context

This study has provided new insights that advance the social capital-integration research field. This is because a key gap that was identified in the literature is the limited application of social capital to the integration of immigrants from developing country contexts. Pursuant to this, the study aimed at ascertaining the forms of social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants in England. The study has shown that, different forms of social capital are available to these young Ghanaian immigrants. Bonding social capital, which is expressed in family solidarity and support, reciprocity and trust norms, and bridging social capital expressed in group norms was found to be prevalent.

Based on the findings, it came out that social capital factors influence young Ghanaian immigrants' stay in England. These sources serve as important means by which immigrants integrate in England. The results showed that all the three groups of young immigrants have various reasons for coming to the UK and view their integration differently over their compatriots. By these findings the study has contributed empirical evidence to what is known on social capital from a developing country context.

7.5 Research Limitations

The whole research has been a learning process to the researcher. A lot has been indeed about things concerning young people and understand the intricacies of doing research with them. The participants expressed great interest and actively engaged in the study. Through that, they felt empowered and took responsibility for their own lives. This made them more reflective and provided valuable feedback to the research. By this, the researcher learned that in doing research, there is the need to listen to his or her participants and respect their views, rendering them important. This is what the researcher learned, leading to the success of the research. Despite this, the study has several

limitations. The first limitation has to do with representativeness and possibility to generalise the findings beyond the cases studied. As has already been noted, the study used two sites in the North London area, named as Sites A and Site B. As there are many other immigrants living outside these two sites, it would be ideal if other ethnic groups were also used in the research. Including these other ethnic groups would have allowed for comparisons on how social capital affects the integration of other immigrant groups within the two sites and across the UK. In the absence of that, findings of the study are limited to only Ghanaian immigrants and cannot be generalised to all immigrants in the UK. It is, however, pertinent to re-emphasise that, being a qualitative study, broad representativeness was not a major concern of the study. The study aimed at analytical generalizations to draw insights from the cases observed.

The second limitation has to do with the limited time that was available for field work. As an ethnographic study, it would have been better if the investigator had stayed on the field a bit longer. This would have enabled her to observe young immigrants' living conditions in the home and lifestyles and even visit their schools to talk to their teachers about young immigrants. However, the researcher had five months to interact with young people within their community, and that made it difficult to probe deeper into the subjective dimensions of social capital on integration of respondents. The researcher acknowledges that sensitive issues raised by respondents on the subjective aspects of their social capital could be followed up and detailed further to bring some more clarity to the issues.

Finally, the study was also fraught with serious financial and time constraints due to the dispersion of the study across two areas in the London area. Shuffling between the two sites twice in a week was a major challenge to the researcher as it took close to two and half hours, with the cost of a daily trip close to thirty British pounds for the research assistant and researcher; the research team sometimes contended with difficult situations like having to stay out even in tough weather conditions, and sleeping in living bugs and insect infested places that could be harmful to their health. There were also issues with locating the sites to observe. Even though the research team carried site maps, boarding buses going the wrong direction and sometimes reaching the destination was problematic

because of bigger area sites and difficulty finding addresses. In one instance, the researcher was confronted by a woman because a team member pointed at her while observing and the woman was very agitated.

7.6 Directions for future research and concluding remarks

This thesis has provided useful insights into the influences of social capital on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. To a very large extent, the study has amply demonstrated that young Ghanaian immigrants are well integrated due to their experiences with social capital and engagements within the larger society. Nonetheless, several other issues remain that open opportunities for further research to further elucidate the specific topic as well as related ones. These arise particularly because of the exploratory nature of this research and the limitations associated with the methodology.

First, as observed by the study, there is a dearth of studies applying social capital to the integration of the younger generation. In response to this, the study investigated social capital and its influences on the integration of young immigrants. While this has yielded some useful insights on the resource, the study was limited to just the Ghanaian communities in England. There is the need for more case studies particularly on other ethnic groups and nationalities to allow for further and deeper assessments of the influences of social capital on integration of the younger generation.

Second, although the study makes some claims of association between social capital and the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants, it was impossible to establish the relationships as well as the exact impact of the influences on integration. This leaves a window of opportunity for further research to build on the influences identified in this study. It calls for a disaggregation of these influences through quantitative methodologies to establish their impact. Future research in this regard will help explain the impact of social capital on integration of young immigrants and broaden the frontiers of the field. Adopting quantitative methodologies will also enhance representativeness and possibility to generalise the findings beyond the cases studied.

