



**THE DESIRE FOR DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE EFFECTS OF RENUNCIATION
OF ORIGINAL CITIZENSHIP: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF GHANAIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN NORWAY**

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Abstract

In today's multicultural and shrinking world, citizens of many countries have the opportunity to emigrate from the countries of their birth to other countries where they live together with people with different biological and social backgrounds. As a consequence, the old citizenship policies of countries become outmoded and incapable of meeting the numerous challenges that the immigrants face. As far back as the 20th century, dual citizenship was seen as something disastrous and an enemy of the nation state. It was something which the nation state should avoid. Today, many countries including European countries have adopted or are considering the adoption of dual citizenship as an antidote to meeting the emerging challenges. However, Norway is not a part of this process of change, but rather operates with the policies of renunciation and selective dual citizenship for some of its immigrants. My thesis provides a discussion of identity issues associated with renunciation of citizenship and the consequences of the Norwegian non-dual citizenship rules for Ghanaian immigrants. The knowledge base of the thesis is embodied in the minds of fourteen Ghanaian immigrants living in Norway. I have adopted the qualitative research approach in generating and analyzing data for this thesis. Overall, the analysis reveals that most of my informants dislike the practice of renunciation as it has emotional and practical consequences for them. Also, most of the informants favor dual citizenship since it has many advantages for both countries. The purpose of this thesis is to generate debate and enlighten policy makers on the challenges that Ghanaian immigrants face with regards to the immigration policies in Norway. The main goal of this thesis is therefore to amplify the ongoing debate on the current citizenship laws and its implications for minority groups in Norway, in this case Ghanaians.

Keywords:

Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

As the world becomes more heterogeneous due to globalization, the issues of rights connected to citizenship of those who migrate also intensify. The increasing numbers of migrants who settle outside their original countries question the prevalent citizenship laws of their new countries of residence. Frequently asked questions centers on dual citizenship and issues connected to identity and renunciation of once former citizenship. A vital questions include: Should citizenship laws be changed to include dual citizenship because of current issues connected to migration or should governments continue to base their citizenship law on ‘assumptions’ on unknown threats to the nation-state? According to the dominating theories in citizenship, there is increasing tolerance towards dual citizenship and the numbers of states which allow their citizens to be another state’s citizens are increasing, so therefore dual citizenship is logical and should be tolerated. While some academic literatures on immigration argue for toleration of dual citizenship based on immigration others argue that increasing tolerance is due to the increasing power of the “human rights” paradigm.

1.2 Research themes

The themes of this research is migration and citizenship. Even though many countries in Europe now accept dual citizenship, the idea of dual citizenship is still diffuse in the Norwegian immigration law. As a legal principle, dual-citizenship is not allowed, and immigrants in Norway are required to renounce their former citizenship. However, some immigrants are exempted from renunciation of their original citizenship and are granted dual citizenship based on the loop holes in the legislation. For example, immigrants from countries who refuse to release their citizens may be granted the permission to hold dual citizenship.

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Ghanaian migrants on the other hand have the right to have dual citizenship from Ghana, but cannot enjoy this increasingly universal right in Norway. Ghanaian immigrants living in Norway are therefore, left with the choice between continuing to live in Norway as Ghanaian citizens without the full Norwegian citizenship rights, and acquiring the Norwegian citizenship, which requires renouncing the Ghanaian citizenship, “their birth right”. This study explores the experiences of Ghanaian immigrants some of whom have acquired Norwegian citizenship, and discusses the effects that renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship and denial of dual citizenship can have on them.

My interest in this topic developed when I started reflecting on my own situation as an immigrant who have lost citizenship to the country of my origin. I was born a Ghanaian and I have spent the first eight years of my life in Ghana before coming to Norway. Despite the number of years I spent living and celebrating the annual 17th May independence day of Norway, I still view myself as a Ghanaian and often join other Ghanaian friends and relatives in celebrating the 6th March independence day of Ghana. Even though I have formally lost my Ghanaian citizenship and have to apply for visa to enter Ghana, deep within me, my identity to Ghana is still not lost. A question that often comes to mind is why should there be political and legal barriers in a globalized and shrinking world.

Another factor that increased my interest in the research theme is a publication by the Director of the Norwegian Directorate of Immigrants (UDI) on dual citizenship. In an article, Forfang (2013) questioned the Norwegian citizenship policy raising the question “Is Norway going the opposite way in Europe in terms of Dual citizenship?” In my view, the Director’s question is very relevant in our transnational world as it emphasizes the need to continue to rekindle the debate on dual citizenship in Norway.

Last but not the least I attribute my choice of thesis theme to the interesting lectures on global issues that constitute the coursework of the master’s program in Religion, Society and Global issues.



1.3 The research problem and questions

Information from a chronicle written by Frode Forfang (2013), the Director of the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration indicates that many immigrants renounce reluctantly citizenship to the country of origin in order to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Even though Norway is strictly against dual citizenship, there are exceptions in the laws that make it possible for immigrants from some countries to enjoy dual citizenship. In other words, such immigrants have the right to be citizens of both countries, and use the passport of Norway and that of their countries of origin. Award of dual citizenship therefore depends on where one comes from. In the year 2000, the Committee that was established by Norwegian Government to examine the immigration policy of the country, recommended that the Norwegian law should not hinder dual citizenship (Forfang 2013). According to Forfang (2013), only one party (SV) was in favor of dual citizenship proposal. Since the majority of the parties turned down the recommendations of the committee set up by the government to review the immigration laws of Norway, the Parliament adopted the new citizenship law in 2005 without amendments to provide for a comprehensive dual citizenship. Forfang (2013), describes the present immigration law that does not provide a comprehensive dual citizenship policy as “too difficult to implement.”

The research problem for this thesis is, **“What are the views and experiences of Ghanaian migrants in Norway on the policies of renunciation of former citizenship and non-dual citizenship?”**

As indicated above, the research problem is two-tie. The sub-questions that are necessary to throw light on the research problem are as follows:

- 1) What are the views of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway on their identities in the diaspora?
- 2) What are the views of Ghanaian immigrants on the non-dual-citizenship law in Norway?
- 3) What are the experiences of Ghanaians who have to renounce citizenship to their land of origin?

