'Medɔ wo'

Understanding the transformation of the transnational field, habitus, and capital of members of the Ghanaian diaspora living in the Netherlands through the encounter of conservative and liberal attitudes towards homosexuality

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'Medɔ wo' is Ghanaian for I love you.

The frontpage image is the traditional Ghanaian Adrinkra symbol *'odo nnyew fie kwan'*, which means 'love never loses its way home'. The symbol represents the power of love.

Abstract

Ghanaian immigrants in the Netherlands come from a considerably more conservative background with regards to sexual freedom and expressions thereof than the majority of the Dutch population. Through migration, differing cultural attitudes, values, and norms encounter. Previous studies have found that immigrants acculturate in the dimension of moral attitudes over time. This research assesses how this process of attitude change unfolds by collecting data on specific experiences and interactions of transnational Ghanaian immigrants in the Netherlands. Analytically, this research builds on the conceptual toolkit of Pierre Bourdieu, consisting of field, habitus, and capital. Through the methodological innovation of a multi-leveled analysis, looking at the inter-field, intra-field, and individual level, this research finds that members of the Ghanaian diaspora actively shape their transnational field, habitus, and capital through interactions with institutions, associations, co-workers, and friends, and family, while simultaneously maintaining transnational ties with Ghana. In addition, this research finds that the attitudes of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands towards homosexuality have become more positive through the process of migration, which is in line with previous work on the subject.

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Introduction

The (perceived) social conservatism of immigrants, especially with regards to intolerance for LGBT+[1] rights, is a focal point in debates about immigration, integration, and national identity within Dutch politics and society. According to the Volkskrant: 'The immigration debate is splitting the gay movement', because conservative LGBT+ activists feel that the arrival of immigrants, with possibly incompatible worldviews, endangers their existence.[2] The same narrative is reflected in the election manifesto of the Netherlands largest opposition party: the Party for Freedom. On their website the party states that the core of anti-homosexual violence lies in the Dutch immigration policy, as the perpetrators of anti-LGBT+ violence are "almost always" immigrants.[3] Currently, there are 26 thousand Ghanaians immigrants living in the Netherlands. Are conservatives right to be worried? Is this group a threat to the safety of the Dutch LGBT+ community?

The rapidly deteriorating state of LGBT+ rights in Ghana became worldwide news when in March 2021 the office of human rights organization LGBT+ Rights Ghana was raided by the national security and the police.[4] Queers and allies from all over the world raised awareness by speaking out on social media and issuing a petition calling on president Nana Akufo-Addo to support and protect the Ghanaian LGBT+ community, but the president seems to have no intention of doing any such thing.[5] In fact, a new bill, seeking to further criminalize homosexuality and the support thereof, has been presented to parliament in August 2021.[6]

The Netherlands, in contrast, is seen as a progressive country with regards to LGBT+ rights.[7] It was the first to legalize gay marriage in 1988 and, according to the CBS, in 2018 only 6% of Dutch people held negative attitudes towards homosexuality.[8] This thesis starts from the premise that within

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[1] The complete abbreviation is: LGBTQIA+, which stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Transsexual, Queer, Intersex and Asexual or Ally. I referring to the community with LGBT+ because this abbreviation is used more commonly in the Ghanaian context.

[2] Haroon Ali, 'Het immigratiedebat splijt de homobeweging. Lukt het zo nog om eensgezind voor lhbti'ers op te komen?', *De Volkskrant,* 23rd of August 2021, https://www.volkskrant.nl/mensen/het-immigratiedebat-splijt-de-homobeweging-lukt-het-zo-nog-om-eensgezind-voor-lhbti-ers-op-te-komen~b0dfec6c/.

[3] Party for Freedom, 'Anti-homogeweld zijn geen incidenten: inbreng PVV debat homo-emancipatie', https://pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article/12-spreekteksten/906-anti-homogeweld-zijn-geen-incidenten-inbreng-pvv-debat-homo-emancipatie.html.

[4] Emmanuel Akinwotu, 'Ghanaian LGBTQ+ centre closes after threats and abuse', *The Guardian,* 25th of February 2021, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/25/lgbtq-ghanaians-under-threat-after-backlash-against-new-support-centre.

[5] Rufaro Samanga, 'Several Cultural Figures Sign Petition Supporting Ghana's LGBT Community', *okayafrica.,* 2nd of March 2021, https://www.okayafrica.com/lgbt-rights-support-for-ghana-petition/.

[6] Danielle Paquette, 'Lawmakers in Ghana seek to outlaw advocacy for gay rights', 28th of July 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/07/28/ghana-lgbtq-bill/.

[7] Although the LGBTQIA+ community in the Netherlands can live a relatively save life, it must be noted that there still is a long road ahead to complete inclusion. Many (especially black and indigenous) LGBTQIA+ identifying people still must prove their right to an unbothered live every single day. LGBTQIA+ people get picked on, bullied, abused, and sometimes even killed. Suicide rates are higher than average and they often get mistreated when in need of healthcare. Even though the situation is even worse in other countries, we must stand in solidarity with the LGBTQIA+ community in the Netherlands as well.

[8] LHBT-monitor 2018, 'De leefsituatie van lesbische, homoseksuele, biseksuele en transgender personen in Nederland', *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau* (Den Haag 2018), 9-10.

Ghanaian traditional and religiously informed culture a more conservative attitude towards homosexuality prevails, whereas in the Netherlands a more liberal idea is dominant.

Through emigration from Ghana to the Netherlands, two seemingly conflicting attitudes towards homosexuality encounter. Researchers have been analyzing immigrants' assimilation and acculturation with regards to this domain for a little more than over a decade. These works find that, generally, immigrants are able to acculturate their moral attitudes.[9] Previous studies have used large-N approaches, which means certain that key aspects of this process have not been studied in-depth. This thesis aims to dive deep into the personal experience of attitude change, aiming to gain a greater understanding of the impact of societal structures and power relations, and the personal process of socialization responsible for shaping moral attitudes.

To make sense of this encounter of a conservative and a more liberal idea through migration, a transnational perspective is appropriate. Transnationalism conceptualizes the continuous transnational social, political, and economic ties and interactions that immigrants maintain on the daily basis.[10] In addition, to conceptualize the societal structures and power relations, and the socialization process under investigation, I will deploy Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit, consisting of 'field', 'habitus', and 'capital'. 'Capital' is the sum of particular assets a person has in a specific situation, which can be cultural, social, or economic. Previous experiences in that situation, or 'field', have over time led to the formation of a 'habitus', or embodied scheme of perception. According to Bourdieu, combining one's assets with their embodied scheme of perception, and adding that to the specific situation they are in will teach the social researcher something about why people do as they do, and what power relations inform their decisions.

Bourdieu's takes a structurationist approach, which gives me the opportunity to explore the structures relating to immigration, as well as the individual experiences of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. Through this theoretical perspective and analytical framework this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of how immigrants transform their moral attitudes under the influence of the process of migration. This brings me to the following research question:

> How do first-generation Ghanaians living in the Netherlands shape their transnational capital, habitus, and field when Ghanaian conservative attitudes within the diaspora community encounter more liberal Dutch attitudes towards homosexuality in The Hague, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam from the moment of migration until June 2021?

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[9] Rory Fitzgerald, Lizzy Winstone, and Yvette Prestage, 'Searching for evidence of acculturation: Attitudes toward homosexuality among migrants moving from Eastern to Western Europe', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 26 (2014) 3, 323-341. Antje Röder, 'Immigrants' Attitudes toward Homosexuality: Socialization) Religion, and Acculturation in European Host Societies', *International Migration Review* 49 (2015) 4, 1042-1070. Thomas Soehl, 'From origins to destinations: acculturation trajectories in migrants' attitudes towards homosexuality', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2017) 11, 1831-1853.

[10] Sara de Jong and Petra Dannecker, 'Connecting and confronting transnationalism: bridging concepts and moving critique', *Identities* 25 (2018) 5, 493-506, 496.

This research question is divided into six sub-questions that will be discussed in chapter 2.

The research strategy is guided by the three-level analysis suggested by Bourdieu when researching field dynamics. For all levels, distinct methodological choices have been made. The first level, the inter-field level, will constitute the foundation of knowledge about the power relations between the Dutch institutional field of immigration and integration policy and the transnational field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. This analysis is conceptually guided by the notion of the state's field of power, which influences other fields. The second level is the intra-field level. To gain a better understanding of the structures of relationships *within* the Ghanaian community I will conduct a name generator survey, investigating the core personal network of my respondents. The concept of field is deployed in terms of a 'social field' to analyze this level. For the last dimension of analysis, the individual level, I will collect data through in-depth interviewing. This level will be based, conceptually, on the notion of habitus and capital.

The significance of this research is both empirical and theoretical. With homosexuality being a moral taboo, the Ghanaian community does not like to speak freely about the topic. This, however, presses on Ghanaian gays who want to be able to express themselves. With this research I hope to stimulate the necessary conversation about homosexuality, with hopes to – eventually – normalize the topic from inside the community out. In addition, the research contributes to the growing body of studies investigating the acculturation process with regards to moral attitudes. It adds to this by taking a transnational perspective, deploying a qualitative approach, and centralizing the agency of the immigrant.

This research is structured as followed: chapter 1 will further explore the context of the Ghanaian and Dutch attitudes towards homosexuality and the broader LGBT+ community. In chapter 2, literature review and the analytical framework will be discussed. First, the theoretical debate about the encounter of different cultures through migration is under discussion, after which I zoom in on the empirical topic, mapping the current knowledge thereon. In the second part of the chapter, the conceptual toolkit is defined and made operational to, together, constitute the analytical framework. Chapter 3 presents the research strategy and elaborates in-depth on the methodological choices. Chapter 4 to 6 constitute the analysis on the previously introduced levels: inter-field, intra-field, and individual. I will end with the conclusion and discussion. Here, I will synthesize the findings of the analysis, with aim of formulating an answer to the research puzzle. Last, some implications for future research will be included.

Chapter 1: Contextualization of the empirical topic

The empirical starting point of this research is the encounter of differing attitudes towards homosexuality through migration. However, to arrive at this starting point, I must elaborate on the general attitudes towards homosexuality in both Ghana and the Netherlands to find out whether they indeed diverge. The aim of this chapter is to present the contextual background in which this thesis is set. First, I will elaborate on the general Ghanaian stance towards homosexuality. This will help to understand the background of the more conservative idea under investigation in this study. Second, I will discuss the general Dutch attitude towards the LGBTQIA+ community, which will contribute to a greater comprehension of the more liberal stance on sexual freedom. In the last section, the small amount of current knowledge about Ghanaian diasporic attitudes towards homosexuality is at hand.

1.1 Ghanaian context

Public discourse about homosexuality in Ghana is guided by institutions such as the church, the law, and traditional and modern political authority.[11] In this section, I will build on both academic and non-academic sources to explore Ghana's institutionalized homophobia that fuels conservative, anti-queer attitudes. First, I will discuss the dominant discourse on homosexuality in Ghanaian society.[12] Thereafter, I will reflect on some current affairs, as in the past couple of months the situation has escalated quickly.

In Ghana, same-sex relations are criminalized under article 105 of the Ghana Criminal Code.[13] This article states that: "Whomever is guilty of unnatural carnal knowledge (a) of any person without his consent is guilty of first-degree felony, or (b) of any person with his consent or of any animal, is guilty of a misdemeanor."[14] What the actual definition of "unnatural carnal knowledge" is remains ambiguous. Seth Tweneboah writes that commonly the code follows traditional and religious trajectory, which means conjugal relationships must involve a man and a woman, but that in the current legal universalism this notion is unclear and unstainable in court.[15] In addition to the ambiguity of article 105, it is also in violation of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana, which guarantees equality of

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[11] Wunpini Fatimata Mohammed, 'Deconstructing homosexuality in Ghana', in: *Routledge handbook of queer African studies* (2019), 167-181, 167.

[12] The "Ghanaian society" is in no way a homogenous group. However, to sketch a general contextual background I have focused on the dominant discourse, without including existing counter-discourses.

[13] Human Rights Watch, 'No choice but to deny who I am: Violence and discrimination against LGBT people in Ghana', (United States of America 2018), 12. Godfried Agyeman Asante, 'Anti-LGBT violence and the ambivalent (colonial) discourses of Ghanaian Pentecostalist-Charismatic church leaders', *Howard Journal of Communications* 31 (2020) 1, 20-34, 22.

[14] Asante, 'Anti-LGBT violence and the ambivalent (colonial) discourses of Ghanaian Pentecostalist-Charismatic church leaders', 22.

[15] Seth Tweneboah, 'Religion, International Human Rights Standards, and the Politicisation of Homosexuality in Ghana', *African Journal of Gender and Religion* 24 (2020) 2, 25-48, 32.

all before the law. Therefore, article 105 is rarely enforced. Human Rights Watch found that Ghanaian law enforcement has not tried to do so in the last fifteen years.[16]

Although the legal dimension of homophobia serves as an important argument for anti-queer attitudes, the main institution responsible for setting moral boundaries in Ghana is the church. Ghana is a highly religious country, with estimates of 70% of the population being Christian, 18% being Muslim, 6% adheres to the traditional faith, and 6% of the population identifying as non-religious.[17] The Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC) is the largest religious body in Ghana with an enormous reach and power through church service, media, and politics.[18] Pentecostals see Christianity and homosexuality as being incompatible, and often voice criticism on queer-people and supporters thereof. The GPCC's stance on homosexuality is reflected in a statement made by Reverent Emmanuel Barrigah in 2017, on behalf of the council, regarding homosexuality. Emmanuel states that:

> It is against our cultural and social norms as a nation which cuts across all religious boundaries, hence government cannot legalize it. […] Homosexuality can never and ever be legalized in the country because it is devilish, it is demonic, and it is from the pit of hell so I cannot subscribe to it at all.[19]

This is just one of many quotes that illustrate the Church's disapproval of homosexuality. The Church's homophobic stance is resonated by societal attitudes towards homosexuality. Charity Akotia and Angela Gyasi-Gyamerah find that, where, in Ghana, religious commitment is high, attitudes towards homosexuality are negative.[20]

The quote of Reverent Emmanuel also exemplifies the politicization of sexuality through Church discourse, which shows the interrelatedness of politics and religion in the context of sexual moralism.[21] According to Tweneboah, part of the state's responsibilities have been taken over by non-state, religious actors, because of their influence in society and closeness to the masses.[22] This means that political actors heavily rely on religious anti-queer attitudes. This is reflected through the current escalation of the debate on LGBT+ rights.