Third, in order to amply study the influence of social capital, researchers must endeavour to consider the issue of this complexity and allow for it in their research works and strategies. Despite these complexities, community social capital provides an interesting basis for the study in the future of communities. Knowing the resource potential of those relationships therefore creates opportunities for future studies on the subject.

7.7 Conclusions

This study drew on social capital to understand its impact on the integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in the UK. In view of the study's findings as has been captured above, the following conclusions are drawn.

Even though social capital is a complex term with no universally accepted definition, most people associate it with the web of relationships built from friends, family, religious groups and social networks that can be called upon in time of need. These relationships serve as a viable resource to individuals and the community.

Bonding and bridging forms of social capital are available for immigrants living in England. Bonding social capital which is expressed in family solidarity is very prevalent and they serve as a means of providing social support to young immigrants. There is also bridging social capital in the form of groups and associations. Churches stand out as an important social capital feature.

Solidarity, reciprocity and trust are key norms in the family, community and group relations and they create in young Ghanaian immigrants, their parents, neighbours, friends and other community members, a sense of responsibility and obligation to look out for their own and support them to integrate in England.

The forms of social capital are important for integration of young Ghanaian immigrants in England. As young immigrants, they rely on the support system of solidarity and risk sharing, organised within families, friends and community groups. Young immigrants' association with friends, family, colleagues and acquaintances is thus very relevant to them

and gives them some assurance and comfort in their new place. Young immigrants born in the UK, bond and bridge very well with family, other nationals and natives born in the UK and known to them since childhood. They sat in class with them, engaged them in games, speak like them with same accent, been in long lasting relationships with, and some leading to marriages.

Young Ghanaian immigrants rely on the support systems derived from families, friends and other community groups to enable them to get by and integrate in the UK. These groups and community-wide social networks are important and provide immigrants with information, solidarity, risk pooling and financial protection. In view of the findings that these social capital structures, particularly the Church are important for people, the study concludes that, immigration arrangements and governance structures must be aligned with existing social structures within immigrant communities to enhance effective integration of immigrants. Social capital is thus important for young Ghanaian immigrants to integrate in England. Therefore, British Government policies on integration must be aligned with the social capital structures in Ghanaian and other such immigrant communities, if young immigrants are to integrate effectively in the UK.

7.8 Personal Reflections

A lot has been accomplished since the beginning of this study through to the write up and its completion. As a researcher, I have gained much experience doing this research. This research has broadened my view that the concept of social capital can be variously defined to meet set objectives. Based on the study, the term was defined as the networks, associations, relationships, norms and trust that occur among family, close friends and acquaintances within the homes and communities. In this study, social capital has been used as both a resource and analytical tool for young immigrants' in their employment, socialisation and church related issues during their integration in England.

Doing this research on young immigrants has broadened my thoughts on a wide range of issues including young people who have always been my focus group. Being a teacher and social worker with specialisation on young people, I have been overwhelmed with their

behavior and their comportment throughout the study leading to the success thereof. I have also gained a lot of expertise and new skills over my previous skills. One way I have gained new skills is the use of case study in analysing qualitative data and the consistency in carrying out the analysis, the presentation and critiqued other works in such a professional manner. I have gained much expertise in analysing other works all aimed at producing scholarly works. All these culminated in achieving the goal of this research, which examined the social capital and integration needs of young Ghanaian immigrants in England with the aim of contributing to the integration policy framework for immigrants. Throughout the data gathering process, young immigrants' input was great, enabling a successful session with them.

Confidentiality was, however, put to test when young people were reluctant opening up on issues of gangs, crime, drugs and the police, the most challenging part being some young immigrants seeing researcher's role as a threat between them and their parents; regardless of assuring them of maximum confidentiality in the participant information form. During the fieldwork period, there was police presence patrolling in their numbers within site A; a largely black community. I also gathered that while some young immigrants showered praises on the police, others avoided saying anything about them. One young immigrant reiterated the patrols were meant for drug dealers and gangs, while another complained of more blacks being arrested than non-blacks. One would have expected that issues of racism would feature largely in a study that dealt extensively with young immigrants' social capital in their integration especially at a time when racism and hate crimes have taken centre stage in most discussions and studies on immigrants in most parts of the UK and the world.