1.4 Research aims and objectives

Often, when people talk about African immigrant in Norway, the focus is often on North and East Africans, not West Africa where Ghana is located. There is therefore little or no research work on Ghanaian immigrants in Norway. This study aims at narrowing this knowledge gap and raises the awareness of immigration policy makers in Norway on the policies of renunciation of citizenship and denial of dual citizenship to Ghanaian immigrants. The study aims at uncovering the constraining patterns in these two areas of the Norwegian citizenship legislation, and furthermore generate debates that may lead to a possible change of policy.

1.5 Research scope

While it may have been fruitful to encompass immigrants from other African countries with and without the right for dual-citizenship in Norway, I have decided to limit the thesis to Ghanaian migrants due mainly to time constraint. In my view, doing a large-scale research within the time span of two semesters would have been more challenging.

1.6 The structure of the thesis

After the introduction chapter above, the researcher presents an outline of the immigration policies in Ghana and Norway. This is followed by a chapter on theoretical resources that are vital for the understanding the thesis. Theoretical conceptions including identity, citizenship, human rights and power, to mention but few of them, are the targets here. The literature on the theory of identity and citizenship, are also presented as part of the theoretical resources chapter. The next chapter is an outline of the methodological issues in qualitative research, highlighting justifications for the choice of methods, the processes of data generation and the ethical challenges encountered. In the next chapter, I present the information generated during interviews with my informants. The author then discusses the main findings using relevant theories in the next chapter. The thesis ends with a conclusion chapter. In this chapter, the author presents also suggestions on future research agenda.



CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF OUTLINE ON MIGRATION IN GHANA AND NORWAY

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the research problem “*What are the views and experiences of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway on the policies of renunciation of former citizenship and non-dual citizenship?*” it is important to have some idea about the migrations policies and legislations of both countries. In this chapter, I present the background information that is necessary as a way of contextualizing the thesis. I shall first present a brief information on the migration policy in Ghana before proceeding to that of Norway to serve as the background for understanding the thesis. I will conclude the chapter with a presentation of some views on citizenship and dual citizenship in Norway. The views presented are not only meant as a background information to throw light on the migration and citizenship situation in Norway, but also to provide useful theoretical insights that may enrich further discussion of the thesis.

2.2 Migration and citizenship rights in Ghana

Ghana is a West African country formerly known as the Gold Coast. The citizens of Ghana call themselves Ghanaians. In 1957, the country became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from Britain. DR Kwame Nkrumah lead Ghana’s independence struggle and became the first President of the country after independence. Ghana is currently one of the most thriving democracies on the African continent. The country, also referred to as the ‘*Island of peace*’ has Mr John Dramani Mahama as its current president (Ghanaweb, 2013). Ghana has a population of over twenty five million people with over 25 ethnic languages. English is however the lingua franca of the republic of Ghana. Agriculture dominates the country’s economy and employs about forty percent of the working population. Ghana is one of the leading exporters of cocoa in the world. The country also exports gold, timber, bauxite manganese and electricity. In 2007, Ghana discovered oil, and the exploitation

of this new natural resource is ongoing. In addition, Ghana's economy relies heavily on foreign assistance and remittances from Ghanaians abroad (Ghanaweb, 2013).

Emigration was not a common phenomenon after Ghana's independence. The form of migration that was common in Ghana in the 1960s was internal migration. This involved movement of migrant workers from the rural north to the urban areas in the southern belt of the country. Most of the immigrants gained employment on the cocoa farms where they rendered their services. The cocoa farms also attracted immigrants from the neighbouring countries. Ghana was thus mostly at the receiving end as far as migration was concerned. The few Ghanaians who emigrated around that time were the elites who benefited from economic expansion and mostly left the Ghana to gain higher education or training abroad (MAFE, 2014). Ghana experienced economic recess and deteriorating political climate in 1980s and that forced many Ghanaians to emigrate worldwide. Also, many Ghanaians who returned from Nigeria in 1983 and 1985 diverted to other destinations" (MAFE, 2014). According to MAFE (2014), the emigration of Ghanaians to European destinations including Norway was because they benefited from working in Nigeria at the time the value of the Nigerian currency was high. This, according to MAFE (2014), led to the 'diasporization' of Ghanaians. According to Norwegian statistics there were about 8 Ghanaian's in Norway in 1970s, but today the numbers has increased to 2424 (<http://www.ssb.no/sok?sok=GHANA,2014>).

2.2.1 Citizenship rights in Ghana

The citizenship policies of Ghana are enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. More specifically, information on who is or can become a citizen of Ghana is the third chapter of the Constitution. The details as stated in the constitution are as follows:

6. (1) every person who, on the coming into force of this Constitution, is a citizen of Ghana by law shall continue to be a citizen of Ghana.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, a person born in or outside Ghana after the coming into force of this Constitution, shall become a citizen of Ghana at the date of his birth if either of his parents or grandparents is or was a citizen of Ghana.

(3) A child of not more than seven years of age found in Ghana whose parents are not known shall be presumed to be a citizen of Ghana by birth.



(4) A child of not more than sixteen years of age neither of whose parents is a citizen of Ghana who is adopted by a citizen of Ghana shall, by virtue of the adoption, be a citizen of Ghana.

7. (1) A woman married to a man who is a citizen of Ghana or a man married to a woman who is a citizen of Ghana may, upon making an application in the manner prescribed by Parliament, be registered as a citizen of Ghana.

(2) Clause (1) of this article applies also to a person who was married to a person who, but for his or her death, would have continued to be a citizen of Ghana under clause (1) of article 6 of this Constitution.

(3) Where the marriage of a woman is annulled after she has been registered as a citizen of Ghana under clause (1) of this article, she shall, unless she renounces that citizenship, continue to be a citizen of Ghana.

(4) Any child of a marriage of a woman registered as a citizen of Ghana under clause (1) of this article to which clause (3) of this article applies, shall continue to be a citizen of Ghana unless he renounces that citizenship.

(5) Where upon an application by a man for registration under clause (1) of this article, it appears to the authority responsible for the registration that a marriage has been entered into primarily with a view to obtaining the registration, the authority may request the applicant to satisfy him that the marriage was entered into in good faith; and the authority may only effect the registration upon being so satisfied.

(6) In the case of a man seeking registration, clause (1) of this article applies only if the applicant permanently resides in Ghana.