Since the beginning of 2021, Ghana has repeatedly seen civil and political unrest with regards to LGBT+ rights, leading up to the presentation of a new political bill aiming to criminalize homosexuality further. The escalation started when in March 2021 the office of human rights

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[16] Human Rights Watch, 'No Choice but to Deny Who I Am', 1.
[17] 'Religion in Ghana', www.religionFacts.com/Ghana, updated on February 13th, 2021.
[18] Asante, 'Anti-LGBT violence and the ambivalent (colonial) discourses of Ghanaian Pentecostalist-Charismatic church leaders', 22. Francis Benyah, 'Pentecostalism, Media and the Politics of Homosexuality in Contemporary Ghana', *African Journal of Gender and Religion* 25 (2019) 1, 125-150, 127.
[19] Benyah, 'Pentecostalism, Media and the Politics of Homosexuality in Contemporary Ghana', 127.
[20] Angela Gyasi-Gyamerah and Charity Akotia, 'Religious commitment and prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals in Ghana', *IFE PsychologIA: An International Journal* 24 (2016) 2, 279-289.
[21] Tweneboah, 'Religion, International Human Rights Standards, and the Politicisation of Homosexuality in Ghana', 27.
[22] Ibidem, 32.

organization LGBT+ Rights Ghana was raided by the national security and the police.[23] The closing of the Centre, combined with the preceding weeks of anti-queer protests, forced queer Ghanaians to flee and hide from the risk of being abused and attacked by angry citizens.[24] Ghanaian LGBT+ rights activists face political unwillingness to change the current situation. President Nana Addo said that: "It will not be under the presidency of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo that same sex marriage will be legalized. It will never happen in my time as president."[25] In the months that followed the closing of the LGBT+ rights office, the public and political disapproval seemed to have grown stronger. On the 23rd of July 2021, a draft anti-LGBT+ legislation was leaked. The Promotion of Proper Human Sexual Rights and Ghanaian Family Values Bill 2021, as the bill is named, criminalizes not only LGBT+ relations, but also advocacy, promotion, and support thereof, intersex or transsexuality, and asexuality.[26]

As the bill has yet to be passed, the coming months will be very important for the future of the LGBT+ community in Ghana. Already, Ghanaian queer people do not feel save in their country, a fact that is presented in the 2018 report 'No choice but to deny who I am', by NGO Human Rights Watch.[27] This report finds that the Ghanaian LGBT+ community often falls victim of abuse, sexual assault, domestic violence, and mob violence. One dreadful example is presented in a 2020 article describing a vigilante groups' attempt to burn an allegedly gay man alive.[28] The passing of the new bill will criminalize the existence of LGBT+ people even further, the consequences of which cannot yet be foreseen.

1.2 Dutch context

Discourse about homosexuality in the Netherlands generally presents a more liberal perspective. Over the following paragraphs I will describe the Dutch dominant discourse on LGBT+ rights.

Between the 60s of the 20th century and the early 2000s, the Dutch attitude towards homosexuality liberalized. The last law discriminating against homosexuals was abandoned in 1971, and two years later the 'Dutch Society for Homosexuals COC' received royal recognition.[29] In the following years, thanks to the COC's integration efforts, and the continuing secularization of Dutch

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[23] Akinwotu, 'Ghanaian LGBTQ+ centre closes after threats and abuse', *The Guardian.*

[24] Kimeron Virk and Roshan Roberts, 'Being gay in Ghana: LGBT community is 'under attack'', *BBC News*, 11th of March 2021, https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-56325310.

[25] Selorm Tali, 'LGBTQ legalization will not happen in my time as President - Nana Addo (VIDEO)', *Pulse,* 28th of Februari 2021, https://www.pulse.com.gh/news/lgbtq-legalization-will-not-happen-in-my-time-as-president-nana-addo-video/lg15jcl.

[26] A copy of the bill is accessible via: https://www.slideshare.net/KwekuZurek/the-promotion-of-proper-human-sexual-rights-and-ghanaian-family-values-bill-2021.

[27] Human Rights Watch, 'No choice but to deny who I am', 1-5.

[28] Pattrick Kelleher, 'Ghanaian man narrowly escapes being burned alive by violent 'vigilante' gang who suspected him of being gay', *PinkNews,* 11th of March 2021, https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2020/03/11/ghana-lgbt-rights-homophobia-ebenezer-okang-accra-human-rights-watch-hate-crime/.

[29] Eva Jaspers, Marcel Lubbers and Nan Dirk De Graaf, ''Horrors of Holland': explaining attitude change towards euthanasia and homosexuals in the Netherlands, 1970–1998', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19 (2007) 4, 451-473, 454.

society, homosexuals in the Netherlands gradually emancipated. This led up to the extension of civil marriage and the right to adopt children to include same-sex couples in 2001.[30] Being the first country in the world to legalize gay marriage has become a cornerstone of the Dutch identity.

This positive attitude towards sexual diversity, which is described as the 'be yourself'-discourse by Marco Derks, is seen as "a central characteristic of the alleged tolerance and open-mindedness of Dutch society."[31] And indeed, the Netherlands is continuously ranked within the top ten of most LGBT-friendly countries.[32] The 'be yourself' discourse, which is deployed by political parties, through national policies, and in the media, aims to "promote a social climate in which LGBTs—and in some cases also other groups—experience no external barriers to express their sexual identity if they so wish."[33] Acceptance of sexual diversity has become a national character trait.

However, this liberal and culturally progressive stance towards homosexuality in law, politics, and media does not mean that Dutch people are generally accepting of LGBTQIA+ expressions in society. Research by the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau found that most Dutch people agree that a liberal attitude toward homosexuality is part of the national identity, but that they do not feel comfortable being confronted with specific utterances of homosexual love, such as holding hands and kissing publicly.[34] Derks argues that there are strong moral standards for the LGBTQIA+ community, and for example, expressions of transsexuality and non-binary identities are still met with public hate and disgust.[35] Academics understand this as a shift from traditional anti-homosexual sentiments, based on the idea of homosexually being an unnatural sin, to modern homonegativity, which is more subtle and covert type of attitude.[36]

1.3 Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands

With regards to attitudes towards homosexuality within the Dutch Ghanaian diaspora, not much is known. The one available example stems from a 2018 episode of the television show *Nieuwsuur*, wherein the Dutch Ghanaian reverent Emmanuel Koney made homophobic remarks. Koney stated that he should be able to forbid his son to 'become' homosexual and continued arguing that homosexuality

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[30] Jaspers, Lubbers and De Graaf, ''Horrors of Holland'', 454.
[31] Marco Derks, *Constructions of Homosexuality and Christian Religion in Contemporary Public Discourse in the Netherlands* (Utrecht 2019), 112.
[32] Spartacus, 'Gay Travel Index', 2020.
[33] Derks, *Constructions of Homosexuality and Christian Religion,* 363.
[34] Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 'Lesbische, homoseksuele en biseksuele jongeren (LHBJ)', *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau,* https://www.scp.nl/over-scp/data-en-methoden/onderzoeksbeschrijvingen/lesbische-homoseksuele-en-biseksuele-jongeren-lhbj.
[35] Derks, *Constructions of Homosexuality and Christian Religion,* 100.
[36] Mordern homonegativaty is: "(a) gay men and lesbian women are making illegitimate (or unnecessary) demands for changes in the status quo (e.g., the right to be legally wed), (b) discrimination against gay men and lesbian women is a thing of the past, and (c) gay men and lesbian women exaggerate the importance of their sexual orientation thereby perpetuating their own marginalization. (Morrison et al., 2009, p. 525)" quotation from: Jolynn Haney, 'Predictors of homonegativity in the United States and the Netherlands using the fifth wave of the World Values Survey', *Journal of homosexuality* 63 (2016) 10, 1355-1377, 1371.

and criminality are one and the same thing.[37] Pastor Koney fulfills an important role within the international Pentecost Revival Church and serves in Amsterdam Zuidoost.

In my preparation for this research I tried to make an indication of where and how homosexuality occurs in this community. First, I asked my Ghanaian relatives in the Netherlands if they knew any Dutch Ghanaian homosexual people. One relative said: "I don't know anyone. It's taboo, so if they were, they wouldn't say." Two others told me the same thing. When I asked a fourth relative he said: "It is a taboo, Pentecostals regard it as a sin to God."[38] Eventually, I was pointed in the direction of relative who is gay. He was willing to speak to me about his sexual identity. He told me that he has recently been trying to discuss the topic with his family. He says that, at the moment, it is non-negotiable and that it is continuously "swept under the mat".[39] On the 21st of April 2021 I conducted an interview with a queer Dutch Ghanaian. He told me that his family is aware of his sexual preference, but that it is something that is not to be discussed. In addition, he said that growing up in church, feeling ashamed of yourself, and denied by your own community leaves wounds that were still healing.[40]

1.4 Summary

In Ghana, churches and politicians use similar anti-homosexual rhetoric, making Ghana an unsafe place for their LGBT+ community. Abuse, assault, and psychical and structural violence are realities for queer-Ghanaians. With the presentation of new anti-LGBT+ legislation, Ghanaian parliament might further the criminalization of same-sex relations, restricting the basic human rights of queer-Ghanaians even more.

In the Netherlands, the general attitude towards homosexuality is positive, although this is limited by homonegative ideas. Nevertheless, the Dutch LGBT+ community can live their life in relative safety, especially in comparison to other countries. A positive attitude towards homosexuality is represented through politics, policies, and media.

In conclusion, the Ghanaian attitude towards homosexuality can be understood as based upon conservative, traditional anti-homosexual sentiments, whereas the Dutch liberal attitude is one of tolerance, limited by homonegative tendencies. In the next chapter, I will explore the current stance of academic literature on the *encounter* of such differing moral attitudes.

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[37] Ruben Koops and Josien Wolthuizen, 'Ghanese dominee uit de gratie na homofobe uitspraken', *Het Parool,* 20th of February 2018, https://www.parool.nl/nieuws/ghanese-dominee-uit-de-gratie-na-homofobe-uitspraken~ba507460.
[38] Conversations on the 16th of Februari 2021.
[39] A conversation on the 16th and 17th of Februari 2021.
[40] Interview on the 21st of April 2021, Amsterdam.

Chapter 2: Literature review and analytical framework

As chapter one has illustrated, the Ghanaian society regards homosexuality in a more conservative manner than Dutch society does. The question underlying the investigation of this empirical observation is: what happens when cultural differences encounter and interact through migration? This question has been central to the field of migration studies for many years. In this second chapter I will present a literature review in which the evolution, debates, and current stance of academic knowledge on the encounter of attitudes, values, and norms between communities linked through migration is discussed, both theoretically and empirically. The aim of the literature review is, first, to embed this research in the field of migration studies, and second, to identify the research gap that it will contribute to filling. In the second part of this chapter, I will discuss the analytical framework that will be deployed to address the identified research gap.

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Theories in migration studies

In this subsection, I will elaborate on the debates within the field of migration about the effects of the encounter of different cultures through migration. The classical theory to make sense of interaction through migration within the interdisciplinary field of migration studies is assimilation theory. This theory, in short, assumes that cultural markers of the minority group will gradually disappear, absorbing the minority group into the culture in the majority group.[41] This classic approach to migration has prevailed for many years, and is still deemed relevant; Not only in academics, but also in public policy efforts. Over the course of the last decade, assimilation theory has been built upon, challenged, and by some scholars, averted. First, I will elaborate on classic assimilation theory and the adjustments to it that were made after the 1960s. After this, the assimilation vs. transnationalism debate that erupted in the early 90s will be discussed. Hereafter, I will present the current stance in academics on the most important theories, and, in conclusion, I will theoretically embed this research within the field of migration studies.

   In the decades between the first works handling classic assimilation theory in the 1920s, and the first phase of challenges to the theory in the 1960s, the essence of the theory – even though it was advanced by several scholars – remained the same. Classic assimilation theory is based on the idea of the existence of a natural process leading to the reduction of cultural heterogeneity through the "bipolar" situation in which immigrants are pulled towards the host culture while simultaneously being held back

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[41] Robert Park, 'Human migration and the marginal man', *American journal of sociology* 33 (1928) 6, 881-893. Louis Wirth, 'The ghetto', *American Journal of Sociology* 33 (1927) 1, 57-71.

by their specific cultural or ethnic traits.[42] Eventually, when the assimilation of the immigrant group is complete, all old cultural markers will have "melted" into the mainstream culture.[43]

An important contribution to the development of the theory was made by Milton Gordon in 1964.[44] He created a typology of assimilation to grasp the complexity of the phenomenon. Gordon argued that the first step of assimilation is 'acculturation', which in academia is currently understood as the process of changes in culture and behavior resulting from the encounter between cultures through migration.[45] In contrast to his predecessors, Gordon argued that acculturation would not *automatically* lead to complete assimilation, as some groups would be hindered by spatial isolation or lack of contact with the host culture.[46] How such groups eventually do advance from one stage of assimilation to the next does not become clear, but Gordon still anticipates the same end point as Wirth and Park; Over time, all distinctive ethnic traits of immigrant groups will disappear as they are absorbed by the majority population.[47]

Over the course of the following decades, assimilation theory was challenged by many scholars, as it became clear that the suspected outcomes were not forthcoming. Researchers found that cultural and ethnic differences persisted to exist across generations.[48] These findings resulted in the questioning of straight-line assimilation theory, and the emergence of alternative approaches. For example, Herbert Gans developed the bumpy-line approach to assimilation theory, arguing that, "delayed acculturation" sometimes occurs because of "environmental pressures", being the host country imposing too high expectations, or the individual having invented too high expectations themselves.[49] Nevertheless, at the core of such alternative assimilation theories still lies the idea that immigrants can and will eventually assimilate to the homogenic culture of the majority.