A 2019 study by experts based in Nuffield College in Oxford University on racial discrimination in job applications in the UK identified more serious negative dehumanising responses towards Black and Asian Britons than white Britons. Also, in a panel discussion in 2019 on racial bias in Britain and its impact on Blacks and Asians, Kamran Ahmed, 14 then, described how a group of white pupils in his school asked him how it feels to be black and not white. This had serious detrimental effect on him for years.

As researcher, it would be a step in the right direction to include a discussion of racism in this study as most immigrants interviewed were not in the right jobs befitting their qualifications except cleaning jobs and care work, but the process took a different turn because respondents did not make any mention of racism issues but rather adopted a practical orientation to living in Britain, thus, blaming no British institutions for their experiences. In this study each of the three young immigrant groups and their parents saw things differently; young immigrants born and raised in England believed the jobs are readily available and they will get the right jobs when they complete their education, those young immigrants from the Diaspora described their biggest challenge as the language, believing they will get the right jobs when they get a full grasp of it while some young immigrants born and raised in Ghana blame themselves for not upgrading themselves when they arrived in England because jobs are readily available.

On the part of parents, most Diaspora parents from places like Spain and Italy where jobs were difficult to find described racism as unimportant in their present circumstances. They reiterated to researcher about getting the jobs first before other issues. All they needed was jobs to put food on their table, with type of job and all other things coming second. They had travelled to England in search of jobs and they got jobs. For other parents who travelled to the UK from Ghana, they put jobs, money and riches first and did not take the opportunity of the UK's free education to improve their lives. Therefore, they do not blame anyone for the kind of jobs acquired. Education leads to good jobs and they deserve what they are doing, they said. For the first generation of Ghanaian immigrants living in UK, an insignificant number was born in UK.

The most featured issue that came close to being unfair treatment was housing. With most immigrants being in queue close to ten and twelve years, they blamed the County councils for not putting up enough houses to house them. The extreme sensitivity of this subject makes it impossible for young immigrants to talk boldly about the police; reasons they prefer to stay anonymous. The issue of racism and jobs is thus reserved for future research on linking social capital to be undertaken by the researcher.

Likewise, churches play significant roles in the process of young immigrants' integration. It was noticed in the study that, while English orthodox churches are losing members especially the elderly and young ones due to lack of interest and death to COVID-19, the local African churches are filling up. Africans believe in spirituality and altruistic lifestyles trusting the Supreme Being to protect them from illness and eventual death; the need therefore to worship God and be at church. At the same time, the church supports needy members and other community members by taking care of their needs.

Analysis of primary data for this thesis revealed that although there is an immigrant integration policy in the UK aimed at making immigrants full and equal right citizens, a lot of issues have taken place which is negative. Immigrants have severally complained of getting the right jobs befitting their qualification. A young immigrant 24 in a university, also from the Diaspora described how she had to be a care giver in a care home. According to her, she was already a first degree holder when her family first arrived in England but had to enroll in care because she could not find a job, even in the care, they will not give her senior role but had to start from the scratch. This and many more revelations are issues confronting most immigrants especially from the Diaspora and Ghana. Even though this issue cannot be generalised, most parents of young immigrants also buttressed the same issue in their interviews

7.9 The value of ethnographic approaches to the study

The ethnographic approaches used coupled with the researcher's background brought great value to the research process. First, it made it possible and perhaps easy for the researcher to understand situations and imageries painted by respondents on their social capital and its influences on their integration. Through the extended period of engagement that the researcher had with the young immigrants, a better understanding was developed of the manner in which they utilised their social capital to negotiate the maze of integration in their natural setting, by means of the everyday manifestations in their conduct. The researcher's understanding of the Ghanaian culture and its underpinning norms and values

made it easy for her to appreciate the social capital available to young Ghanaian immigrants and its impact on their integration.