8. (1) Subject to this article, a citizen of Ghana shall cease forthwith to be a citizen of Ghana if, on attaining the age of twenty-one years, he, by a voluntary act, other than marriage, acquired or retains the citizenship of a country other than Ghana.

(2) A person who becomes a citizen of Ghana by registration and immediately after the day on which he becomes a citizen of Ghana is also a citizen of some other country, shall cease to be a citizen of Ghana unless he has renounced his citizenship of that other country, taken the

oath of allegiance specified in the Second Schedule to this Constitution and made and registered such declaration of his intentions concerning residence as may be prescribed by law, or unless he has obtained an extension of time for taking those steps and the extended period has not expired.

(3) A Ghanaian citizen who loses his Ghanaian citizenship as a result of the acquisition or possession of the citizenship of a country other than Ghana shall, on the renunciation of his citizenship of that other country, become a citizen of Ghana.

(4) Where the law of a country, other than Ghana, requires a person who marries a citizen of that country to renounce the citizenship of his own country by virtue of that marriage, a citizen of Ghana who is deprived of his citizenship of Ghana by virtue of that marriage shall, on the dissolution of that marriage, if he thereby loses his citizenship acquired by that marriage, become a citizen of Ghana.

9. (1) Parliament may make provision for the acquisition of citizenship of Ghana by persons who are not eligible to become citizens of Ghana under the provision of this Constitution.

(2) Except as otherwise provided in article 7 of this Constitution, a person shall not be registered as a citizen of Ghana unless at the time of his application for registration he is able to speak and understand an indigenous language of Ghana.

(3) The High Court may, on an application made for the purpose by the Attorney-General, deprive a person who is a citizen of Ghana, otherwise than by birth, of that citizenship on the ground.

(a) that the activities of that person are inimical of the security of the State or prejudicial to public morality or the public interest; or

(b) that the citizenship was acquired by fraud, misrepresentation or any other improper or irregular practice.

(4) There shall be published in the Gazette by the appropriate authority and within three months after the application or the registration, as the case may be, the name, particulars and other details of a person who, under this article applies to be registered as a citizen of Ghana or has been registered as a citizen of Ghana.



(5) Parliament may make provision for the renunciation by any person of his citizenship of Ghana.

10. (1) A reference in this Chapter to the citizenship of the parent of a person at the time of the birth of that person shall, in relation to a person born after the death of the parent, be construed as a reference to the citizenship of the parent at the time of the parent's death.

(2) For the purposes of clause (1) of this article, where the death occurred before the coming into force of this Constitution, the citizenship that the parent would have had if he or she had died on the coming into force of this Constitution shall be deemed to be his or her citizenship at the time of his or her death.

2.2.2 Renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship

As indicated above, the Government of Ghana expects its citizens who want to become citizens of another country that does not have dual citizenship, to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship. According to the official website of the Ghana Embassy in Denmark, the applicant must follow the following procedures:

1. Purchase Renunciation Form 13 from an Embassy of Ghana.
2. Complete and attach following documents to Form 13 before submission to the Embassy for onward transmission to the Hon. Minister of Interior, Accra:

i. Curriculum Vitae

ii. Evidence of not being indebted to the Ghana Government if applicant travelled for further studies abroad under Ghana Government Scholarship

iii. Assurance letter from the country that the applicant intends to acquire that country's nationality

iv. Two (2) recent passport-size photographs

v. Photocopy of receipt of payment for Form 13



The embassies expect applicants to pay a processing fee of DKK 1100

(<http://www.ghanaembassy.dk/renunciation-citizenship>). The Hon. Minister for Interior then signs the certificate of renunciation and sends it to the applicant upon release of his/her Ghana passport to the Mission.

2.2.3 Dual citizenship in Ghana

Ghana now accepts Dual Citizenship in accordance with the Citizenship Act of 1st December 2002 (Act 91). According to information from the official website of the Ghana Embassy in Demark, applicants living in Scandinavia who are eligible to acquire dual citizenship from Ghana must meet the following requirements:

- *An applicant must be of Ghanaian Nationality with genuine documents (citizenship, not permanent residence permit) from the named Scandinavian countries (Swedish or Finish).*
- *Ghanaians who have acquired additional nationalities are eligible to apply for dual citizenship. The documents that are required from applicants include the following: Confirmation of Parents' nationality as a Ghanaian, a birth certificate, a voter's identity card, Ghana Passport, passport from new country of citizenship, and a form and processing fee.*

The embassy then forwards the applications to the Ministry of Interior in Ghana, where decisions are made on the application and processing, before issuance of the Dual Citizenship Certificate are takes place. Successful Scandinavian applicants (excluding Norway) can possess all passports, but travel with one together with a certificate of dual citizenship.

According to information on the website of the Embassy, dual citizenship holders can spend unlimited time in Ghana provided they enter Ghana with the Ghana passport. However, dual citizenship holders may not qualify to hold the following public offices: Chief Justice and Justice of the Supreme Court, Ambassador or High Commissioner, Secretary to the Cabinet, Chief of Defence Staff or any Service Chief and the Inspector-General of Police. Other are: Commissioner of Customs, Excise & Preventive Service,

Director of Immigration Service, Commissioner, Value Added Tax Service, Director-General, Prisons Service, Chief Fire Officer, Chief Director of a Ministry, Rank of Colonel in the Army or its equivalent in the other security services, and any other public office that the Minister may by legislative instrument prescribes.

As indicated above, the constitution of Ghana demands renunciation of original citizenship from immigrants who want to acquire Ghanaian citizenship, but comes from a country that does not allow dual citizenship. Norwegian immigrants in Ghana who want to acquire Ghanaian citizenship must renounce citizenship to the land of their origin. Similarly, since immigration laws of Norway do not normally accept dual-citizenship, Ghanaian immigrants in Norway have lost the right to dual citizenship (<http://ghanaembassy.dk/?q=dual-citizenship>). However, Ghanaians from most of the other Nordic countries for example Sweden and Finland are eligible to hold dual citizenship. (<http://www.dlgimmigration.com/united-states-citizenship/list-of-countries-that-allow-or-disallow-dual-citizenship/>).