For some scholars these developments led to a rejection of assimilation theory, sparking theoretical controversies, and creating space for new approaches to understanding the encounter of cultural differences through migration, such as transnationalism. In the early 1990s, social anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton argued that the general

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[42] Park, 'Human migration and the marginal man', 891.
[43] Wirth Park, Lloyd Warner, and Leo Srole, 'The American ethnic group', *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (1945), 283-96. The word "melting" comes from the melting pot theory which is important to understand the view of immigrant assimilation in the United Stated. The contested theory of the melting pot "holds that, like metals melted together at great heat, the melting together of several cultures will produce a new compound, one that has great strength and other combined advantages." For more on melting pot theory, see: Stacy Maddern, 'Melting pot theory', in: *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* (2013).
[44] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York 1964).
[45] John Berry and David Sam, 'Acculturation and adaptation', *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* 3 (1997) 2, 291-326.
[46] Min Zhou, 'Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation', *International migration review* 31 (1997) 4, 975-1008, 977.
[47] Zhou, 'Segmented assimilation', 977.
[48] Ibidem, 978-980.
[49] Herbert Gans, 'Comment: Ethnic Invention and Acculturation, A Bumpy-Line Approach', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 11 (1992) 3, 42-52.

assumption at the core of assimilation theory overlooked the existence of 'transmigrants'.[50] By this the authors meant that migrants maintain multidimensional linkages to their homeland, varying between political, economic, and cultural activities and processes, with which they actively create transnational social fields linking the country of destination to the homeland.[51] This perspective transcends the nation-state, and directly opposes the essence of assimilation theory. Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton's publications sparked an explosion of research on transnationalism, which is referred to as 'the transnational turn' in migration studies.[52] The turn advanced alternative approaches to the study of migration, bringing new theories and methodologies to the fore, which were able to shed light on social processes that had been unclear and under researched before then.[53]

'The transnational turn' simultaneously inspired assimilation theorists to go back to the drawing table. Where Nathan Glazer asked if assimilation theory was officially dead in 1993, in that same year Min Zhou and Alejandro Portes coined 'segmented assimilation' theory.[54] This theory departs from the notion that different approaches to the understanding of immigrant adaptation all contribute to the knowledge about the subject, but do not clarify why immigrant's destinies have been divergent.[55] Zhou and Portes present several multidirectional patterns with the aim of determining into which segment an immigrant might assimilate.[56] In addition, the rehabilitation of assimilation theory was taken further by Richard Alba and Victor Nee's 2003 book, in which assimilation is reframed as a process rather than an end-state.[57] Alba and Nee define assimilation as: "the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences", but emphasize the individual pursuit thereof in the bigger scope of an immigrant's search for "the good life".[58]

Efforts like Zhou and Portes's, and Alba and Nee's, have surprisingly overcome the initial friction between transnationalism and assimilation theory as the two theoretical approaches are not mutually exclusive. This is so because taking a transnational *perspective* to understanding immigrants lives and social fields does not mean that these 'transmigrants' do not engage in the process of

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[50] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*, (London 1993).

[51] Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*, (London 1993).

[52] Simona Kuti, 'Transnationalism and Multiculturalism: An Intellectual Cul-de-sac or Paths for Further Research?', *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 79 (2017), 31-51, 34. Janine Dahinden, 'Transnationalism reloaded: the historical trajectory of a concept', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (2017) 9, 1474-1485, 1475. Roger Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration: beyond the assimilation/transnationalism debate', *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 43 (2017) 1, 3-17, 3.

[53] Dahinden, 'Transnationalism reloaded', 1475.

[54] Nathan Glazer, 'Is assimilation dead?' *The annals of the American academy of political and social science* 530 (1993) 1, 122-136. Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, 'The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants', *The annals of the American academy of political and social science* 530 (1993) 1, 74-96.

[55] Zhou, 'Segmented assimilation', 984.

[56] Ibidem.

[57] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration* (Cambridge 2009).

[58] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 4.

assimilating into a specific segment of the host society.[59] This idea is in line with Janine Dahinden's statement that the main merit of the transnational turn is the emergence of a transnational perspective. Dahinden writes that:

> Applying a transnational perspective means adopting an explicitly de-nationalized epistemological stance and concomitant methodologies in order to investigate and theorize crossborder social phenomena by non-state actors. Such cross-border phenomena are understood as the outcome of particular processes which are embedded in multi-layered structures (political, economic, social) at simultaneously local, national and supranational scales and the agency of non-state actors.[60]

This perspective has revised traditional social theory, such as classic assimilation theory, and brought poorly understood dynamics in migration studies to light.

This review of the literature shows that there is space within the transnational perspective to research the assimilation and acculturation processes immigrants engage in after migration. This theoretical position allows for the use of a range of different concepts and methodologies when researching the encounter of attitudes, values, and norms.

2.1.2 Empirical knowledge on change of attitude towards homosexuality

In this subsection I will elaborate on the stance of empirical knowledge on the specific encounter of attitudes towards homosexuality between communities linked through migration. A small body of literature within migration studies has handled this topic. The first publication dates back to 2007.[61] As chapter one describes, same-sex marriage was not legal in most Western-European countries before the early 2000s, and anti-queer sentiments have been (and still are) part of the Western European attitude. Taking that into consideration, it is likely that before the 10s there was not much of a conflict of attitudes measurable with regards to homosexuality. In this subsection I will discuss the stance of academic knowledge that is available on the shaping of attitudes towards homosexuality through migration.

The first studies on the subject focus on discrepancies in attitudes between "natives" and people with foreign backgrounds. The study that was carried out for The Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands (SCP) in 2007 researched the general acceptance of homosexuality in the Netherlands.[62] The researchers find that first- and second-generation immigrants from Turkey and Morocco hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuality. Although these findings are controlled for "background characteristics" such as religion, education, and age, the researchers do not sufficiently explain the difference in attitudes.

[59] Waldinger, 'A cross-border perspective on migration', 4.
[60] Dahinden, 'Transnationalism reloaded', 1482.
[61] Saskia Keuzenkamp and David Bos, 'Out in the Netherlands: Acceptance of Homosexuality in the Netherlands', *The Netherlands Institute for Social Research* (Den Haag 2007).
[62] Keuzenkamp and Bos, 'Out in the Netherlands', 13.

This is the gap that Céline Teney and Subu Subramanian try to address in their 2010 article about attitude difference among multiethnic youth in Brussels. The authors too find that youngsters with a foreign background have a higher prejudice against homosexual people. However, Teney and Subramanian argue that "cultural explanations for such ethnic differences on sexual prejudice are much too simplistic."[63] They find that identification processes, institutional discrimination, and social norms all contribute to the formation of the prejudice against homosexual people.[64] These studies established a starting point for research focusing on the possibility of changing attitudes and values through migration.

The second "wave" of publications, show this shift towards researching attitudes in a processual manner, as evidence of the acculturation of immigrants. Koen van der Bracht and Bart van der Putte find that the disapproval of homosexuality among first- and second-generation migrants in Europe declines over time, conforming to levels of disapproval in the destination country. They use data from the European Social Survey (ESS) collected between 2004 and 2010, which is complemented with data gathered by interviews.[65] A similar approach is taken by Rory Fitzgerald, Lizzy Winstone, and Yvette Prestage, who limited their research to migrants moving from Eastern to Western Europe. They also find evidence of acculturation over a considerable timespan.[66] In a 2015 contribution, Antje Röder includes the "origin country context", being attitudes towards homosexuality or religion in the home country, in the explanation of why immigrants are less accepting of homosexuality. She also finds that these origin country characteristics are not as important after longer residence in the destination country.[67] All studies find that religious backgrounds, mostly Islamic beliefs, hinder acculturation of attitudes on homosexuality.

The 2017 study by Thomas Soehl takes a similar approach but also looks at additional characteristics that cause variation in the acculturation process. Soehl includes religion, usage of the home country language, and economic marginalization.[68] He finds, making use of the ESS as well, that these factors have influence on the acculturation process. Soehl also states that he does not find evidence of Muslim immigrants maintaining origin country attitudes for a longer period than other immigrant groups.[69] The author places himself within assimilation theorists thinking, arguing that: "As settlement

[63] Céline Teney and Subu Subramanian, 'Attitudes toward homosexuals among youth in multiethnic Brussels', *Cross-Cultural Research* 44 (2010) 2, 151-173, 169.

[64] Teney and Subramanian, 'Attitudes toward homosexuals among youth in multiethnic Brussels', 169.

[65] Koen van der Bracht and Bart van der Putte, 'Homonegativity among first and second generation migrants in Europe: the interplay of time trends, origin, destination and religion', *Social science research* 48 (2014), 108-120, 111.

[66] Rory Fitzgerald, Lizzy Winstone, and Yvette Prestage, 'Searching for evidence of acculturation: Attitudes toward homosexuality among migrants moving from Eastern to Western Europe', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 26 (2014) 3, 323-341, 323.

[67] Antje Röder, 'Immigrants' Attitudes toward Homosexuality: Socialization) Religion, and Acculturation in European Host Societies', *International Migration Review* 49 (2015) 4, 1042-1070, 1061.

[68] Thomas Soehl, 'From origins to destinations: acculturation trajectories in migrants' attitudes towards homosexuality', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2017) 11, 1831-1853, 1831.

[69] Soehl, 'From origins to destinations', 1832.

progresses, immigrants and especially their children will become increasingly representative of the hostcountry attitudes and less representative of origin-country attitude patterns."[70] In addition, Soehl argues that the engagement in transnational practices leads to a considerably slower assimilation process. These publications all find more or less the same evidence of acculturation, which implies that attitudes are able to change over time through acculturation.

This research will be embedded within the discussed nascent body of literature. In the next section I will summarize the findings of this literature review, as well as address the research gap this thesis will contribute to filling.

2.1.3 Summary and research gap

A review of the literature has presented the shift away from classic assimilation theory towards assimilation as a process within a transnational paradigm. This translates to the empirical findings researching acculturation processes of immigrants living in Western Europe, which study attitude change in the light of ties with the origin country and socialization. These studies generally find that acculturation of attitudes towards homosexuality happens over time, with variations based on religion and other individual or group-characteristics. This research will add to the academic field four respects:

First, this research will take a qualitative, explorative approach, intending to dive deep into individual attitude change based on personal experience. Previous research was based on large-N analysis, aiming to make generalizable claims across many immigrant groups. [71] Such studies have led to the current consensus about immigrants' ability to change culturally charged attitudes, values, and norms, but a closer look into personal accounts will further the understanding of such attitude change, and centralize the agency of the immigrant in the acculturation process.

Second, in line with the previous statement, this research transcends the previously made divide of immigrant groups based on religion. Ghana is a religiously diverse country and different respondents identify as atheist, Christian, and Muslim. By taking a deep dive approach this research will investigate whether religious values are indeed more essential to the understanding of attitude change than other aspects of the socialization process.

Third, although the previous studies about attitude change towards homosexuality are not incompatible with the idea of transmigrants, this thesis will actively take a transnational perspective by investigating cross-border relations, exchanges, and ideas as well as centralizing the agency of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. Thus far, transnational ties have not been included sufficiently in the explanation of attitude change.

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[70] Soehl, 'From origins to destinations', 1834.
[71] I found one exception focusing solely on Polish migrants: Antje Röder and Marcel Lubbers, 'After migration: Acculturation of attitudes towards homosexuality among Polish immigrants in Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK', *Ethnicities* 16 (2016) 2, 261-289.

Fourth, by taking an analytically sociological approach this research will take societal structures and power relations into account. One previous study explored the impact of perceived group discrimination on attitude change, but overall, the context in which attitude change does or does not occur remains under researched.

In the next section, I will discuss the analytical framework through which the transnational perspective and society-sensitive approach taken in this research will become feasible.

2.2 Analytical framework

2.2.1 Transnational social field, habitus, and institutionalized and national capital

To analyze the outcomes of the encounter of conservative and liberal attitudes towards homosexuality through migration I will deploy and add to Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit. This toolkit consists out of three concepts: field, habitus, and capital, which I will situate in a transnational perspective. In this section, I will first explain why it makes sense to use this specific toolkit. Hereafter, the definitions of (transnational) field, habitus, and capital, will be explored to find or create the one that is best suited for the nature of the case study central to this research. Bourdieu, when defining most of his concepts, had the French academic system in mind. Therefore, the concepts need to be adjusted for the specific context of this research. Field, habitus, and capital are intertwined and inter-dependent concepts that are difficult to make sense of when studied separate. To ensure that the constituent parts of the research topic are observed, described, and elucidated in the correct manner, I will define them one by one.

Why field, habitus, and capital? In the previous section I explained that in contrast to the other studies on migrant's attitude change towards homosexuality, this research aims to incorporate the impact that social structures and power relations have on this process. Bourdieu, in his work, conceptualizes social stratification and inequality. Society, according to Bourdieu, must be seen as a large hierarchic field wherein people create smaller social fields. These fields and the way there are organized are the result of the rules of a specific field, an agent's habitus – which is the way in which people conceive the world and react to it –, and the agent's capital, which represents the power one has within a specific field.[72] Bourdieu takes a structurationist approach by combining the idea of class relations and structures with everyday culture and interaction. So, through the concept of 'field', this approach allows me to incorporate the social context in which the attitude change that is under investigation occurs. The concept of 'habitus' helps me to dive deep in the personal processes and experiences leading up to attitude change and 'capital' connects these personal experiences to the social structures, making the analysis multi-leveled, as well as well-rounded.

The first concept is field, which, according to Bourdieu, is an abstract conceptualization of a social space that is structured by formal and informal norms.[73] People occupy several fields at the same

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[72] Michele Dillon, *Introduction to sociological theory: Theorists, concepts, and their applicability to the twenty-first century* (New Jersey 2009), 438.
[73] Patricia Thomson, 'Field', in: Michael Grenfell (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*, (London 2008), 74.

time, such as the educational field or the economic field. The collective, overarching field, is called the 'field of power'.[74] This has an interdependent relationship of exchange with the smaller social fields that people live in. Bourdieu argues that the relationship between the field of power and smaller social fields is built on "a mutual process of influence and ongoing co-construction: what happens in the field of power shapes what can happen in a social field."[75]

In transnational perspective, a social field transcends nation-state boundaries.[76] Levitt and Glick Schiller argue that transmigrants are influenced by social institutions, events, or even laws that exist across borders.[77] However, the transnational social field is still influenced by the larger field of power and the nation-state's social fields. In an operationalized manner, the transnational social field is defined as an: "interconnected web of social relations […] that include those left behind in the homeland and those in the diaspora…", of which its place in the hierarchy of society is based on "a mutual process of influence and ongoing co-construction" with other social fields and the field of power.[78]

The second concept, habitus, entails the learned set of preferences or dispositions by which a person orients to the social world. It is a system of durable but transposable structures of perception, conception and action that are rooted in the process of socialization.[79] In this research the concept of habitus can help make sense of peoples' judgements, attitudes, and perceptions towards homosexuality, as described by themselves.