Second, through the use of ethnographic approaches, the researcher was open to a range of field research techniques and methods that provided the flexibility in navigating the complex patterns of social action, while it unfolded (Murchison2010, Saunders *et al*. 2009).Being a Ghanaian who had lived outside for years, a teacher and a social worker, she wore different caps and assumed the position of an everyday participant observer among the young Ghanaian immigrants because the expressions of social capital, unfolded on a day-to-day basis.

Third, the ethnographic observations and experiences provided a platform for creating rapport and some level of trust between the researcher and respondents and thereby facilitating easy flow of data. Given that the researcher was immersed in the research process, it made it possible for her to use interactive perspectives to get into young adults' social settings and see things the way they saw the world. It made it possible for her to capture young Ghanaian immigrants' experiences on their social capital and integration from their own perspectives alongside what the researcher observed. Thus, her values and previous experiences had significant implications for what knowledge was co-created and shared.

Finally, the researcher leveraged on her background to engage young immigrants about their thoughts and feelings, level of bonds maintained with family and friends and across ethnic groups and reported them from both perspectives. It made it possible for her to draw closer attention and analysis of sub-units within the cases studied, and appreciate first-hand, the norms within their cultures and society, and how they themselves experience and interpret them (Murchison 2010,Walliman 2006). The researcher in her practice has had personal engagements and experience with clients based on the possible understanding of their problems, and carried out critical observations that provided thick descriptions and detailed in-depth interviews that captured direct quotations about clients' personal interpretations and meaning about their cases. The researcher kept a research diary in

which all observations, experiences and reflective information was carefully documented prior to field exit.

While the researcher's background proved valuable in aiding understanding and interpretation of the data collected and analysed on the manner in which young Ghanaian immigrants social capital influenced their integration in England, there were a number of challenges that she had to contend with. An ethnographic-type study of this kind came with pertinent ethical issues, such as confidentiality and anonymity of young immigrants, as has been discussed in detail in chapter three. Getting immersed in the research process and wearing different caps brought in the possibility of bias and observer effects during data collection and analysis. This possibility was somewhat exacerbated by a general lack of interest in receiving feedback (member checking) which is a common practice with ethnographic techniques (Jorgensen and Messner, 2010). There were also issues of observer effects and limited time available for such an ethnographic study.

Very much aware of these, the researcher took conscious steps to reduce the effects of the researchers own observations and interpretations on the overall findings and analysis. Her identity and role were made clear at the beginning of data collection, as one who only observed in a spectator fashion but did not take active part in the activities. She followed the young people in their activities; playing football, hanging out in the evenings, spending time at church and in the library after school, but all in the role of an observer. The researcher spent long hours with a note pad and pen in sites A and B communities observing and recording what went on within the day and at night with young immigrants. This contributed to reducing 'observer effects' which did not take long to wear away as participants soon got used to the researcher being around (Gillham, 2000).

Second, the possibility of bias situation was mitigated by the researcher reporting young immigrants' experiences and situations as objectively as possible. She also tried to provide thick descriptions of the views and experiences of youthful behaviours in context, and using multiple sources of data collection and analysis approaches (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). A corollary precautionary measure was the use of open-ended questioning and

storytelling approaches to project the voice of respondents in the data and subsequent analysis.

The other challenge had to do with the limited time available for data collection and analysis. This limitation in time in the field was ameliorated by the extra time spent conducting fieldwork as part of the pilot study that provided access to more data (McKinnon, 1988). Additionally, and more importantly, the author's familiarity with how immigrants utilise their networks to integrate, more or less rendered her an 'everyday ethnographer' and 'participant observer' and that helped her to understand the experiences in their right contexts (Watson, 2012).

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List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet and informed consent

'SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INTEGRATION OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANT YOUTH'

I wish to invite you to take part in this research study. Before you decide to take part, it is important for me to explain to you why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. As a potential participant, the information below explains your role and rights if you offer to partake in this study. Your decision however to agree or refuse to participate in this study will be highly respected and you are not obliged to participate by merely reading this document. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Thank you for your time.

What is the Purpose of the Study?