2.3 Migration and citizenship rights in Norway

Norway is a Scandinavian country with a current population of about five million people, 9.5 % are foreign nationals from 200 different countries (<http://www.ssb.no/en/folkemengde/>). The kings of Denmark ruled Norway from the 14th to the 19th century. In 1814, the country became a Swedish colony. Norway achieved independence from Sweden on 7 June in 1905, but came under German occupation from 1940 to 1945.

The first group of immigrants in Norway were workers from neighbouring countries and Western Europe. The economy of Norway improved from 1960 and there was the need for more labour. Apart from the European immigrants, workers from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Pakistan and Turkey came to Norway in the 1970s (Eriksen, 2013). In 1975, there was increasing unemployment and accommodation problems for immigrants to Norway. The Norwegian government imposed a general ban on immigration as a result (ibid.). According to Eriksen (2013), the government exempted immigrants from the neighbouring countries from the ban.

It is worth noting that Norwegians also had their period of pronounced emigration. According to Eriksen (2013), Norway was a net exporter of migrants throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. He added that, before the World War 1, about one-third of the population of Norway immigrated to North American countries (Ibid). This was a period that the Norwegians experienced poverty and lack of employment opportunities. Emigration is currently not an outdated practice in Norway, even though it has reduced to a trickle after 1945 (Eriksen, 2013). Presently, Norwegian migrants, both young and old are in many countries where they study, work, get to know other cultures and learn new languages. Norwegian students and holidaymakers are also parading the universities and the beautiful beaches in other countries including Ghana in search of knowledge and excitements. Spain is an example of warmer countries where many Norwegian pensioners emigrate to, especially during the cold winter months in Norway.

One can classify the Norwegian citizenship policies from the year 1800, as traditional. This is to say that the inheritance principle has been the main way of becoming a Norwegian citizen. The citizenship act of 1950 is still “a principle rule” meaning that if a person applies to become a Norwegian citizen, it is required that he or she gives up his or her previous citizenship (Brochman, 2002). After the ban on immigration in Norway in 1975, the only way to enter Norway legally is through family reunification and refugee status. However, the situation changed after Norway signed the European Union’s Schengen free movement agreement in 2004.

2.3.1 The Application criteria for citizenship in Norway

Immigrants in Norway who want to become citizens must meet many requirements. Below are the application criteria for Norwegian citizenship from the website with the following address: <http://www.nyinorge.no/en/Familiegjenforening/New-in-Norway/Moving-to-Norway/Citizenship/> .

To apply for Norwegian citizenship, immigrants must have a valid Norwegian residence permit and meet many of the following requirements:

- *The applicant must have documented or clarified his or her identity.*



- *The applicant must be resident in Norway and intend to continue to live here.*
- *If the applicant is married to, or is the registered partner or cohabitant of a Norwegian national, the time applicant has lived in Norway and the total time the applicant has been married, registered partners or cohabitant must be at least seven years. The applicant must have lived in Norway for a total of at least three years during the past ten years. The applicant must still be married, registered partners or cohabitants and live together at the time of the decision. The applicant must meet the requirements for a permanent residence permit in Norway.*
- *The applicant must have completed 300 hours of tuition in the Norwegian language or be able to document sufficient skills in Norwegian or Sami.*
- *The applicant must not have been convicted of a criminal offence or been ordered to undergo enforced psychiatric treatment or care (good conduct requirement).*
- *Separate rules apply to children under the age of 12 and to people over the age of 55 who apply for Norwegian citizenship. People who came to Norway before reaching the age of 18 must have lived here for a total of five years during the past seven years.*
- *Applicant must hold a valid permit while the citizenship application is being processed*
- *After becoming a Norwegian citizen, the new citizen may participate in a voluntary citizenship ceremony to mark the transition.*

2.3.2 Renunciation of original citizenship and the exemptions

According to the official website of UDI;

- *If the legislation in the country where you have your previous citizenship does not permit you to renounce your citizenship before your application for Norwegian citizenship has been granted, you will be given a deadline of one year to submit documentation from the authorities of this country showing that you have been released from this citizenship.*
- *If you cannot be released from your previous citizenship before you have reached a certain age, the one-year deadline starts running from the date on which you reach this age limit.*

- *If the legislation in the country where you have your previous citizenship permits you to renounce your citizenship before the application for Norwegian citizenship is granted, you will receive a promise of Norwegian citizenship. A promise is not the same as a decision to grant Norwegian citizenship, but it means that the UDI is obliged to grant you Norwegian citizenship if you renounce your previous citizenship within the one-year deadline. The promise is only valid for one year. If you do not renounce your previous citizenship by the deadline, UDI will reject your application.*

The applicant is responsible for doing what is required to be released from his or her previous citizenship by a given deadline.

According UDI, some exceptions can be made from the requirement that applicants must renounce their previous citizenship (<http://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/release-from-previous-citizenship/>). These include the following:

- *If the legislation in the country where you have your previous citizenship does not permit you to be released from it, or if it is not practically possible to renounce it. For example, in a situation where it would be practically impossible to travel to the country in question to renounce the citizenship due to a civil war or similar dangerous circumstances. Another example is if the country lacks a functioning government administration that can grant a valid declaration of release.*
- *You must document that you have applied to be released in accordance with the laws of the country in question, and that your application has been rejected.*
- *As a rule, this will only apply to persons who have been granted protection (asylum) in Norway or hold a permit for refugee-like reasons, and only if the circumstances that resulted in you being granted protection still exist.*
- *You will not be granted an exemption if the country's authorities have started the case processing time for being released. If you have received a promise of Norwegian citizenship, UDI will consider whether to grant the application subject to the requirement that the applicant the previous citizenship by a stated deadline after the application is granted.*
- *The main rule for what constitutes 'unreasonably burdensome conditions' is that the release fee must not exceed four per cent of applicant's general income. (How much this is will be stated in your tax certificate and tax settlement). If the applicant has full responsibility for children under the age of 18, the person is exempted from the release requirement if the fee,*

including the fee of the child who is to be released, exceeds two per cent of the applicant's income. The release fee must be more than NOK 2,500 in order for the applicant to be eligible for an exemption.