In transnational sense, I will deploy the idea of primary and secondary socialization, in which primary socialization represents the habitus formation before migration, and secondary socialization centralizes experiences after migration.[80] To be able to operationalize the habitus in this perspective, it is defined as follows: the habitus are the attitudes, predispositions and perceptions one embodies which are shaped by primary socialization, and ongoing context of change in the social world we inhabit.[81]

Capital, in Bourdieusian understanding, stands for the symbolic power one has within a specific social field. Capital has the ability to differentiate both social groups, and individuals *within* social groups from each other.[82] Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital ("amount of economic assets an individual/ family has"), cultural capital ("familiarity and ease with (the legitimate) habits, knowledge, tastes, skills, and style of everyday living") and social capital ("individuals' ties or

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[74] Ibidem, 70.

[75] Ibidem, 71.

[76] Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, 'Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society', *International Migration Review* 38 (2004) 3, 1002–1039, 1010.

[77] Levitt and Glick Schiller, 'Conceptualizing simultaneity', 1010.

[78] Rita Nketiah, 'For the Love of "Home": The Transnational Lives of 1.5 and Second-Generation Ghanaian-Canadians', PhD published in *Yorkspace* 2020. Thomson, 'Field', 71.

[79] Karl Maton, 'Habitus', in: Michael Grenfell (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*, (London 2008), 59-60.

[80] Henk Dekker, 'Growing into politics; Contexts and timing of political socialization', *Politics, Culture and Socialization* 5 (2014) 2, 217-224, 222.

[81] Maton, 'Habitus', 59

[82] Robert Moore, 'Capital', In: Michael Grenfell (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (London 2014), 101-117, 102.

connections to others").[83] As culturally driven ideas are at the core of this research the focus lies upon cultural capital.

Cultural capital appears in three distinct states: objectified, embodied, and institutionalized. For the purpose of researching attitude change towards homosexuality through migration it is most relevant to focus on the institutionalized state of cultural capital. The objectified state, which is the material form of cultural capital, is not relevant for this research. The embodied state of cultural capital, for example the ability to play piano, also does not contribute to the understanding attitudes.[84] I will, however, complement Bourdieu's states of cultural capital with an additional one: national capital.[85]

Institutionalized cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, is acquired through formal education, which evolve into credentials or personal qualifications.[86] However, in the Ghanaian context, in comparison to the French system Bourdieu had in mind, access to good quality education is not nearly as common.[87] In addition to that, in a transnational setting it must be understood that academic credentials obtained before migration often are not valued in the same way. Thinking in terms of institutionalized capital then means considering not only the actual knowledge one has, but also the 'where' of the educational credentials that were obtained.

National capital, lastly, I define as the sum of adopted national culture with regards to homosexuality within the Dutch national field. In the book 'White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society', Ghassan Hage conceptualizes the idea of national capital as follows:

> National capital is the sum of accumulated nationally sanctified and valued social and cultural styles and dispositions (national culture) adopted by individuals and groups, as well as valued characteristics (national types and national character) within a national field: looks, accent, demeanour, taste, nationally valued social and cultural preferences and behaviour, etc.[88]

Hage calls this state of national capital "practical nationality". Practical nationality is highly relevant in understanding members of the Ghanaian diaspora's power to belong, and be presumed as *belonging*, in the Dutch context. Although Hage emphasizes the importance of appearance in national capital, for the

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[83] Dillon, *Introduction to sociological theory,* 429-430.
[84] Embodied cultural capital and habitus are often confused in the academic literature. Embodied cultural capital is represented through physical features such as body language, intonation, and lifestyle choices. It is often subtle, as in the example of a 'cultivated' gaze or a nervous movement of the body when feeling uncomfortable. The habitus must be understood as the *embodiment* of cultural capital, or what Bourdieu refers to as a familiarity with "the rules of the game", or the regulative principles of a specific field. In contrast to embodied cultural capital, the habitus does not have a material existence. It is made up out of attitudes, dispositions, and perceptions. Embodied cultural capital could be relevant, but requires other data collection techniques, such as: prolonged ethnographic research, participatory action research of photo-/videography. For this reason, I will focus on the concept of habitus, rather than embodied cultural capital.
[85] Ghassan Hage, *White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society* (London 2012), 53.
[86] Moore, 'Capital', 105.
[87] UNESCO, http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/gh.
[88] Hage, *White nation*, 53.

scope and aim of this research, I will solely focus on the aspect of dispositions, investigating the adoption of valued social and cultural styles regarding homosexuality.

2.2.2 Summary

In sum, the concepts that will be used to make sense of the change of attitude towards homosexuality through migration are, first, field of power and transnational social field, to understand larger structural dynamics as well as personal network dynamics that might influence the process. Second, habitus, to dive deep into personal dispositions, perceptions, and attitudes, and third, institutionalized and national capital, to explore power relations and find out what is to gain from attitude change.

2.3 Sub-questions

From the discussion of the analytical framework and the defining of the key concepts logically follows a set of sub-questions that will guide the analysis. The first sub-question is: how do the transnational social field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands and the Dutch field of power influence each other? This question will be answered in chapter 4, when investigating the inter-field dimension of analysis. This question is related to the analytical concept of transnational social field and the related idea of field of power.

The second sub-question is also conceptually linked to transnational social field, being: what does the interconnected web of social relations that include those left behind in the homeland and those in the diaspora of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands look like? This question is central to the analysis of the intra-field level.

Sub-questions three to six guide the analysis of the individual level and can be divided based on primary and secondary socialization processes. Sub-question three: what attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands have were formed through primary socialization? And four, what were members of the Ghanaian diaspora taught about homosexuality during their formal education, focus on the process of primary socialization. Sub-questions five and six discuss secondary socialization, and are, five: what attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands possess have been formed through secondary socialization? And six: how well have members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands adopted national culture and valued characteristics within the Dutch national field? These sub-questions conceptually rely on the notion of habitus and institutionalized and national capital.

In the next chapter I will elaborate on how these sub-questions will guide the multi-level analysis undertaken in this research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter the research strategy will be explained. In the first section, I will elaborate on the epistemological and ontological understanding that drive this research. In section two, I will discuss the methodological choices I made, structured by the previously introduced three level analysis. Lastly, I will present the ethical considerations and limitations of this research.

3.1 Research strategy

Ontologically, the social phenomena that this research deals with are social or cultural practices, social processes, attitudes, beliefs, views, interactions, and social relations.[89] To make sense of, for example, the complex dynamics that exists between the field and the habitus, the ontological nature of this research is structurationist. This is in line with the theoretical thinking tools that will be deployed for analysis. Structuration theory is a circular process wherein conscious agents actively create and maintain structures.[90] Bourdieu differs from this understanding of structuration by arguing that social life must be examined in terms of power relations actors are not necessarily conscious of.[91] However, this does not mean Bourdieu thinks actors are will-less and power-less in essence. He states that through a concept such as habitus, it becomes clear that people – within certain limits – can find "new creative responses that are capable of transcending the social conditions in which it was produced."[92] Ontologically, this connects well to the transnational context as under investigation in this research.

Epistemologically, this research project is rooted within social constructivism, arguing that everyday realities, such as culturally informed moral judgements, are 'socially constructed systems of knowledge and meaning that 'thingify' over time and that are often taken for granted by group members.'[93] The attitudes towards homosexuality central to this research are part of such a socially constructed system of knowledge. A social constructivist epistemological stance requires the researcher to uncovering social and historical processes and power relations that create and sustain these systems of knowledge and meaning. This, again, is in line with Bourdieu's understanding of engaging in sociological research to 'expose' power relations in society.

Consistent with the ontological and epistemological stance taken, methodologically, this research will deploy qualitative techniques. Jennifer Mason argues that qualitative research is grounded in an "philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted".[94] In terms of this

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[89] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, (London 2018), 5.
[90] Anthony Giddens, *The constitution of society* (Berkeley 1984).
[91] Diane Reay, 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research', *British journal of sociology of education* 25 (2004) 4, 431-444, 432.
[92] Reay, ''It's all becoming a habitus'', 435.
[93] Jolle Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict* (London 2017), 37-38.
[94] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 226.

research, this means that the culturally driven attitudes that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands hold about homosexuality are regarded as: "meaningful elements in a complex – possibly multi-layered and textured – social world."[95] In contrast, (transnational) social field or network analysis is formally done quantitively. [96] These methods have been of great importance to the study of social networks because of the possibility they present to visualize and measure large amounts of data entries. However, as this research aims to dive deep into personal attitudes, and as I will elaborate on later in this chapter, the relationship under investigation in the social network analysis in this research is based on 'closeness', it does not require quantitative methods to be made sense of.

3.2 Research method

The research method deployed in this research is based on Bourdieu's suggested steps in investigating a specific field. These steps, with each their own techniques for data collection, will result in multi-level analysis. I will structure this discussion of the research method in the paragraphs below on the basis of the three distinct levels Bourdieu distinguishes: the inter-field level, the intra-field level and the individual level. For each level I will discuss (1) why this step is relevant in the greater process of this research, (2) which sub-questions are addressed within the specific step and (3) what techniques for data collection will be used.

3.2.1 The inter-field level

The first step Bourdieu suggests taking is to: "Analyse the positions of the field vis-a-vis the field of power."[97] The first field Bourdieu refers to is the specific transnational social field members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. In this part of the analysis, I will investigate this fields' position pertaining to the field of power. The field of power, in this case, will be represented through the Dutch state policies and general attitude toward Ghanaian migrants.

The sub-question that is addressed by this part of the analysis is the first one: how do the transnational social field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands and the Dutch field of power influence each other? The answering of this question will provide the rest of the analysis with the contextual background that is needed to gain a better understanding of how the intra-field and individual level function.

This chapter will be based upon secondary research about the Dutch realm of power. In addition, it will explore some of the data collected through interviews in May and June of 2021. The focus of the interviews, as I will explain later in this section, was not on reflecting on Dutch immigration

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[95] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 247.
[96] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, (Cambridge US 1984).
[97] Thomson, 'Field', 75.

policy or power relations. However, unconsciously or not, the matter sometimes came to the fore and thus will be discussed within the inter-field analysis.

3.2.2 The intra-field level

Step two, according to Bourdieu, is to: "Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site."[98] For this research, this step will focus upon the "structures of relations between the social agents, being the members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. Their transnational social field is the main focus of analysis in this chapter.

The sub-question: what does the interconnected web of social relations that include those left behind in the homeland and those in the diaspora of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands look like, will guide the analysis. This sub-question will contribute to the understanding of this social field as being its own entity, which is created and maintained by its social agents. However, this process is informed by the findings about the inter-field power relations and will be connected to the previous dimension of analysis as such.

The selected research method for this part of analysis is Transnational Social Network Analysis (TSNA). The article "Social Networks and Transnational Social Fields: A Review of Quantitative and Mixed-Methods Approaches" provides a systemic evaluation of the multiple methods used in TSNA.[99] For this research, the relevant social network is the egocentric or personal one, which "are defined as the set of social relationships surrounding a focal individual *(ego)* embedded in different formal and informal contexts (family, neighborhood, workplace, school, etc.)".[100] In the following section I will elaborate on the process of preparing and creating a name generator survey for TSNA.

Preparing: name generator survey

A name generator survey is a set of questions that allows a respondent to nominate people ('alters') with whom they have a certain relationship. Although TSNA can be conducted via different tools such as: observation, archive data, or application programming interface, researchers typically use name generators. TSNA graphs are made up out of nodes (individuals), which in this case represent a member of the Ghanaian diaspora living in the Netherlands. The relationship between the individual and their alters is depicted by 'edges'. The measured networks are bounded by a specific type of relationship. Before conducting TSNA the researcher must define: the relationship that is under investigation, the temporal delineation, and context of the survey, as I will do below.[101]

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[98] Thomson, 'Field', 75.
[99] Miranda Lubbers, Jessica Ashton Verdery and José Luis Molina, 'Social networks and transnational social fields: A review of quantitative and mixed-methods approaches', *International Migration Review* 54 (2020) 1, 177-204.
[100] Lubbers, Verdery and Molina, 'Social networks and transnational social fields', 180.
[101] Lubbers, Verdery and Molina, 'Social networks and transnational social fields', 181.

As socialization is a central part of understanding one's habitus, the relationship under investigation in this research is based closeness and influence. In ''How to generate personal networks', Claire Bidart and Johanne Charbonneau distinguish the 'significant persons' network.[102] They argue that:

> This type of network is often considered the most important nucleus of social relationships of the ego. It includes "core personal networks" (Burt 1984, Marsden 1987), the persons of greatest importance to the ego (Wellman 1979) or with the greatest impact on his attitudes, behaviour and welfare (McCallister & Fischer 1978).[103]

The insights obtained by investigating the core personal network of a member of the Ghanaian diaspora will support the understanding of the transnational social field.

With regards to the temporal delineation, Lubbers, Verdery and Molina write that because networks change over time based on changing relationships, time is an important factor in engaging in TSNA.[104] This research tries to grasp the most influential people in one's lifetime, as migration is a process rather than an event, and attitudes are shaped and reshaped throughout life. However, due to the limited amount of time and resources available, the survey was conducted cross-sectional, meaning at one specific point in time.

Lastly, the findings of the survey are contextualized by the other dimensions of analysis, as the conclusion will be based on the whole of the multi-leveled analysis.

Creating: name generator survey

The name generator survey was made using the software Qualtrics XM. After a short explanation and permission statement, the following ego attributes are asked to fill out: first and second name (e.g., Nana Adwoa), country of origin, country of residence, city of residence and years of living in the Netherlands. The survey consists out of five leading questions for the purpose of identifying the core personal network of respondents:

1. Name up to ten people that you have a close relationship with
2. Name up to ten people that you trust the most
3. Name up to ten people that have had a big influence on your life
4. Name up to ten people whose opinion you value
5. Name up to ten people with who you discuss matters that are important to you

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[102] Claire Bidart and Johanne Charbonneau, 'How to generate personal networks: Issues and tools for a sociological perspective', *Field Methods* 23 (2011) 3, 266-286, 267.
[103] Bidart and Charbonneau, 'How to generate personal networks', 272.
[104] Lubbers, Verdery and Molina, 'Social networks and transnational social fields', 181.

For every alter (that was not mentioned before) the following attribute questions were presented:

1. The relationship (mother, partner, friend)
2. Country of origin
3. Country of residence

In addition, I created two tie attribute questions to ask during conducting the survey, being:

1. Are you still in contact, and if so, how often do you interact (face-to-face, call, chat)?
2. Do you feel you and the alter are like minded?

In the next section I will discuss the individual level.

3.2.3 The individual level

The third, and last, step is to: "Analyse the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field […] a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized."[105] After having investigated the Dutch field of power and the structure of relations within the transnational social field of Ghanaians in the Netherlands, the empirical observations that drive this research will be centralized.