Immigrants and refugee integration emerged as a key policy in a Home Office (2000) document called "Full and Equal Rights" (Cheung, 2013). This policy was designed to encourage immigrants' participation within civil society, assist them to achieve their full potential, to contribute to their communities and gain access to services within the UK. The office for National Statistics (2019) estimates Ghanaian immigrants living in the United Kingdom at approximately 119,000, with the IPPR (2007) document estimating 11% of this number as young people aged between 16 and 24 (the focus of this research). The integration of immigrants into the UK is paramount for social and economic development for both the UK and the Ghanaian economy. This research is about real life experiences of young Ghanaian immigrants in the UK and the role social capital plays in their integration. This research when completed will add to existing knowledge and help policy makers in the UK to review their integration policy by addressing concerns raised.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to take part in the research because your area has been chosen as the site for the study and many young Ghanaian immigrants can be located in this area. You equally make a higher percentage of UKs immigrant group and the contributions you make

to the research will go a long way to put the study in shape and assist the Embassy of Ghana in UK and the UK government to review their policies on immigrants' integration. What will I have to do to take part?

There will be two ways to collect information. The first part will be interviews and you will be part of the people chosen to take part in a semi structured interview session. For the interviews it will be one on one and the researcher will ask you questions based on your community, networks, family, friends, acquaintances, job, education among others and you will be required to answer the questions. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed removing all identifying information; names, community and street names and pubs. The transcribed data will be used in the final data analysis of this research. Recorded interviews will be stored in safes under lock and key until the end of research.

The second method for information gathering will be through observations. The youth within this community, including you will be observed severally in their daily and networking activities in order to get a glimpse of what activities they engage in. You will be observed everywhere within your community from homes to town centre, on football parks, pubs and bars and permission to do this have been sought from the local leaders within your area.

What are the benefits of taking part?
Contributions you make to this study will contribute further to what is known and help to improve it. Taking part in this study will also give you the opportunity to reflect on what immigrants like you go through here in the UK.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks in taking part?
The main risk of taking part is that it will take some of your time and I will do anything within my means to shorten the sessions. Drug related issues form part of the interviews and will create stress, discomforts, guilt and embarrassment and may bring changes in your self-image but I will take measures to minimise or eliminate any stigmas associated with it by upholding confidentiality and anonymity.

Do I have to take part in the study?

You can *decide whether to take part in the study or not. If you decide to be involved in the project fair enough. However, i*f you are uncomfortable taking part in the interview sessions, please let me know and I will take you off. Interviews will be recorded and you can agree for interviews to be recorded or disagree to be recorded and notes taken. *You are also free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. However withdrawal will no longer be possible* once the analysis of the interview begins from June 2018.*Your decision about whether to take part is thus your own preserve.*

Will information about me be kept confidential?

Yes, every effort will be made to ensure that private information about you is kept anonymous and confidential to avoid any harm to participants. Privacy will be upheld ensuring that personal information of research participants are kept confidential and rights conferred on those whose information is kept. Pseudonyms will be used in transcripts and in the write up; storing interview tapes, transcripts, and participants' contact details separately under safe conditions and in a way that will prevent information from being identified. Recorded copies of interviews and observation notes will be kept discreetly with recorded files placed accurately and up to date in special folders and stored securely under lock and key for as long as needed. Transcribed copies will also be processed in the computer with password protection secured in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998. That, in line with the Act, individuals are entitled to know what personal information has been held on computer and other paper records.

What will you do with this information?

Both the interviews and the observations I do will become the data I will use to answer my research questions for this PhD research. For example, the type of people the youth engage with whether family and friends or acquaintances will determine the links shared and type of social capital practiced. At the end of the interviews and transcription, researcher will give a debriefing session with you to discuss what has been observed and my initial data analysis. The results of this research will be used in my thesis for a PhD in Social Work

and Care. This thesis will enter the public domain once it is submitted to the University of Sussex in May 2019.

What will happen to the results of this research study?

The results of this study will be presented to the Social Work and Care Department and further to the University of Sussex for the award of a PhD in Social Work and Care and as online source for future referencing, with hard copies produced for the University library. It will also be abridged for publishing in journals and for presentation at conferences. Copies will also be sent to the Home Office and the Ghana Embassy in UK and ensure that any useful findings get to be known as widely as possible.

Who has approved this research?

The research has been approved by the University of Sussex Research Ethics Committee and has also been approved by convenor and supervisors.

Who can I contact for further information?