- *The applicant can also be granted an exemption if releasing him or her from your citizenship would result in him/her losing property, inheritance or rights (e.g. the right to a pension) in this country. UDI takes this into consideration when considering the case of applicants.*
- *Travel expenses, expenses relating to translation of documents or lost income from employment as a result of the application for release process do not give grounds for an exemption.*
- *If the authorities in the applicant's home country rejects the application for release.*
- *If the applicant cannot contact the authorities in the country to apply for release due to safety reasons.*
- *If it takes more than one year to be released from the citizenship.*
- *If the country's authorities stipulate unreasonably burdensome conditions for releasing you from your citizenship.*

According UDI, applicants who fall under one of these exemption groups, must enclose a written statement of the grounds for this and documentation from the public authorities in the applicants home country that shows why the applicant cannot renounce his or her citizenship (<http://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/release-from-previous-citizenship/>).

2.3.3 The conditions for dual citizenship in Norway

Under Norwegian law, it is in principle not permitted to have dual citizenship. A person who applies for Norwegian citizenship must therefore renounce his/her former citizenship.

However, in practice, some people can become dual citizens in Norway

(<http://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/dual-citizenship/>). According to the Norwegian Immigration Directorate (UDI), Norway can allow dual citizenship based on the following:

- *You wish to acquire Norwegian citizenship, but for various reasons cannot be released from your previous citizenship.*

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



- *If you are exempted from renouncing your previous citizenship.*
- *If one of your parents is Norwegian, you probably automatically became a Norwegian citizen when you were born. If your other parent's home country has the same rule, you will also be given that country's citizenship and you will thus have dual citizenship. This only applies if you automatically became a citizen of both countries when you were born, and not if your parents took any action (for example submitted an application or notification) in order for you to be granted the second citizenship.*
- *You will not lose your Norwegian citizenship if you have been granted a new citizenship without having asked for it, and, in such cases, you will have dual citizenship. This can happen in some countries, for example because you have married. If, on the other hand, you have applied for or clearly accepted citizenship in another country, you will normally lose your Norwegian citizenship.*
- *You received one citizenship from each of your parents when you were born.*
- *You have Norwegian citizenship and are later granted citizenship in another country without having asked for it.*

Dual citizenship for immigrants in Norway is a necessity. This is because of the numerous advantages that can be derived from identifying with two countries. As a dual citizenship holder in Norway, one has the same rights and obligations in relation to the Norwegian state as other Norwegian citizens (<http://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/dual-citizenship/>). A dual citizen is expected to have the passports from both countries and also have support from the consular of both countries. However, it may not be easy for the Norwegian authorities to help citizens with two passports who happen to be in their original countries.

2.3.4 Debates on migration and citizenship rights in Norway

There are some online articles on the ongoing debates on the Norwegian immigration and citizenship policies, but I have limited myself to the two chronicles written by Frode Forfang (2013) and Tove Heggli Sagmo & Martha Bivand Erdal (2013) in this thesis. I begin with the chronicle written by Frode Forfang, a Director of the Norwegian Immigration Directorate (UDI) and continue with that of peace researchers Tove Heggli Sagmo & Martha Bivand Erdal.



Forfang (2013) wrote in his chronicle entitled “Lov å være både norsk og utenlandsk?” or “The right to be Norwegian and foreign”, about the trends of the Norwegian citizenship policies. He pointed out that the Norwegian citizenship laws are going in the opposite direction compared to what is happening in many European countries ([http://www.nrk.no/ytring/bade-norsk-og-utenlandsk -1.11394080](http://www.nrk.no/ytring/bade-norsk-og-utenlandsk-1.11394080)). According to Forfang (2013), the Norwegian government appointed a committee to evaluate the citizenship laws in the country and the committee came out with the suggestion in the year 2000 that the migration and citizenship laws of Norway should not hinder dual citizenship. Despite the fact that only, one out of five members of the committee was against dual citizenship, all the political parties except the Leftist Socialist Party, (SV) were against the call for dual citizenship. In 2005, the majority in parliament based their anti-dual citizenship arguments on loyalty, especially with relation to the experiences from the past wars in Europe and passed the single citizenship bill without fully taking into consideration the views of the committee. In other words, instead of passing a comprehensive law on dual citizenship, a single citizenship law was passed with room for exemptions in terms of renunciations for citizens of some countries.

According to Forfang (2013), the present Norwegian citizenship laws say that one does not necessarily have to renounce the original citizenship, but can have both citizenships when there are legal, practical and obstacles. There was also no need to renounce when the demands from the original country are unreasonable. Forfang (2013) pointed out that, in some countries, the renunciation fee is very high and the denunciation process is complex. The laws also permit citizens to hold both citizenships in cases where one can lose inheritance rights, as it is unreasonable to demand renunciation of citizenship in such situations. According to Forfang, the exemptions in the law are many and therefore nearly 50% of those who apply for dual citizenship get it. The point then is what prevents the parliament to go for it. Forfang argues that the limited exemptions mean that whether one succeeds or fails to keep his or her original citizenship, depends on the country one comes from. In my view this may create room for discrimination. According to Forfang (2013), the citizenship laws as it is today is difficult to implement. This is because apart from immigrants who are asylum seekers, not all immigrants are ready to give up their original citizenship and gain another in Norway. Forfang (2013) pointed out that without the Norwegian citizenship, one cannot participate in National elections. In addition, one cannot be employed in some professions, for example, the police force. Forfang (2013) argues that since the citizenship law of Norway has many loopholes, it loses its main

principle and needs to be reconsidered. For him, a more relaxed approach to citizenship is necessary to enable people who live permanently in Norway to maintain their attachment to the countries of their origin.

Sagmo and Erdal (2013) wrote their chronicle with title “Mindre norsk med to pass?” or “Less Norwegian with two passports?” and wonder whether the reason for Norway’s resistant to dual citizenship is due to fear for the unknown (http://www.nrk.no/ytring/mindre-norsk-med-to-pass_-1.10958806). The authors pointed out the Norwegian citizenship laws has an underlying view that the outside world is a threat for Norway. To them, the Norwegian citizenship law seems to have basis in the idea that having only one identity is natural, and needs therefore to be defended. They made it clear that when Norway revised its citizenship laws in 2005, there was a consensus that being a Norwegian means declaring ones identity, either Norwegian or Foreigner (Sagmo & Erdal, 2013). The authors argued contrary to the citizenship law that, many people feel loyalty and attachment to many countries, and therefore giving up one’s citizenship is to lose a part of one’s identity. For the Authors, the revised Norwegian citizenship law only serve to reduce or tighten the chances of acquiring to dual citizenship. Tightening the chances of immigrants who live in the country, they stressed, was unrealistic (Ibid.). It is unrealistic because having double citizenship is the recognition that one naturally and legitimately belongs to two nations. To have dual citizenship is also a proof that one’s attachment to another country is accepted and that one can contribute positively to both societies. The authors are of the view that about half of the number of countries in the world accept dual citizenship and that the number has been on the increase since 1990. This means that Norway can safely learn from other countries when looking for solution to practical questions that crop up.