This last step is guided by sub-questions three to six, which conceptualize the effect of migration on attitudes towards homosexuality. Answering these questions will, combined with the sub-conclusions chapter 4 and 5 generate, contribute to the understanding of how assumptions and beliefs about homosexuality are shaped.

The data collection technique that I will use is in-depth interviewing. In order to conduct the interviews in a consistent and structured manner, Mason's recommendations on preparing and planning qualitative interviews served as guidelines.[106] The following section will elaborate on the preparing, creating and conducting of the interviews.

Preparing: where, who and when

The fieldwork approach and sample strategy will be structured by discussing the 'where', 'who', and 'when' questions. With regards to the where, I included members of the Ghanaian diaspora living in different cities in the Netherlands. Most Ghanaians live in Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, and

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[105] Thomson, 'Field', 75.
[106] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 118.

Rotterdam, and that is why these important 'Randstad' cities were the focus of my fieldwork. The question of 'who', brings me to the sample strategy used for this research, which was purposive sampling. In preparation of creating a sample, I made a list of purposive sample criteria based upon city of residence, sex, age, years of living in the Netherlands and having a church membership or not. The selection process was limited to first-generation Ghanaians only, because a review of the literature presented evidence that they will most actively maintain close transnational ties with friends and family in Ghana, and because of the limited scope of this research. Lastly, the 'when'; The research took place in May and June of 2021.

Creating: interview plan

The format upon which the semi-structured interviews were based consisted out of three parts. First, I introduced the topic by a joint reading of an interview about violence against alleged homosexuals in Ghana. I asked my respondents to give general reflections on this instance. The second part focused upon primary socialization, which is when, according to Bourdieu, a large part of the habitus is formed. In this section I asked people to think back to what they were taught, what they experienced and what they specifically remembered about homosexuality in Ghana. In the last segment of the interview, I would ask if, and how, these perceptions changed after migration.

3.3 Ethical considerations and limitations of the research

This research faces some ethical challenges worth reflecting on. In this section I will go over the empirical topic of this project, the question of informed consent, and the difficulty surrounding the 'double hermeneutic'. After this, I will discuss some limits of this research that should be considered by the reader.

The empirical topic of this thesis, attitudes towards homosexuality in the Ghanaian diasporic community, is somewhat controversial and as stated before, the Ghanaian community does not like to discuss it. However, in my opinion, the *need* for normalizing the conversation about LGBTQIA+ rights within the Ghanaian community is greater than the ethical consideration of not poking around where people do not want you to. In doing so, I tried to make the respondents feel as comfortable as possible while conducting interviews and always clearly stated that they could back out whenever they wanted to. In this research I am not trying to speak *for* the LGBTQIA+ community of Ghana and the diaspora. I am trying to contribute to furthering conversations about the topic from *within* the Ghanaian community, with hopes that in the future a research like this one will not be requisite any longer.

Another ethical challenge is called the 'double hermeneutic' and, according to Jolle Demmers, entails what researchers are confronted with when "they aim to acquire knowledge by making an

(academic) interpretation of how actors understand their social world."[107] This double hermeneutic occurs when in social scientific research, the researcher also serves as the research tool. As the decisions I have made throughout this research have potentially influenced its results, my interpretations, and personal limitations of constituting a completely objective reality need to be taken into account. This research thus is not in any way generalizable to the whole of the Ghanaian diasporic community in the Netherlands. I am only representing my interpretations of the respondents that I was allowed to interview. Nevertheless, I do want to note that the conducting of the survey and the interview was done using clear and structured procedures.

Lastly, the ethical challenge of informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality was tackled by the inclusion of a consent form in which the purpose of the research, the respondents' rights, and my contact information were disclosed.[108]

A limitation of this research is the undifferentiated sample. Unfortunately, finding respondents that were willing and available in the small amount of time proved to be difficult. The result is a small n (n=7), consisting of solely men. In May and June of 2021, I had three interviews planned with female respondents, who all had to cancel due to personal circumstances. On the 30th of May I went to the Church service for the elderly of the Methodist church in The Hague to actively approach first-generation Ghanaian women. Unfortunately, they were hesitant to be interviewed, one of them arguing that: "I have nothing to contribute".[109]

Nevertheless, ithe group of men that I spoke to was not homogenous, as they different in religions (Muslim, Christians, atheist), city of residence (The Hague, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam), and age. However, I must note that most of the respondents have been living in the Netherlands for 20 to 35 years. Anthony Ong'ayo found in his extensive investigation of the Ghanaian diasporic community in the Netherlands that most people that were able to migrate between the 80s and early 2000s belonged to the Ghanaian upper- middleclass.[110] Meaning they probably have enjoyed better quality education and overall quality of live, which may or may not has impacted the data collected.

This research is also limited with regards to time. Not only was the data collected over the extremely short period of two months, but the transnational network analysis was also conducted cross-sectional. The TSNA contribution to this research could have been stronger had another point in time of data entry been included.

Lastly, due to the lack of time and resources this research was limited to first-generation Ghanaians living in the Netherlands. However, to grasp the diversity within the Ghanaian diasporic community generation 1.5 and later should be included in future research.

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[107] Demmers, *Theories of Violent Conflict*, 17.
[108] I took part in the online 'Handling personal data in research' course provided by Utrecht University.[108] In this course the General Data Protection Regulation and how to use it was explained.
[109] Conservation at Methodist church on 30th of May 2021.
[110] Antony Ong'ayo, *Diaspora organisations and their development potential*, 3.

Chapter 4: The inter-field level

The analysis of the inter-field level aims to reveal the balance of power between the Dutch institutional policy fields related to migration, in combination with societal attitudes towards migrants, and the wider field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. The sub-question at hand is: how do the transnational social field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands and the Dutch field of power influence each other? First, I will explore the Dutch field of power, after which I will do the same for the wider field of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands. Lastly, the process of mutual influence and co-construction between these fields is elaborated on.

4.1 The Dutch field of power

When Bourdieu writes about 'the field of power' he refers to the force field that is determined by relations of power within all the smaller fields it encompasses.[111] The specific Dutch field that influences immigrants' lived experience and possibility to obtain capital, is the institutional field of immigration and integration policy, as well as the societal and political field of attitudes towards immigrants (especially of color). In this sub-section, I will succinctly describe these fields.

The institutional field of integration policy is located within the larger field of power of the Dutch nation-state. According to Bourdieu, the state's power field is distinct, because it can make:

> …social division, privileges, and domination universally valid within a given territory and for a given population (Bourdieu 1989). The state is special because it does not compete for the definitions of, for example, legal and educational status, because it already has pre-eminence over these areas, and it is a metafield (Chopra 2003:429). This means that the influence of the state as a reference point in social life works not in one field only, but across all fields.[112]

Immigration and integration – policy, implementation, and evaluation – is one of those area's the state has pre-eminence over. Immigration, as a policy field, is the responsibility of the Ministry of Security and Justice and is implemented by the Immigration and Naturalization service (IND). The policy field of integration in under the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. These institutions have the legitimate power granted by the democratic system of the Netherlands, to decide whether someone is allowed to come, work, or stay. However, the Dutch system is corporatist in nature, which means that non-state actors *can* participate in policy formation and implementation.[113]

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[111] Pierre Bourdieu, *The state nobility: Elite schools in the field of power* (Stanford 1998), 264.

[112] Rebecca Adler-Nissen, 'On a field trip with Bourdieu', *International Political Sociology* 5 (2011) 3, 327-330, 327-328.

[113] Ong'ayo, 'An Analysis of Ghanaian Diaspora Organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands', 11.

Dutch migration-related policy is influenced by attitudes towards immigrants, which makes these a relevant force within society. Immigration and integration have openly been problematized in Dutch politics since the early 90s.[114] Now, 30 years later, political stances on immigration – and the wider nationalist divide it represents – are central to the Dutch cultural debate.[115] The public opinion on the immigration should not be regarded as dividable in two opposing camps. In her 2019 study, Miriam Torres illustrates that there generally are two or three "middle groups" visible in European countries. In the Netherlands, she distinguishes two middle groups, being: "engaged but conflicted" and "disengaged" (see figure 1).[116] The immigration and integration debate is often the veil for a wider debate about national identity and citizenship, but still leads to more stern migration policies. In addition, studies have shown that changes in the economic situation, such as the 2008 crisis, also impact attitudes, and thus policy decisions, about immigrants.[117]
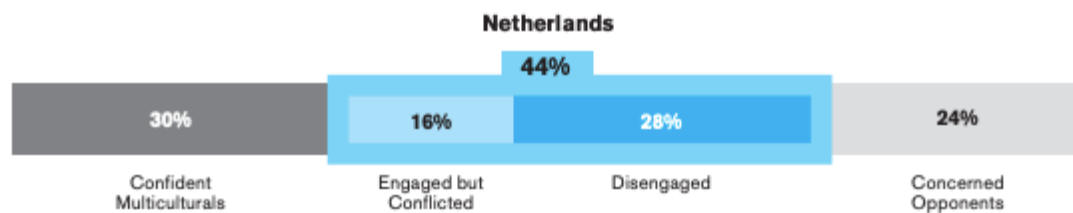

Figure 1: Miriam Torres, 'Public Opinion Toward Immigration, Refugees, and Identity in Europe: A Closer Look at What Europeans Think and How Immigration Debates Have Become So Relevant', in: IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook *(Rome 2019).*

4.2 The social field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora

To find out how these Dutch institutional fields interact and influence the field of Ghanaian immigrants in the Netherlands, the latter is under discussion here.

Of the 4,3 million people with a migration background living in the Netherlands, Ghanaians make up only 0,6%. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek reports that there are around 26 thousand Ghanaians legally living in the Netherlands.[118] This, however, is an estimate that does not include the large number of undocumented Ghanaians, which probably bumps the total up quite a bit.[119] Among

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[114] Merijn Oudenampsen, *De conservatieve revolte: Een ideeëngeschiedenis van de Fortuyn-opstand* (Amsterdam 2018).

[115] Eelco Harteveld, 'Fragmented foes: Affective polarization in the multiparty context of the Netherlands', *Electoral Studies* 71 (2021), 1-16, 5.

[116] Míriam Torres, 'Public Opinion Toward Immigration, Refugees, and Identity in Europe: A Closer Look at What Europeans Think and How Immigration Debates Have Become So Relevant', in: *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook* (Rome 2019).

[117] Antony Ong'ayo, 'An Analysis of Ghanaian Diaspora Organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands' in: Antony Otieno Ong'ayo, *Diaspora organisations and their development potential*, Discussion Paper 200 (2016), 1-34, 11.

[118] Central Bureau for Statistics, 'Bevolking op eerste van de maand; geslacht, leeftijd, migratieachtergrond', https://opendata.cbs.nl/#/CBS/nl/dataset/83482NED/table.

[119] Amisah Zenabu Bakuri, 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands: Status Paradox?', *Journal of Cultural and Religious Studies* 6 (2018) 10, 561-577, 563.

the 26 thousand are first- and second-generation Ghanaians, the number of first-generation Ghanaians is around 15 thousand. The social field of second-generation Ghanaians is likely to be very different from first-generationers, which is why the social field of the latter is the focus of investigation.

Ghanaians in the Netherlands are mostly organized within Ghanaian associations, of which there are more than 200, located in Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, or Rotterdam.[120] These associations are the different Pentecostal and Methodist churches, but also media, and political organizations. One respondent, when asked about church, argued that: "church is like a some sort of a club […], like being a member of an athletic club. […] It's about getting together and getting to know each other."[121]

In addition, three respondents were either the founder of, or actively involved in capacity-building associations. The first, Landelijk Overlegorgaan Afrikanen (LOA), is a platform to stimulate community building and involvement in social policy among Dutch Sub-Saharan Africans.[122] The second, the Akasanoma foundation, is a communication network aiming to contribute to integration, participation, and emancipation. Akasanoma tries to do this through organizing a radio station and face-to-face sessions, in which the topic of LGBTQIA+ acceptation has been discussed several times.[123] Lastly, the Afro-Euro Foundation is an NGO that works towards building bridges between Afro-European immigrants and their new home countries. On their website they write that: "Our belief is that it's possible for African migrants and other nationals, irrespective of their social class or economic background, can develop an adequate social capital and network if they work hard and develop a good social network", underpinning the importance of capacity-building initiatives such as these.[124] The importance of these organization lies in well established structures, that serve as an important support network for Dutch Ghanaians in everyday life.[125]

Most Ghanaians hold jobs in tertriary sector, such as cleaning or domestic work.[126] Mazzucato writes that: "This can be explained by the relatively high proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled migrants in the Netherlands (Mazzucato 2005), and by unrecognised diplomas, language difficulties and discrimination for higher skilled Ghanaians (Black et al. 2013)."[127] This, for many Ghanaian immigrants, results in disappointment.

Such disappointment is fueled by the high expectations that are related to migrating to Western countries. Ghanaians generally perceive migration to Western countries as enhancing one's social status.[128] In addition to achieving a so called "burger status", which in Ghana is used in reference to an

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[120]. Ong'ayo, 'An Analysis of Ghanaian Diaspora Organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands', 7.
[121] Interview 7, 1:25.
[122] http://loa-platform.nl/.
[123] Interview and https://radioakasanoma.com/.
[124] https://afroeuro.org/about-us/.
[125] Bakuri, 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands, 568
[126] Bilisuma Dito, Valentina Mazzucato and Djamila Schans, 'Beyond breadwinning: Ghanaian transnational fathering in the Netherlands', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45 (2019) 16, 3065-3068.
[127] Dito, Mazzucato and Schans, 'Beyond breadwinning', 3069.
[128] Amisah Zenabu Bakuri, 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands', 563.

overseas migrant, it is believed that migration is a sustainable way to escape poverty.[129] Motives for migration are often of socio-economic nature. This contributes to the widely believed and continuously reproduced myth of Europe being a paradise with many employment opportunities.[130] Migration requires great personal sacrifices such as separation from loved ones, leaving behind formal jobs or businesses and the facing of for example, language barriers and racism.[131] Yet, Ghanaians are willing to embark on the journey in pursuit of happiness and economic prosperity for themselves and their families. Upon arrival, the illusion of the Netherlands being a paradise often quickly disappears. In the article 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands: Status Paradox?' Amisah Zenabu Bakuri reports on experiences of the inability to acquire a work permit, living in illegality, and unemployment, sometimes leading to unwanted sex work.[132]

4.3 Mutual influence and co-constructing

According to Bourdieu, fields exist in an interdependent relationship of exchange. The social field of Ghanaians in the Netherlands is heavily influenced by the Dutch field of power with regards to immigration and integration policy and public opinion. The Dutch immigration and integration policy is also influenced by immigrants' movements and associations.