If you have questions about any aspect of the research kindly let me know as I am happy to address any further concerns. However, if you would like to speak with someone else, please contact my supervisor.

Name and Contacts of Researcher	Name and address of Supervisor
PhD candidate in Social Work and Care	Professor Charles Watters
Department of Education & Social Work	Dept of Education & Social Work
University of Sussex	University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton	Falmer, Brighton
m.danquah@sussex.ac.uk	C.Watters@sussex.ac.uk

Thank you for allowing me to interview and observe you in your comfort zone!

Appendix 2 CONSENT FORM

If you are completely satisfied with the above information and willing to participate in this study, kindly read and sign this consent form to be part of the above named research project with Millicent Ayeh-Danquah Koomson, PhD student of the University of Sussex, School of Education and Social Work.

I confirm that Millicent has read and explained the project to me and I have been offered the opportunity to ask any questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in the research. I do not have to answer all or part of the questions that I am not comfortable with. Out of respect for my fellow participants and I also agree to keep the content of the discussion private to those outside the group.

I understand that the information I give in this interview will be used only for the purposes of this research and nothing else beyond it.

That my identity will not be revealed to any person outside the research team (this may include research assistants who will transcribe interviews), and I will not be named in any report or publication unless I give permission and that any information that could identify me will be changed. My personal details will also be handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I understand that the only time that this confidentiality would not apply would be if I told you something which could put me or others into danger. In this case I will be told by the researcher of the details of such disclosure.

I could agree or disagree to the interview being recorded and understand that I have the right to stop the recording at any time if I agree, or researcher needs to take notes if I disagree to be recorded. I understand that I can have a break or stop the interview at any time without having to give an explanation. Nobody will listen to the recorded interviews

but the researcher and her supervisor and it would be transcribed with all identifying information removed.

Recorded tapes will be kept safely under lock and will be destroyed after its use, whiles believing not for long. I will also receive a copy of the transcript in a debriefing section that will take place at a date to be announced.

I can withdraw at any stage of the interview without being penalised or disadvantaged.
I can also withdraw the permission for my comments to be used in the research without any explanation. However, I also understand that withdrawal of my data will no longer be possible once the data analysis of the research begins in June 2018.

I understand that the information I provide will be held safely and securely and will be destroyed at the end of the research or kept appropriately with my consent for future use, that it will be anonymous and that my name and any other identifying details will not be used.

I consent to being part of this research and to the use of anonymous quotes.

…………………………………………… Date............... Signature…………………………
Name of participant

……………………………….. Date……………..   Signature…………………………..
Name of interviewer

Appendix 3: Interview with young immigrant, parents and church leaders

This interview was conducted in English language in co-operation with Research Assistant and the following abbreviations are used for the persons who took part in the interview:

R: Researcher

T: Interviewee

Biographic Data:

R: .What is your age?

T: Tracey

R: Where were you born?

T: Kumasi, Ghana.

R: How did you end up in England then?

T: My father had the opportunity to travel to England to study and he did not return to Ghana after his studies, that is how come we ended up in England (probe further).

R: Who do you refer to as we?

T: My mum and sister, three of us.

R: what did your father study and in where?

T: A postgraduate course in Mechanical Engineering, up North

R: When did you come to England (if not born here)?

T: I was around nine years and I have lived in England since.

R: Talk about your parents, employment, status, housing and others.

T: My dad works as a driver with a company, my mother a cleaner, even though she was a teacher back home. My little sister is in secondary and me in university now. My parents are separated and my sister and I live with my mother in a two bedroom house.

Association with Friends

R: Tell me about your friends

T: I do have quite a number of friends from my old school, church and I have made new ones in university. Even though they are from other countries and cultures, we bond so well and are very happy when together

R: How do you keep in touch with your friends?

T: At home, we meet through church programmes, contacts on phone, other social media handles, at local activities like parties and on campus, we cook , eat, shop and attend church programmes.

R: What sorts of activities do you and your friends usually engage in?

T: We attend fun programmes, church programmes, socialize and volunteer work.

R: Have you had any engagements in illegal activities? As for example, violent behaviour and drugs?

T: No, never. There have been instances of death among students and it is very disturbing. My mother will be disappointed and my father will beat me up mercilessly.