The Authors also argued against the fear of the majority of parties in parliament who are against dual citizenship on the basis that allowing dual citizenship means making room for citizens from other countries to spy on Norway. The majority of parliamentarian feared, that the regimes of their countries of origin, might pressurise the new citizen with dual citizenship to engage in spying activities in Norway. Sagmo and Erdal (2013) argued that if another country decides to send agents or recruit asylum seekers, citizenship laws could not help detect it. The point is Norway should rather concentrate on how to detect people operating as agents of other countries. The authors were of the view that the arguments against approval of dual citizenship are vague and the reluctance to approve a clear-cut dual citizenship law therefore appears to be more of an



unnecessary fear. The authors of the chronicle noted that the present citizenship laws do not suit a country like Norway, a country that portrays itself as an inclusive and modern society. The present citizenship laws also hinder about 50% of immigrants from Europe and North America who would otherwise have chosen Norwegian citizenship if they were allowed to keep the original citizenship. The consequence, according to the authors, is that a high percentage of immigrants remain excluded from societal activities including democracy. According to the authors, denial of dual citizenship to such immigrants in Norway reduces them to duties without the right to vote during national elections. For immigrants from Asia and Africa who face difficulties travelling with their passports, the main reason why they give up citizenship to their original countries to acquire Norwegian citizenship is the need to travel freely. This non-dual citizenship position also affects Norwegian citizens who are required by their own citizenship laws to give up their citizenship rights to the land of their birth, when they have the need to apply for citizenship in another country. The 2005 changes in the citizenship laws do therefore not serve the interests of Norwegian citizens who might need citizenship to other lands to benefit from the economic and socio-cultural life in those countries. The authors concluded that strict adherence of Norway to a single citizenship and renunciation of citizenship policies may not protect the interests of Norwegians both home and away.

To sum up, the two chronicles question the Norwegian government's stand on dual citizenship, and the consequence for Norway's integrity as a progressive and democratic country. The Norwegian citizenship law seems to be going in a direction opposite to the present world trend. Forfang (2013) is of the view that the Norwegian citizenship law is outmoded and has lost its basic principle and function, and is also difficult to implement. Sagmo & Erdal (2013), share similar views with Forfang (2013) adding that, the law only serves to tighten the chances of immigrants to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Sagmo and Erdal also expressed the views that those against the dual citizenship do it out of fear for the stranger, and wonder whether holding two passports makes one a lesser citizen. According to my interpretation of these two articles, it is clear that based on their arguments, their emphasis is on the desire for a dual citizenship legislation in Norway.



CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL RESOURCES

3.1 Introduction

In order to discuss the main findings effectively, there is the need to define some of the key concepts and present some literature of relevance for understanding the research problem. I label the theoretical views and concepts as theoretical resources in this thesis. I have decided to present theoretical resources, some of which will not be actively used in the discussion, but are still very important for the general understanding of the thesis. The chapter is divided into two sections; one that provides a presentation of some of the concepts in use, and then go on to present in more details the literature and theoretical ideas of relevance to this thesis.

I present the second selected theoretical resources of relevance for general understanding of the research theme and problem. By theoretical resources, I mean theoretical conceptions and literature of relevance for my research problem that seeks an understanding of the experiences of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway.

3.1.1 Nation-state

The term nation state can be confusing, as the two words nation and state seem to coincide. However, the nation state may be viewed as a state that derives its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity. A nation state may be understood as a political/geopolitical entity or a cultural/and ethnic one. According to Castles and Miller (2009), the formation of nation states took place at different times, in different parts of the world, and have now become the dominant form of state organization.

3.1.2 Citizenship

Citizenship is about people with a common descent, language and culture. According to International law it is up to each nation-state to determine its citizens according to its laws. (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). Soysal (2000, p. 5) considers citizenship as the individual's source of rights and duties in a nation-state. The only condition for international recognition of citizenship is when the person has a genuine link with the state and respects the self

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

determination of other states. Faist & Gerdes (2008, p. 4) pointed out that there can be restrictions to citizenship rights when the nation-states become parties to international agreements.

3.1.3 Dual citizenship

An individual has a dual citizenship when the person combines citizenship of two nation-states (Faist & Gerdes, 2004, p. 4). For Faist and Gerdes (2004), an individual can in principle have more than two or what they referred to as multiple/plural citizenship. The right to grant immigrants dual citizenship is a prerogative of every sovereign nation state, and people are generally entitled to only one nationality. Dual citizenship was regarded as a “potential catalyst for treason, espionage and other subversive activities toward the countries involved” (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 5). According to Thomas and Jürgen (2008), states adhere to the iron law of losing one’s original citizenship as the price for adopting another. Citizens who naturalize to become citizens of another state therefore risk expatriation. Faist & Gerdes, (2008) pointed out that at that time dual citizenship was a thing to avoid. They added that dual citizenship is presently receiving increasing tolerance and many policy makers have problems dealing with it (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 4). This calls for concrete laws from nation states who are confronted with the phenomenon of dual citizenship (Faist & Gerdes, 2008).

3.1.4 Migration

Migration is the generic name for the concepts emigration and immigration, which means moving out and moving into a country respectively. One country’s emigrants are therefore another country’s immigrants. The concept migration is not new despite the fact that the practice is vibrant in the present generation (Castles & Miller, 2009). The point is that human beings have always migrated in the search for new opportunities. Others escape from poverty and yet others leave their countries of origin to avoid conflict or environmental degradation. In Europe, migration took a new turn in the beginning of the sixteenth century due mainly to their expansionist policy at that time. In the middle of the nineteenth century, many Europeans migrated to North America. Hatton and Williamson (1998) are of the view that international migration rate was then much higher than today’s and referred to what took place in this era as the age of mass migration. Transatlantic migration took place between 1850 and

1914 and the movements expanded sharply from the 1980s to involve all regions of the world. According to Castles & Miller (2009), the increase could be attributed to due to recent political and cultural changes. The authors were also of the view that the increase in migration was also as a result of the development of new transport and communication technologies.