Dutch institutions hold the power to decide whether Ghanaian emigrants are welcome to live and work in the Netherlands. This means that the Dutch field of power influences the Ghanaian diasporic field in a direct manner, by determining who gets in and who does not. The hardening of the Dutch policy with regards to unskilled immigrants of color has had limiting effects on their social and geographical movement.[133] In addition, the institutional fields are under pressure of political and social developments connected to immigration and integration. Anti-immigrant attitudes within society lead to discrimination on the labor market, again limiting the economic potential of some immigrants. This makes migrating from Ghana to the Netherlands a process that is rattled by power relations, which become visible upon arrival, but also in the stadium before leaving.

In this earlier stadium, the Dutch field of power influences the Ghanaian diaspora in an indirect manner through the global power distribution. Namely through the previously discussed disbalance in national value, illustrated by the idea of the Netherlands being 'better' than Ghana. This results in a hidden power that the Dutch national field holds over the field of Ghanaian immigrants.

The Dutch field of power is also under continuous influence of the social field of Ghanaians, in the perspective of wider developments regarding different immigrant groups. Immigration and

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[129] Bakuri, 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands, 568.
[130] Ibidem.
[131] Ibidem, 569.
[132] Ibidem, 567-571.
[133] Amber Gemmeke, 'West African migration to and through the Netherlands: Interactions with perceptions and policies', *Urban anthropology and studies of cultural systems and world economic development* ½ (2013) 42, 57-94, 84.

integration policies are constant reactions to, for example, migration flows or the evaluation of integration processes. However, when Ghanaians are allowed to live and work in the Netherlands, their associations are often subsidized with government money and, in some cases, the groups are consulted for policy purposes.[134] Enabling immigrant associations has proved to benefit development in the country of origin and integration and participation in the country of destination.[135]

4.4. Conclusion

In trying to answer the sub-question: how do the transnational social field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands and the Dutch field of power influence each other, the analysis of the inter-field level has shown that the Dutch nation-state pre-eminent institutional fields directly influence the small field of Ghanaians living in the Netherlands. In addition, migration-related policy fields are under influence of societal attitudes towards immigrants. Simultaneously, Dutch policies are also under influence of migration streams. The main difference is the agency which the immigrant social groups do not seem to have in this process of mutual influence and co-construction between the field. So, although the fields influence each other in several ways, the power imbalance creates an important, limiting dimensions within the lives of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands.

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[134] Ong'ayo, 'An Analysis of Ghanaian Diaspora Organizations in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands', 15.
[135] Ibidem, 1.

Chapter 5: The intra-field level

The intra-field level revolves around the structure of social relations *within* the social group that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands are part of. The second sub-question: what does the interconnected web of social relations that include those left behind in the homeland and those in the diaspora of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands look like, will be explored further in this chapter. The survey that was conducted with the respondents focused on the specific 'core personal network'. This network does not include everyone they interact with on the daily bases. A respondent might be in active contact with a neighbor or colleague who was never mentioned in the survey. Hence, the findings presented in this chapter do not represent the whole, or even a considerable chunk of a respondents' social life. The goal was to map the core personal network, in order of steering the conversation towards meaningful relationships that have impacted ones habitus greater than others. The outcomes of the survey will be grouped together in two categories: (extended) family (Ghana, diaspora and at home) and impactful people. In the following sections these categories will be discussed and contextualized bby the findings presented in chapter 4. Lastly, sub-question two will be answered.

5.1 (Extended) family

Direct family was in five cases the first personal connection that came up when asked to name the people with whom respondents maintain a close relationship, and they were mentioned by all respondents (see figure 2-8 for a visualization of the data). In most instances, the children were too young to have conversations about culturally driven ideas, and so the father-child relation was based upon a loving family relationship, caregiving, and physical closeness (sharing a home). One respondent, however, said to have the most meaningful conversations about all kinds of topics with his grandchild.[136] Two respondents mentioned a (grand)child's name when asked with whom they discuss important matters with.[137] In most cases, family was also part of the diasporic community. Several respondents had close family living in the Netherlands, whereas some had brothers and sisters in the United Kingdom or the United States.[138] In six out of seven interviews, it became clear that specific family bonds were deemed the closest, even when a family member still lived in Ghana, or a parent or grandparent was not alive anymore.[139] Bakuri argues that immigration is often undertaken for the sake of the family.[140] This notion is twofold: in the first place, immigration, and the economic opportunities it might create allow someone to send money and materialistic things to the family back home, and

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[136] Survey 3.
[137] Survey 3 and 7.
[138] Survey 2, 3 and 5.
[139] Survey 2 and 5.
[140] Bakuri, 'Ghanaian Migration to the Netherlands, 567.

Figure 2: core personal network respondent 1

Figure 3: core personal network respondent 2

Figure 4: core personal network respondent 3

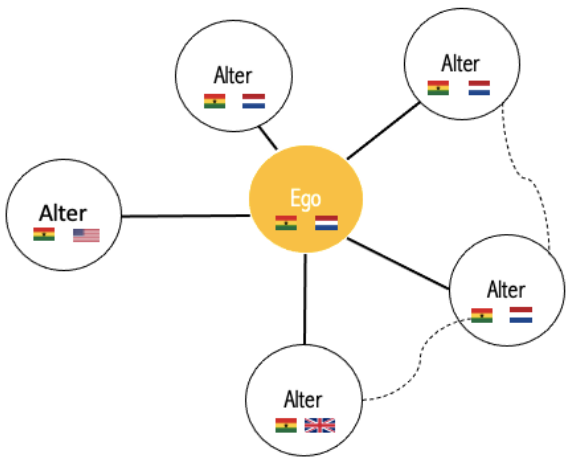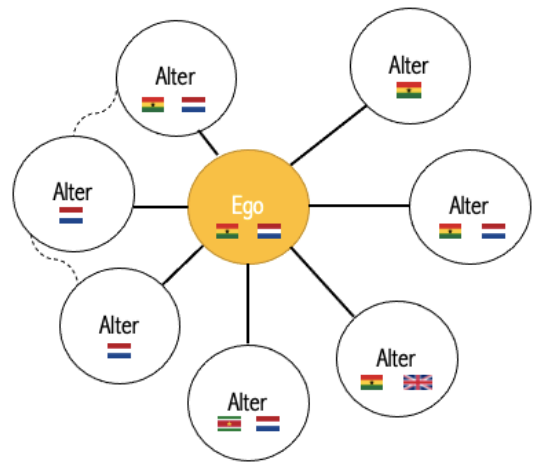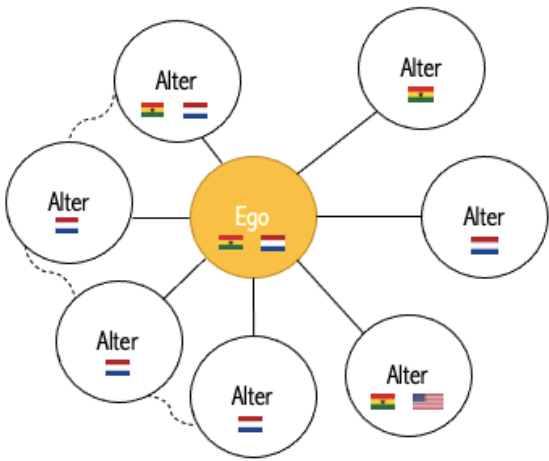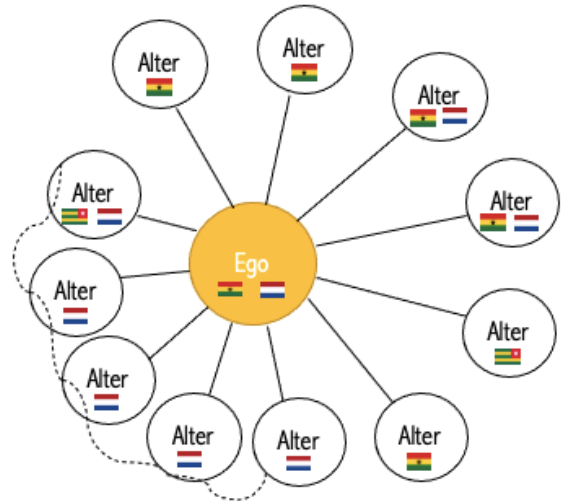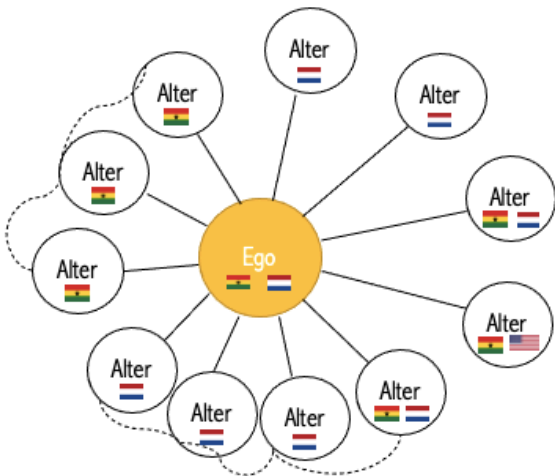*Figure 5: core personal network respondent 4*

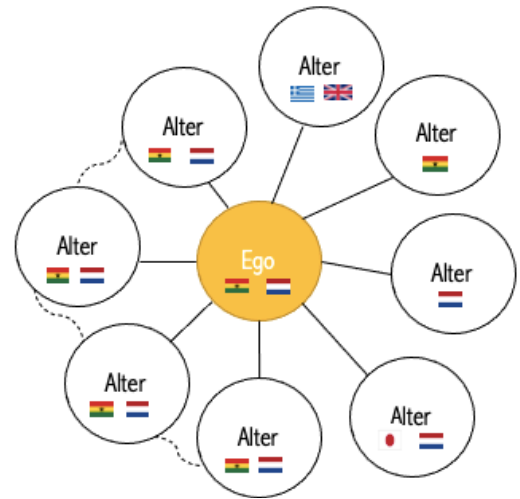*Figure 6: core personal network respondent 5*

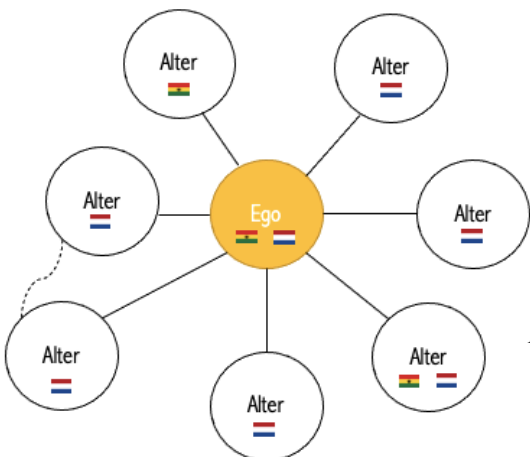
Figure 7: core personal network respondent 6

Figure 8: core personal network respondent 7

second, immigration is a way to secure a better future for later generations.[141] With regards to the latter, in all survey interviews it became clear that the children were born, raised, and schooled in the Netherlands. On two occasions, respondents proudly told me what type of schooling their children engaged in.[142] In addition to this, transnational material support in deemed an extremely important expression of love in Ghanaian culture.[143]

In traditional Ghanaian culture, 'family' transcends Western notions of 'the nuclear family'. As Elizabeth Ardayfio-Schandorf writes: "It involves kinship and filial relations well beyond the immediate father-mother-children relationships."[144] Terms such as 'auntie' or 'uncle' are used to address a range of people, encompassing close family friends and complete strangers."[145] In the survey, friends were also referred to as family. For example, one respondent talked about his friends "who feel like brothers".[146] Someone else said that his friend who lived nearby was his closest contact, "like family".[147] This 'extended' family becomes even more important within the diasporic community. Socio-economic and personal challenges are often mitigated by emotional, social, or financial support of the communal network.[148]

5.2 Impactful people

Some respondents mentioned people that had impacted their life greatly, but with whom they were not in regular close contact. One person told me that he would always remember his high school teacher, who had taught him so much.[149] Two respondents named professors they had met when they were studying in the Netherlands.[150] Lastly, one person told me that the conversations he had with the Dutch grandfather of his daughter, had been a great stimulation to him, even though he did not like the man very much.[151]

5.3 Conclusion

To answer the sub-question: the interconnected web of the social relations of the seven respondents include: Ghanaians in the diaspora, Ghanaians living in Ghana, Dutch progeny, and a view friends with other nationalities as well, such as Togo and Surinam. Graph one to six show similarities: the Dutch

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[141] Miranda Poeze and Valentina Mazzucato, 'Ghanaian children in transnational families: Understanding the experiences of left-behind children through local parenting norms', In: *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care* (London 2013), 165-185, 165.
[142] Interview 1 and 7.
[143] Cati Coe, 'What is love? The materiality of care in Ghanaian transnational families', *International Migration* 49 (2011) 6, 7-24, 21.
[144] 132
[145] Nketiah, 'For the Love of "Home"', 87.
[146] Survey 4.
[147] Survey 1.
[148] Nketiah, 'For the Love of "Home"', 88.
[149] Survey 3.
[150] Survey 5 and 7.
[151] Survey 7.

born children are the closest to the ego. In the graph's they are accompanied by a view people from the (transnational) Ghanaian community and one or two Dutch friends. When considering the findings of chapter 4, it is not shocking to see that the respondents mostly share deep connections with other Ghanaians. As was discussed, Ghanaians in the Netherlands are organized in associations where they often find the network they rely on for emotional or financial support. In addition, the shared experience of adjusting to a new life far away from home can stimulate an intimate bond, and family and friendship relations from the time before migration also remained important.

Graph seven illustrates a different network, with less Ghanaian relationships. This person specifically noted that it was a conscious choice to not be too closely connected to the Ghanaian community in the Netherlands. Without any rejection of Ghanaian traditional culture or values, he did feel like he wanted to "break-free" from the specific communal mindset: "they cluster together, so the mindset remains."[152] According to Glick and Schiller this does not have to mean that this respondent is not part of the social field of Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands, as it consists of individuals who all have different senses of belonging and being in their field.[153]

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[152] Survey 7.
[153] Levitt and Glick Schiller, 'Conceptualizing simultaneity', 1009.