R: How will you describe you and your friends' engagements in illegal drugs?

R: List some of the illegal drugs used by you and your friends.

 Irrelevant

R: What do you see best among your friends?

T: They are very lovely and caring and we bond so well. Sometimes, I wish we will never come on vacation. I love my friends, they make me happy

R: Are there any difficulties interacting with friends?

T: Never, had the opportunity to doubt it.

Community life

R: Describe your community to me

T: We live in a white majority area, with only us and a few minorities

R: What do you young people do to help within the Community?

T: Young people including me do lots of voluntary work within the community especially during Christmas and Easter (further probe).

R: What type of voluntary work?

T: Sometimes, we are hired by churches and shops to distribute foods to the homeless and other residents all for free.

R: Do you go to youth clubs or community groups?

T: We have youth clubs in the church. We meet weekly for seminars and games with other church groups and in the community; we join the adult groups in their organization of programmes.

R: What activities go on within the youth clubs, describe it

T: For games and conferences

R: Describe safety issues and police encounters within the community?

T: There is safety in our communities and less risk due to maximum police presence twenty four seven.

R: What keeps you together as a community? For instance closely knit ties as in picking other people's children from school and keeping them till parents return, playing with other nation's kids, attending parties etc.

T: As far I am aware, the various communities are bonded together especially the Ghanaian community be it in church or in the various homes. Parents including non Ghanaians help each other out and we are happy as one people living in one place although we arrived differently.

1.2 Housing

R: Where do you live and in what type of housing?

T: In a 2 bedroom house privately rented

R: How long have you lived there?

T: Since we arrived in UK. We have been in queue for the council for nine years and we are still hopeful that it will be our turn one day.

R: With whom do you live and how many live with you in total?

T: With my mother and sister

R: What is it like at home, how many rooms, big enough, congested or something else?

T: Very serene and quiet not vey congested. We do not have any other family here except our father

R: What's the relationship between you and other occupants (depending on who they are?)

T: We get on so well. Our closest neighbour is a white family and they care very much about my sister and I. Always send regards to me anytime my mother visits

1.3 Education

R: What is your level of Education?

T: I am in the second year in university.

R: Did you attain this level while living in the UK?

T: I entered England at age eleven and entered school at year 5.

R: Tell me about your previous qualifications.

T: I was in class 6 in Ghana by the time we travelled

R: Did you further your education while in the UK (if not born here)?

T: Yes, that is how come I am in university. I have been a beneficiary of free education in UK just like anyone else and just like in Ghana

2.0 Social Networks, Capital and Employment

R: Are you working at the moment, how did you find out about the job?

T: Yes, I have a job which I acquired through the help of a friend (further probe).

R: What did the friend do?

T: The friend was working in the same job and directed me on how to go about it and I got the job

R: Describe the type of work?

T: Front desk assistant

Social Network, Capital and Health

R: Where is the nearest health facility?

T: A few metres away from where we live

R: How do you access health, drugs in times of illness?

T: Anytime I feel unwell, I call the GP surgery to book appointment (Probe further)

R: How are you attended to, quickly or….

T: I got an appointment same way and it was so quick. I now know when it comes to health issues people are treated the same way

R: Do you go through the same process like all others, waiting time, drugs etc.

T: Yes

Language Proficiency

R: Which language do you communicate with at home?

T: I speak English with my father and little sister, and Ghanaian language with my mother

R: What about the language used at the job place and among friends?

T: English language

R: Did you have to take English language lessons before starting school?

T: I learned most of it in school and attended Adult Education class with my mother on weekends

R: How did you feel at school trying to learn the English language?

T: I was assisted mostly by my friends in school and visited the library to borrow reading books

Rights and Citizenship

R: Have you ever voted in any elections in the UK?

T: Not in the national level. But I have voted in Student union elections in university

R: Tell me about the role played on any election day?

T: Just an ordinary voter

Life in the UK

R: Describe how you have found life in the UK; food, climate?

T: I find life in this country very happy. I love Ghana food and some British foods especially puddings. Generally, I miss Ghana because the weather is very cold here and I love hot weathers.

Social capital and Religion

R: What is your religion?

T: Christian

R: Which church do you attend?