3.1.5 Transnationalism

Transnationalism involves the movement of migrants across social fields where individuals and groups experience trans-border relations. According to Castles and Miller (2009), the “social and cultural identities of transnational communities transcend national boundaries which leads to multiple and differentiated forms of belonging”(Castles & Miller,2009.p45). Castles and Miller (2009), are of the view that transnationalism may have consequences for democratic institutions and political belonging. This is because the survival of democracy may depend on the extent to which immigrants with multiple identities are included in a global society.

3.1.6 Multiculturalism

The term emerged as an educational policy in USA as a way of recognizing past and present cultural diversity and promoting equality of all cultural traditions (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p. 127). Multiculturalism may be understood in terms of the feelings and experience of belonging to many cultures. It refers to the situation where membership of a political community is based on citizenship laws that include immigrants and allows them to keep their distinctive cultures. The laws should also permit the formation of ethnic communities based on the fact that they conform to national laws (Castles & Miller, 2009). Multiculturalism demands that citizens rethink the norms and values that are core to a society and is criticized for encouraging “divisiveness rather than unity by urging individuals to identify with their own category rather than with common elements” (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p.128).

3.1.7 Globalization

Roland Robertson coined the term globalization in 1992 as a way of “matching the issues of globalization to local contexts” (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p. 695). According to Macionis & Plummer (2005), globalization is a process by which local communities respond differently

to global changes. Globalization can be defined as the “widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” (Held et al., 1999, p. 2). It involves a rapid increase in cross-border flow of many things including finance, trade, democracy and good governance. Globalization also includes cultural and media products, environmental pollution and people. According Castells (1996), scientific and technological revolution, led by computerization, is central to the idea that globalization.

3.1.8 Diaspora

The concept diaspora “refers to the dispersal of a population from its “homeland” into other areas” (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p. 705). People who emigrate from their land to other lands can therefore be referred to as people in diaspora. In diaspora, “the past is invented for the present, and perpetually labored into shapes and meanings consistent with the present” (Soysal, 2000, p.2).” Diaspora exists as part of a broader scheme to insert continuity and coherence into life stories that are lost during the process of migration (Soysal, 2000). In the view of Soysal, diaspora involves the reification of categorical homelands, traditions, collective memories and formidable longings” (Soysal, 2000, p.2).

3.1.9 Discrimination

Discrimination may be understood as the preferential treatment of an individual or group of individuals by other members of society. It is therefore an act of making distinctions between people or things, based in the group, class or category to which that person or thing belongs.

3.1.10 Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the norm when “a particular culture is the basis for everyone’s reality ...” (Macionis & Plummer 2005, p. 119). It is “the practice of judging another culture by the standards of one’s own culture” (Ibid). Ethnocentrism is important if people are to attach themselves emotionally to their cultural systems. While it feels good to attach oneself emotionally to cultural understandings of one’s culture, ethnocentrism may generate misunderstanding and conflicts. (Macionis & Plummer 2005, p. 119).



3.1.11 Powerlessness

Powerlessness is the perception that the individual does not have the means to achieve his goals. According to Mathiesen (1982), an individual experiences powerlessness when the individual finds him or herself in a situation, he or she is unable to change due to lack of resources or opportunities to do so. This is to say that the individual does not have the resources to realize him or her interests. Individuals experience powerlessness also when they are unable to exercise counter-power to stop others who subject them to their exercise of force (Garsjø 2001). Individuals or groups of individuals who experience powerlessness lack the control to influence the situation of powerlessness. Hernes (2012) is of the view that the experience of powerlessness is often dependent on the structural arrangements and collective actions that individuals find themselves in.

3.1.12 Naturalization

It is a process whereby an immigrant becomes a full member of that community after acquiring citizenship. The process of naturalization involves therefore individual efforts from both the applicant and immigration authorities. Naturalization is a paradoxical concept, as it is difficult to say that a process that involves a tedious legal regulation is natural. What differentiates naturalization from other procedures is the emphasis on the application process. Immigration authorities thoroughly evaluate the application submitted by an applicant and makes sure the applicant meets the various conditions, before he or she is granted citizenship. At times, immigration authorities use their discretionary powers in decisions on naturalization. This means that a person can meet the entire necessary requirement but have the application rejected. Another way at looking at naturalization is seeing it as a legal process whereby an immigrant formally adopts the citizenship of the country of migration. It is not all immigrants who qualify for naturalization do apply for it. Even though there are limits on who can naturalize and under what condition, children or grandchildren born in the country of migration can naturalize. Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand are examples of countries that have low barriers for naturalization. The countries named above have histories of excluding some groups from naturalization, but presently rely on large-scale ongoing immigration to build their national populations (Brochman, 2002).

3.1.13 Identity

The concept of identity has engaged many social theorists including Richard Jenkins (2004) and Erving Goffman (1992). To Goffman, identity is how we see ourselves and also how other people views us. This implies that people can influence how we view ourselves, but this also depends on whether we accept others' impressions of us. In his book 'Social identity', Jenkins (2004, p.24) argued that "identifications are to be found and negotiated at their boundaries in the encounter between the internal and external". Social identification is therefore a product of internal and external dialectical processes (Ibid). For Jenkins (2004), what people think about us is equally important as what we think about ourselves. He is also of the view that identity must be validated by members of our social environment (Jenkins 1996, p. 21).

Jenkins (1996) categorized identity formation into two; nominal and virtual identities. Nominal identity is what one believes he or she is. It is therefore the label with which a person identifies him or herself. According to Jenkins (1996), nominal identity is what is ascribed. Ascribed identities may be understood as the identities others might impose on a person. Ascribed identities are determined at birth and which people have little control over. In other words, they are given by others. Examples of ascribed identity include, gender and age-defined identities 'which are rooted in very early social experience' (Jenkins, 1996, p. 142). Nationality is another example of ascribed or nominal identity.