Chapter 6: The individual level

After having researched the field from two different perspectives, the individual level of analysis will zoom in on the concepts of transnational cultural capital and the transnational habitus. This chapter is guided by sub-question three to six, which are divided in two sections. Section one, the primary socialization, focusses upon institutional capital and habitus before migration. This section aims to answer sub-questions three and four. The second section centralizes the ever-ongoing process of socialization, specifically, the time after migration. Sub-questions five and six will be at the core of the analysis. This chapter will be based on data collected through interviews, which will be connected to the previous chapters and, if necessary, secondary literature.

6.1 Before migration

Socialization happens through experiences and interactions. According to Bourdieu, the primary socialization, which is based upon family life, education and many more types of interactions, is deeply formative and does not change so easily.[154] The sub-questions at hand are: three, what attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands have were formed through primary socialization? And four, what were members of the Ghanaian diaspora taught about homosexuality during their formal education? First, I will explore the process of socialization before migration as described by the respondents, focusing on education and religion, after which I shift the focus to the formation of attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality.

Formal education and religion

Formal education is an important driver of socialization.[155] However, none of the respondents said to have received any formal information about homosexuality in school. One respondent, when asked if anyone had ever discussed the topic with him, said: "no, never", and someone else told me that: "It has not been a topic worth discussing."[156]

During the interviews it became clear that the closest thing to a formal education on sexuality was provided by the church. Most respondents referred to religious knowledge when asked about homosexuality. One example of this is the definition of 'marriage', which was brought up in two interviews. One respondent argued that: "When a man and a woman get together, they call it marriage. So, when a woman and a woman get together, what do they call that?!".[157] The second respondent said: "If we define marriage in its real sense, in its biblical sense, […], then it [homosexual marriage] is not

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[154] Maton, 'Habitus', 59.
[155] Moore, 'Capital', 105.
[156] Interview 7, 12:03 and interview 4, 08:30.
[157] Interview 1, 18:54.

possible."[158] Another story that came up twice is the biblical story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah centering Lot (known as 'Lut' in the Quran). Lot is a character in the Book of Genesis (19:1-11) and the Quran. Although the books portray several stories of Lot's live, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is the one of importance here. Sodom and Gomorrah were believed to be two cities that were infamous for being inhabited by sinners: men who engaged in homosexual relations. In the words of the respondent who told me the story about the film that was shown in the small Ghanaian town he grew up in:

> I told you, we read books. And at the same time, there were films… That portrayed the biblical story of Lot, and the destruction of homosexuals in the bible. There was a film, there was a film… and that film, I think it went the world round until it came down to Hohoe, and if you know Hohoe, very small city; But we saw that film. […] When the lord, God, asked them to leave… the lord was going to destroy the town. The prophet of then was Lot. He told them: "when we are going do not turn back to look." And on their way, the wife turned, and she turned to a pillar of salt. It is in the bible. And the same thing is reflected also in the Quran.[159]

There is no consensus about if the biblical scripture actually states that Sodom and Gomorrah are destructed because of the sin of homosexuality, or because of a combination of morally reprehensible actions, but the respondent strongly connected the film he saw as a young boy to the rejection of homosexuality. This makes sense, as the word 'sodomy' – derived from Sodom – in the current time still refers to 'unnatural sex', which can be understood the same way as the "unnatural carnal knowledge", which under Ghanaian law forbids homosexual intercourse. This idea of "unnatural" intercourse is biblically related to the fact that such a type of intercourse is unproductive for the bearing of children. This was also discussed by one respondent, who argued that:

> God brings us to this world to produce, that is why my father had 25 children. […] No, even when you go to the bush, we see animals: the lion is man and woman, the cow is man and woman, why should it be man and man and women and women? We don't agree with that![160]

In contrast, religious beliefs also result in a particular type of tolerance, which is best understood by the idea of 'the neighbor'. Two respondents told me that: "If my neighbor is homosexual, I would invite him […] It has nothing to do with his sexuality, it has to do with being human. […] and the Quran always mentions 'neighbors', it's never about fellow Muslims."[161] Another respondent argued the same,

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[158] Interview 4, 25:23.
[159] Interview 4, 16:33.
[160] Interview 1, 07:20.
[161] Interview 3, 31:01.

saying that: "I will respect my neighbor, whoever he is", and later stated that "his [the homosexual] only fault is that he doesn't like women, he dates man. Pray for him."[162]

Primary habitus

All respondents condemned violence against homosexuals in their current state of mind. They told me that they don't approve of it, and that it would never be an option.[163] However, one person told me that: "when we are young, when we see anybody who is a homo, we would beat the person!" This, however, was not reflected by other respondents, although they did comment on microaggressions they witnessed or participated in, such as teasing and laughing behind people's back.[164]

What seems to be an important factor in the primary socialization around this topic is that almost all the respondents knew someone, or knew *about* someone, who was homosexual when they were younger. For example, one respondent told me:

> In primary school my classmate was homosexual. He was always playing with the girls. He played with boys, a few boys, like me and others, but then he doesn't play with many boys, but he was always playing with the girls. We did not understand it properly, but we were not teasing him… No! We were not teasing him. […] He grew up and then people got to know, hey, he is homosexual. And he's a very good designer in America now, and I have contact with him.[165]

In addition, another respondent said: "my uncle was a homosexual. […] Everybody know in the family about that, because we lived in the house and he bring the men to there, they sleep together, we all know!"[166] This brings me to one of the main themes that was brought up by almost all of the respondents, the dichotomy between public and private life.

When asked how the family responded to the uncle, the respondent said that they all felt that: "If you don't do it in the public for the people, that would just disagree, the family knows that it's your choice, we agree with it."[167] Almost all respondents agreed on the fact that, although unrest around the topic was something of the last view years, homosexuality was not a new phenomenon in Ghana; It was something that was not to be discussed publicly. One respondent told me that he "understood that it's there, but people did it secretly […] because of the society and the culture."[168] Someone else deemed the topic taboo.[169] According to the respondents, homosexuality belonged in the private sphere. The idea that the disagreements causing the current unrest were not present due the clear divide between

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[162] Interview 4, 06:21 and 28:53.
[163] Interview 4, 5:20, interview 1, 09:30, interview 3, 20.15 and interview 5.
[164] Interview 2, 25:40 and interview 5.
[165] Interview 2, 26:56.
[166] Interview 1, 15:37.
[167] Interview 1, 15:59.
[168] Interview 6, 15:40.
[169] Interview 7, 06:10.

what belonged in the private (homosexuality) and what belonged in the public (heterosexuality) was a strong felt belief. This sentiment was clearly represented during one of the interviews, when a respondent said that: "if you are a homosexual, keep your quiet and live your life."[170]

As the respondents did not receive any formal education about sexualities, primary experiences, and interactions that according to the data have contributed to the creation of the pre-migration habitus mostly consist of religious beliefs and societal reactions to homosexuality. It was the church that took up the task of proving knowledge about the subject. The Christian and Muslim faith, based upon Adam and Eve, man and wife, appeared as an important part of the process of socialization. In addition, the private vs. public dichotomy seems to capture the Ghanaian state of mind on the subject: if homosexuality is not acknowledged, it is not a problem.

6.2 After migration

According to Bourdieu, the habitus is shaped by ongoing contexts, but in a slow and unconscious process.[171] Migration can be one of the situations wherein someone's social field changes more rapidly than the habitus. Taking the previously discussed primary habitus as a point of departure, in the first part of this section the transnational habitus will be explored. Sub-question five: what attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality that members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands possess have been formed through secondary socialization, is central to the analysis. The second part will consist of reflections on the national capital of the respondents and their transnational habitus and will be guided by sub-question six: how well have members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands adopted national culture and valued characteristics within the Dutch national field?

Transnational habitus

All respondents felt that their perception of homosexuality had changed after migration. The general trend that the interview show is an increased tolerance of homosexuality: "I became more understanding when I came to the Netherlands."[172] This trend was driven by specific experiences and interactions.

One of the foremost examples is that almost all respondents mentioned that they met homosexual people at work. One person said the following:

> Initially, it was something awful for me. I have worked for an LGBT-person in the Netherlands here. Previously, because of my Christian background, I would say that: no, no, no, I will not work for these people. But, besides the law that prohibits discrimination against them, I'm used to it. Initially it was something uncommon, but I'm used to it now.[173]

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[170] Interview 4, 21:42.
[171] Maton, 'Habitus', 59.
[172] Interview 3, 25:00.
[173] Interview 6, 11:06.

Other respondents mention casual encounters they have had with their colleague's, like working together in a team, sharing lunch, or going for a walk.[174] Such encounters served as evidence that the respondents had no problem with homosexual people. In one interview, I was told about the close friendship of one of the respondents:

> I went with him [the close friend] in the same car from here to Portugal. […] I went out in the evening to play squash with a study friend. And in my absence, he informed my ex that "oh, I'm gay, and I want to tell Peter." I've told you my ex was an anthropologist, and she had been to Ghana, and she said: "don't tell Peter, because Ghanaians don't like gay." […] So it took some months, and then, once, he told me. But I think because of what my ex told him – I have been with him and his husband, we drove to Poland – but still I think because of that, the relationship is a bit different. […] But I am open to it, it's his life. The bottom line is that one is sincere with himself, that's what's important."[175]

His open mind, he said, was driven by the ability to see things from a different perspective through breaking free from the Ghanaian masses.[176] Interaction with different cultures were put forward as an important driver for open-mindedness by more respondents. Someone said: "I have traveled, I've lived in a different culture."[177] Another respondent called himself a "cosmopolitan", which was strongly connected to an understanding of universal human rights.[178]

However, this worldly view on homosexuality was accompanied by moments of "mixed feelings."[179] This is reflected through the idea that homosexuality is being hyped, imposed, or should not always be taken seriously. One person spoke about "trend-homosexuality", which, according to the respondent, is strongly connected to economic gain. By this he meant that pretending to be homosexual increases the chance of successfully applying for asylum in the Western countries.[180] Based on this, he argued that: "you have to limit the openness, because of the trends."[181] Another respondent said that he also encountered homosexuality through work experiences but had never made a homosexual friend. He was unsure about whether this was possible. He said that: "To go into real friendship, that is where the question mark lies. Because both of us… there will be a lot of topics we cannot discuss together."

Based on the interviews it seems like the general attitude towards homosexuality became less hostile for most respondents. Through casual encounters with people and cultures they became more understanding. There are, however, limits to this understanding, which are defined by individual dispositions and perceptions. This is illustrated by the respondent who has a close friend who is

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[174] Interview 3, 31:43, interview 4, 09:15,
[175] Interview 7, 12:10.
[176] Interview 7, 14:30.
[177] Interview 6, 13:30.
[178] Interview 3, 19:00.
[179] Interview 3, 23:00.
[180] Interview 2, 29:00.
[181] Interview 2, 46:00.

homosexual. This encounter made him more openminded than, for example, the other respondent who had doubts about whether it was possible for him to become friends with a homosexual person.

National capital

In the interviews, respondents reflected upon Dutch culture regarding homosexuality based upon their experiences encountering Dutch attitudes. It became clear that all respondents felt that the Dutch national culture and valued characteristics rested on a generally liberal idea.

One respondent argued: "I live in Holland, I know how it is, and how we can reason with people with different sexualities."[182] Another person called this: "the Dutch experience".[183] By two respondents, the liberal attitude generally expressed in the Netherlands was explained by the commitment to the UN declaration of Human Rights.[184] As one person told me: "this law [the UN declaration] embeds everything, and once your country is a signatory, you have to respect that. So, this is what the people of the Netherlands built on, this is what the Europeans built on."[185] Another respondent described the difference between Ghana and the Netherlands by saying that: "what is not in Ghana, that idea, is here. Because they don't know what is happening beyond their circle, they don't have some sort of liberality for this sort of act".[186] This implies that this respondent felt that through the Dutch lived experience of close relationships between people of all sorts of sexualities, a liberal stance emerged.

Several people reflected more positively on the Dutch attitude towards homosexuality than they did on the Ghanaian. One person said that: "Here in Holland they don't impose anything on anybody. If you go to the Rembrandtplein, there are more than a hundred cafés, and you only see a flag, and then you know: this is this and that is that. […] They keep it discrete."[187] He felt that in the Netherlands, people felt less of a need to openly express their sexuality. This, however, stands in stark contrast with the idea of another respondent, who argued that generally, the Dutch express sexuality in public a lot more. He said that when he was a teenager in Ghana, he would not be kissing in the streets, as he sees Dutch teenagers do.[188] He felt that this contributed to the liberal attitude towards sexuality in general.

Even if these respondents disagree on why the Dutch are more liberal towards homosexuality, overall, the interviews show a strong consensus on the Dutch being open to homosexuality. In addition, it also showed that the respondents knew that have a liberal attitude towards homosexuality is an important factor of belonging in Dutch society. One respondent said that: "You cannot live in Holland,

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[182] Interview 2, 35:51.
[183] Interview 2, 32:30.
[184] Interview 4, 20:48 and interview 6, 15:08.
[185] Interview 4, 20:48.
[186] Interview 7, 11:10.
[187] Interview 4, 27:35.
[188] Interview 5.

in Holland! In Amsterdam! And sent message to Ghana for people to attack homosexuals in Ghana. That means you are crazy. If you hate homosexuals, go back to Ghana."[189]

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has shed light on the individual experiences that have shaped the process of socialization upon which the attitude towards homosexuality rests.

With regards to the primary habitus, the first section found that although formal education on the topic of sexualities was nonexistent, religious ideas, writings, and teaching have had great impact on the respondents' predispositions on the topic. It became apparent that, in the spirit of the Christian and Muslim religion, marriage between anything other than a man and a woman was not possible. However, at the same time the idea of tolerance towards all other beings, and not wanting to question God's choices are also present, resulting in an ambiguous religious stance towards homosexuality.

In addition, interactions within family life, or elsewhere in society, with or about homosexuals contributed to the attitudes towards it. In answering sub-question three and four, the general attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality follow the idea that whenever it is done it private, it causes no harm. The respondents felt negative towards the current step the LGBT+ community in Ghana is making towards the public realm.

The secondary habitus, shaped after migration, was mostly based upon casual interactions between co-workers. For the respondents, the workplace proved to be the place where they would encounter homosexuality most often. The attitudes, predispositions, and perceptions about homosexuality shaped through such encounters are more accepting than the ones shaped through primary socialization. So, sub-question five can be answered by stating that living in the Netherlands has made the respondents more open-minded, resulting in a generally positive attitude towards homosexuality. This attitude is, however, balanced with more conservative ideas that are deeply rooted through primary socialization.