T: The Church of Pentecost, UK

R: Is it all Ghanaian church or international?

T: International, but the Headquarters is in Ghana

R: What type of relationship have you established?

T: I have many friends in the church. I am a member of the youth guild in the church and we have several lined up programmes all year round and members take part in annual games with other church groups for service and socialization.

R: Do you or your parents receive any support from the church?

T: Yes, some support and the youth are also volunteers in the food scheme and annual programmes.

B/ INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS

Tell me about your children and life at home

What about their friends and their social life?

Do you know who they go out with?

Are they home regularly, and at what time?

Describe your general view about your children, their friends and life in the community?

In your view how do you see a future life in the UK?

C/ INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHURCH LEADERS

How will you describe the youth in this area, education, life style, associations, and mutuality with family, friends and acquaintances?

How do they spend their time and with what kind of friends?

How will you describe relationships between children, their parents and other families?

Appendix 4: List of conferences, seminars and workshops attended

Becoming academic symposium, School of Education and Social Work, University of Sussex, 24th May, 2017. Falmer Brighton, United Kingdom

Interdisciplinary Away day workshop, Stanmer House, University of Sussex. 8th June, 2019, Sussex, United Kingdom

Educational Research and Education conference, University of Brighton, Brighton, 14th June, 2019.

8th PhD conference on International Development, School of Global studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, 19-20 September, 2019, Sussex, United Kingdom

Thinking space, Research professional practice, Centre for Social Work and International Research (CSWIR), Education and Social Work, University of Sussex, 28th October, 2019, Falmer, Brighton, United Kingdom

Workshop on Case Studies and its theorising, School of Education and Social Work, University of Sussex, 16th May, 2019

Festival of Doctoral Research, Jane Attenborough, ACCA, University of Sussex, 18-20 June, 2019, Falmer, Brighton, United Kingdom

Learning to Transform seminar, to support PhD students, Eventbrite Webinar, 21st March, 2019. Free Order #887391611

Word process.com. Managing time, using technology. Sussex Research Hive, 24th January, 2019. University of Sussex Library, Falmer Brighton, United Kingdom

Preparing and delivering lectures seminar, University of East Anglia, Electa live seminars, 25th March, 2020, Norwich, United Kingdom

Preparing for your Viva seminar, University of East Anglia, Electa live seminars, 30th March, 2020, Norwich, United Kingdom

Conferences and presentations

International Academic Conference on Education, 15th March, 2018, Methodist University College, Accra, Ghana. A presentation on my PhD journey by Ayeh-Danquah Koomson, Millicent

Annual Area youth conference, July 25-28, 2018, Church of Pentecost, Manchester, UK. Paper presented: Young immigrants' integration in UK: the role of the church by Ayeh-Danquah Koomson, Millicent

"Just say thief! Mob action: a major challenge among the Ghanaian public." A drama enacted by young people on Human Rights day, 10th December, 2016. Directed and presented by Millicent Ayeh-Danquah Koomson.

"My language, my challenge." Challenges faced by Diaspora immigrants in England, UK." A round table seminal paper being worked on by Millicent Ayeh-Danquah Koomson as part of the School of Education and Social Work's sponsorship project. February 2018.

Skills Training workshops attended

Code	Title	Date	Event Venue
Res Dev	Academic Writing 1	31st July 2019	Pevensey 1-2D8
Research Dev	Academic Writing 2	12th November 2019	Pevensey 1B2
Library	Finding dissertation for your research and thesis	22nd May 2017	Library Training room
Sussex library	Referencing	24th January 2018	Library training room
Su lib	Using referencing end notes	29th October 2019	Library training room
SGS	Inclusivity and Reflexivity in Research Methods	19th September 2019	School of Global Studies
TEL	NVivo Workshop	25-26 April 2018	Technology Enhanced Learning
Res Hive	The Viva Experience: Tips for PhD survivors	18th May 2017	Arts A04
Library	Succeeding at interviews for doctoral researchers	2th September, 2018	Careers Sussex library
IDS	Elite interviewing	14th June, 20188	IDS Covering space
School of Arts	Using SPSS to analyse research data	26th April & 3rd May	Arts C-169

	2 part course	2018	
ESW	Preventing harm in research	1st July 2020	By zoom