The respondents understand that the Dutch generally regard homosexuality in a more liberal manner, and they feel that it is appreciated if they do so as well. With regards to sub-question six I can state that the respondents have adopted Dutch valued culture well enough to not let conservative ideas hinder them in their contact with Dutch people who identify as homosexual.

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[189] Interview 4, 39:27.

Conclusion and discussion

The general Ghanaian and Dutch attitude towards homosexuality are quite different; In Ghana, the LGBT+ community risk imprisonment when expressing their sexuality, whereas in the Netherlands discrimination against queer people based on their sexuality is prohibited by law. Through migration the two differing attitudes encounter. Previous research has shown that moral attitudes of immigrant groups, over time, acculturate towards the norm of the new country they live in. However, these studies did not sufficiently incorporate societal structures, networks, and personal experiences to really understand the process of such attitude change.

To incorporate this, in this thesis the Ghanaian diaspora living in the Netherlands and their possible attitude change towards homosexuality, was under research. Through deploying the conceptual toolkit field, habitus, and capital by Pierre Bourdieu, I was able take structures, as well as personal experiences into account. That brought me to the following research question: how do first-generation Ghanaians living in the Netherlands shape their transnational capital, habitus, and field when Ghanaian conservative attitudes within the diaspora community encounter more liberal Dutch attitudes towards homosexuality in The Hague, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam from the moment of migration until June 2021? After providing the essential contextual background of attitudes towards homosexuality in Ghana and the Netherlands, and embedding the research within the academic literature, the data was assessed trough a three-level analysis. In order of answering the main questions, I will discuss the findings of the sub-questions below.

The analysis of the inter-field level brought forward that the Dutch field of power and the transnational field of members of Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands exist in a process of mutual influence. This process is characterized by a power imbalance due to the pre-eminent position of the nation state's institutions, resulting in the limitation of Ghanaians geographical and social movements in the world, and in the Netherlands.

The analysis of the intra-field level showed that most Ghanaians core personal network consists of (extended) family members, Ghanaians in the diaspora, and some Dutch friends. This was expected as through the analysis of the inter-field level it became clear that Ghanaians in the Netherlands stick together in Ghanaian associations, as they provide an important support network. The one respondent that associated himself less with less with Ghanaian diasporic culture and associations, was also the one that maintained a close friendship with a homosexual man. Although this fact is noteworthy, correlation does not mean causation.

Lastly, the analysis of the individual level revealed that all respondents reported to feel more positive attitudes towards homosexuality after migration, while remaining to show signs of the Ghanaian more conservative attitude. This is understandable through the primary and secondary process of socialization that have both left their mark on the respondents' perception scheme.

Coming back to the research question, the data assessed in this research shows that the field of members of the Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands is shaped by the Dutch nation-state, but within their personal *social* fields, they actively maintain transnational ties and relationships. Through migration the social network of Ghanaians is transformed by including people they have met in the Netherlands, of whom they also appreciate and value their opinions. Most importantly, the habitus – at least with regards to attitudes towards homosexuality – has been actively transformed through (mostly) casual interactions with queer people and the general Dutch attitude towards homosexuality. Their reshaped habitus contributes to the national capital members of the Ghanaian diaspora have in the Dutch societal field, wherein their African demeanor reveals their 'non-Dutchness'. Seemingly, all respondents knew how to navigate their attitudes towards homosexuality in the desired way, according to the Dutch valued cultural norms.

These findings align with the findings from previous studies: immigrants acculturate their attitudes towards the majority norm. Another finding conforming previous studies is that this research shows that maintaining transnational ties does not hinder acculturation. However, this thesis adds to the academic field by presenting findings on what specific, personal interactions and encounters drive this process. And, that immigrants are able to strategically consider the importance of transforming their moral attitudes. Also, I did not find a difference between the Christian and the Muslim respondents; The specific Ghanaian structure proved to be more relevant in the primary socialization.

This study is limited by its small sample, but as discussed, does provide some new insights based on the data of the seven respondents. Another limitation of this thesis is that the analysis of the influence of the inter-field level on the socialization process remained superficial. Future research should focus on finding the connection between integration policy and realities, socialization, and acculturation. Then, such a study might lead to policy implications. Also, this research specifically focused on just one dimension of moral attitudes: homosexuality. To, in the future, understand the transformation of the habitus through migration more, other aspects of socialization should be included.

This analysis suggests that through the encounter of differing world-views Ghanaian members of the diaspora living in the Netherlands actively shape their field, habitus, and national capital, to ensure a harmonious way of living to their best ability. At the same time, they are able to stay connected to their roots, by maintaining transnational ties. So, in conclusion, the perceived social conservatism of immigrants, sparking debates about immigration and national identity, has not been confirmed by this study.

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Interviews and conversations

Date	Type
16-02-2021	Conversation with relative
16-02-2021	Conversation with relative
17-02-2021	Conversation with relative
21-04-2021	Informal interview with queer-Ghanaian man
18-05-2021	Interview and survey 1
19-05-2021	Interview and survey 2
20-05-2021	Interview and survey 3
25-05-2021	Interview and survey 4
28-05-2021	Interview and survey 5 (this respondent did not want to be recorded, so the findings are based on notes I took)
30-05-2021	Conversation at Methodist Church The Hague
02-06-2021	Interview and survey 6
08-06-2021	Interview and survey 7

Appendix

1. Interviews time stamped

Inter viewee	Relig ion	Employed	Field influenced by the Dutch social field	Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality	Formal education	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)	General opinion
1	no	yes	15.10 "Africans don't have the right to bring anything to Europe, don't bring anything to Africa"	8.00 "white people impose homosexuality on us" 18.00 "Premier Rutte is a homosexual, we all know it" 18.20 "I hear you can marry, man and man, here but I don't know"	19.25 Dictionary says marriage is between a men and woman	07.08 "beat the person" 07.20 faith "God brings us to this world to produce" 9.00: Animals don't do it either 09.30 It's not right to beat them, "don't accept it, but don't beat the person" 11.30 Traditional values 11.40 Lesbianism 13.00 Family values in Ghana 15.20 "We all know it is there, but we don't want it to be the law" 16.00 Don't do it in the public (uncle that was gay)	20.30 I see it more here 22.00 You live with it, but I don't accept it, "You pray that is don't happen to you" 23.20 Cognitive dissonance: homosexuality as "fun" and "stupid things" young people do	We know it exists, but why make it "official" by accepting it in the law

						Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)	
						16.19 Why does it have to be public law it was okay before 17.00 Nobody cared about them but now… 17.25 president		
Interviewe e	**Relig ion**	**Employed**	**Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field**	**Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality**	**Formal education and religious learning**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)**	**General opinion**
2	Yes (chri stian)	yes	35.30 39.30 "go back to Ghana if you don't like homosexuals" → How can you live in Amsterdam and hate homosexuals	32.30 "Dutch expierence" is going to fail because it don't fit in the society 35.30	-	24.00 "homosexuality is not new in Ghana" 24.37 "people don't like it because of the way it's been hyped" that attracts negative reactions. 25.40 "children would tease them a little bit" 27.00 "in primary school my classmate was homosexual" 28.00 "we don't talk about homosexuality" 28.40 "only when they try to influence others" 35.00 "It's in Accra"	28.00 "he is a designer in the USA now" → diaspora keeping in contact 29.00 "economic homosexuals" → because of the poverty they need money 31.00 "trend-homosexual" 33.00 it takes time 35.30 "I live in Holland, I know how it is, and how we can reason with people with different sexualities"	It's okay when it's natural, and let's keep it in the private sphere

Interviewee	Religion	Employed	Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field	Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality	Formal education and religious learning	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)	General opinion
							36.00 "as long as you don't come to me and touch me" 36.20 "Muslims don't like it" 38.00 "I am always debating with Ghanaians who condemn homosexuality" 38.30 "They send messages to Ghana that they have to kill the homosexuals there" 40.00 natural vs. economic 42.00 Seeking asylum and lying about homosexuality 46.00 Sometimes they overreact, "you have to have limit to the openness, because of trends"	
Interviewee	Religion	Employed	Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field	Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality	Formal education and religious learning	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)	Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)	General opinion

3	yes (muslim)	yes	17.30 "Ik woon in Nederland, dus hoe denk je dat ik zou denken?"	30.50 Je doet er alles mee, dat is allemaal prima	18.00 religious views 22.00 Op school zag hij wel vrouwen die alleen op vrouwen vallen 31.00 Buurman narratief	20.30 vrouwelijke kleren dragen en haren doen 21.00 "de jongen waarover ik het heb heeft een vrouw en kinderen." Je kan er wel tegen vechten. Je kan vechten tegen lust en behoeften. 22.00 Lesbiennes zijn er wel, maar mensen accepteren dat wel. 22.40 er wordt niet over gesproken 24.00 Het traditionele geloof is nog strenger op homoseksualiteit	17.30 "Ik woon in Nederland, dus hoe denk je dat ik zou denken?" 19.00 "Ik ben een wereldburger en ik vind dat iedereen het recht heeft om te zijn wie hij is" 20.15 "geweld is geen optie voor mij" 23.00 Gemixte gevoelens 25.00 "ik werd meer begripvol toen ik in Nederland ging wonen" 25.20 "In Afrika wist ik al dat je niemand moet aanvallen" 31.00 "Het heeft te maken met mens-zijn"	Vanuit een wereld-burger perspectief geen problemen mee, maar je hoeft je niet over te geven aan dergelijke lusten
Interviewe e	**Relig ion**	**Employed**	**Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field**	**Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality**	**Formal education and religious learnings**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)**	**General opinion**
4	yes (muslim)	No out of ill health, but normally: yes	-	21.00 "the people of the NL built on the UN	16.30 Film about the story of Lot in the Old	2.50 "this question of the homosexuals started with the churches" 3.18 "these people are so strong in the	2.20 "you are not the lawmaker, so don't go on prosecuting other people"	Keep it in the private sphere, don't

				declarations of human rights" 27.35 "Here in Holland they don't impose it. […] they keep it discrete"	Testament (Lut in Quran). 25.30 marriage defined in its "real sense" than it's not possible 27.00 "if the lord decides to destroy them, and leave some of them, fine. It's the wish of the lord."	society [...] the government can't do anything, because the government needs them, because they control the people" 04.40 "Leave them alone" 05.00 "They have their rights from the same government as you" 05.20 "I don't approve of violence" → religion and neighbor who can be anyone 06.20 "I will respect my neighbor who ever he is" 08.30 "we hear, we read from books, but we don't see them. It has not been a topic worth discussing" 21.40 "If you are a homosexual keep your quiet and live your life" → private vs. public 23.15 "The homosexuals are trying to use that (holding hands) as their sign" 24.40 private vs. public "we don't have an office	09.15 "A lot of my colleagues were homosexuals, but we work as a team" 13.50 "I don't go in asking are you a homosexual before I work with them" 14.30 No experience being "friends" with "a homosexual" 15.00 "Going to real friendship, that is where the question mark lies" 18.40 UN declaration of human rights 19.30 "the existence of no human soul must be threatened" 28.50 "His only fault is he doesn't like women, he dates men. Pray for him."	institutionali ze it.

						for married couples or straight guys" 26.00 Don't institutionalize it 27.10 "They should not impose it"		
Interviewee	**Religion**	**Employed**	**Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field**	**Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality**	**Formal education or religious learnings**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)**	**General opinion**
6	Yes (christian)	Yes	-	15.00 Human rights from a law perspective	12.00 Only God can judge	05.00 Ghana signing human rights treaties 06.40 According to the constitution, these people (homosexuals) have rights. 07.00 Customary law vs. international law 08.00 Ghana had to make a reservation if they didn't want to accept human rights treaties fully 10.00 Our customs forbid LGBT 10.35 Speech of the president "It's bound to happen"	11.00 I have worked for an LGBT-person in the NL here, previously I would have said: no, no, I don't work for these people" 18.35 "I'm used to it now" 13.30 "I am saying this because I have traveled, I've lived in a different culture"	It will need some more time, but gradually it will become better and people will be more accepting.

					11.00 "Initially it was something awful for me" 12.45 "People are not used to it" 13.00 Homosexuality vs. polyamory 15.40 "I understood that it's there, but people did it secretly […] because of the society and the culture"		
Interviewee	**Religion**	**Employed**	**Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field**	**Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality**	**Formal education or religious learnings**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)**	**General opinion**
7	Yes, but no church	yes	20.20 They cluster together, so the mindset remains	11.10 "What is not in Ghana, is here"	12.00 No one ever discussed the topic in school or anything. 16.10 Sodom and Gomorra 16.15 If you bring in money, they don't care.	5.40 Classmate's father was homosexual 06.10 "niet-uitgesproken taboo" 07.15 Discussion with brother about homosexuality 07.30 It's about purity and sincerity in a relationship 08.10 "They pretend that they are the right people, but they're not Christians, they're church-goers"	12:06 Friend 14.15 Don't care if anyone is gay or straight 14.30 You read about it, and you leave the tunnel vision and move to the helicopter view 16.20 "at some point I hope that they will also become openminded, and see things from a different perspective"	

Note: header row spans columns — "Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions" appears both for GHANA and for NL/elsewhere in the world as separate columns.

						08:50 "It has never been said in Ghana, that there are gay people" 09.15 "What happens behind their curtains, I don't know" 09.40 Everybody knew about it, but it wasn't discussed publicly 10.30 It was there, but nobody paid attention to it 11.20 "They don't know what is happening beyond their circle, they don't have some sort of liberality for this sort of act"		
Inter viewe e (base d on notes)	**Relig ion**	**Employed**	**Transnational field influenced by the Dutch social field**	**Dutch culture w.r.t. homosexuality**	**Formal education or religious learnings**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (GHANA)**	**Attitudes, predispositions and perceptions (NL/elsewhere in the world)**	**General opinion**
5	yes	Not anymore, but befor yes	Trying to establish change through organization Akasanoma	The Dutch are more open in expressing sexuality in general	The power that religious groups have in society is too strong	The violence is nonsense, based on ignorance "The ignorance is so deep, it's bullshit, it's nonsense."		

							When we were young no one cared about it		
							We assumed it didn't exist, so no one cared about it		
							This aggression against homosexuals is new		
							Laughing at especially men who will behave like women, they will laugh behind them		
							Women behaving like men were seen positively		
							The "no carnal" law cannot stand up against the constitution and is limiting even for heterosexuals		
							The violence will be a catalyst for a good discussion and introspection and then the application of the law		