Virtual identities on the other hand, are an individual's experience of his nominal identity. It is the experience of being. That is to say, the experiences of what or who we think we are or how we define yourself. Experiences as a voluntary member of a group or feelings of belongingness to a group can be an example of virtual identity. One can have numerous virtual identities connected to one nominal identity. For example one can have one nominal identity as an immigrant with different virtual identities in different situations such as non-citizen and a citizen.

3.2 Presentation of literature and debates

3.2.1 Introduction

In this section of the chapter on theoretical resources, I focus on the literature on citizenship and identity which constitute the theoretical base of the thesis. Apart from consulting books and journals in search of information on the topic from the Institute's library, I have also made use of the internet search engines including yahoo and googles, to identify articles and information on the research theme.

3.2.2 The Imperial, Folk/ethnic, Republican models of Citizenship and the Role of International Laws

There are ongoing debates on the need to expand the traditional conception of citizenship (Castles & Miller, 2009). The debates gave birth to the imperial, folk/ethnic and republican models of understanding the concept. The imperial model of citizenship bases on the ideology that one particular ethnic group or nationality is superior, and therefore has dominance over another (Castles & Miller, 2009). This is to say, one is a citizen of a nation because one is a subject of a ruler. According to Castles & Miller (2009), this way of understanding citizenship was in operation in the UK until 1981, when the nationality Act of 1981 created a modern type of citizenship.

Castles & Miller (2009 p.44) view the folk or ethnic model of citizenship as a "definition of belonging to the nation in terms of ethnicity". They argue that this model is about people with a common descent, language and culture. This also means exclusion of minorities, for example immigrants, from the membership of the nation. An example of a nation that came close to this conception of citizenship is Germany before the introduction of the new citizenship rules in 2000 (Castles & Miller, 2009).

The republican model on the other hand refers to people belonging to a political community based on a constitution and citizenship laws. Soysal (2000 p. 5) views this form of citizenship as characterized by "...a source of rights and duties of individuals in the nation state mode of

political community and is delimited by national collectivity.” According to the republican model, there is room for admitting law abiding and willing newcomers to adopt the national culture of the community. One can trace this assimilationist view back to the French and American revolutions. Castles & Miller (2009) identifies France as the most obvious current example.

International laws on Human rights are another important influence on the migration policies of nation states. Since the Second World War, international laws on human rights have influenced the kind of policies nation-states can implement in relation to refugees and immigrants. The Rights that were previously reserved for citizens of national states are expanded, to include individuals regardless of national affiliation. Immigrants, who are non-citizens, acquire new status based on residency, and not nationality. This implies that the non-citizens with new status can have the same civil and social rights without assimilation. Also, the individual immigrant’s position is strengthened at the expense of the sovereign nation state. Protection from international laws makes it possible for unwilling immigrants to avoid traditional ideas of integration, as their rights are not dependent on values and identities of the host nation. Simply, they are protected by human rights to reside in a host country without having ambitions to adapt culturally (Soysal, 2000).

3.2.3 Citizenship and Dual citizenship

In the article ‘Citizenship and Identity: living in the diasporas in post-war Europe’, Soysal (2000, p.5) defined citizenship as “a source of rights and duties of individuals in the nation-state mode of political community and is delimited by national collectivity.” This means that is an individual who legally resides, enjoy the rights, and meets the obligations of a country. Marshall (1950), also describes citizenship as legally binding ties between the state and the individual. While Marshall’s definition of citizenship is mainly legal or institutionalized relationship with the state, that of Soysal (2000) does not only make clear the legal relationship between an individual and a state, but also insinuates a “moral aspect. Citizenship is therefore has therefore a deeper meaning and value than just the institutional conception of it.

The concept of dual citizenship tightly linked to peoples’ understandings or perspectives of the term citizenship. This implies that what is defined as dual citizenship is depended on which side of the ‘citizenship perspective fence’ one is located. One may be located at the

side that sees citizenship as an instrument to make one's life better or the side that views citizenship as a moral obligation. On the instrumental side, one sees dual citizenship as less complicated, but for one who is at the moral side of the fence, citizenship may be more complicated and involves emotional ties associated with feelings "identity or belonging".

Soysal (2000) argued that the contemporary formation of citizenship is influenced by two paradoxes. Number one is the increasing decoupling of the two main components of citizenship, which are identities and rights. Number two is the growing tendency towards particularistic and group based claims and their legitimation through universal discourse of the human rights. According to Soysal (2000, p.5), the duties and rights that were associated with belonging to a certain national community have now become more associated with transnationalism.

Another author who has similar arguments as Soysal is Peter J. Spiro. He argued that the right to have dual citizenship is a human right that should be normalized and accepted. Dual citizenship or even multiple citizenship, he claims, "is justified through the freedom of association and liberal autonomy values" (Spiro, 2010, p.111). He argued also that dual citizenship was suppressed because of the historical conditions of the nineteenth centuries and the beginning of twentieth century. Historically, there have been conflicts and wars and that explains why dual citizenship was unacceptable to governments. Dual citizenship was unacceptable because of the need for "loyalty" from its citizens in a case of military conflict or I may say in the fear of military conflicts. According to Spiro (2010), there is no grounds for that fear anymore because military conflicts among liberal states are unlikely in today's world. This is to say that there are no more obstacles for legitimization of dual citizenship. Dual citizenship is therefore seen as a part of the individual freedoms and an important political right, under the human rights framework.

Authors like Brochman (2002) who is seen as one of the Norwegian experts in citizenship law echoes similar arguments about citizenship. In her article titled 'Statsborgerskap, medborgerskap og tilhørighet', which means in English 'Citizenship, denizen and belonging', Brochman states that citizenship policies regulate the acquisition and loss of citizenship in every country". For Brochman (2002), such policies are often in the citizenship or nationality laws of a land. She argued that the popularity of the discussion of citizenship in the international field of research is due to the social tension in our time. The tension is often between pluralism and equality, especially where states accommodate the ideas of individual

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

rights, social ties, identity and participation (Brochman, 2002, p. 4). Brochman (2002) argued that the tension generates important discussions in many welfare states where the discussions of citizenship touch on duality and formal rules constitute the basis for a good life.

In some countries, citizenship acts are enshrined in the constitution. The citizenship policy of a country often reflects the social conditions existing in the country. Such policies are built on the four principles that rights; include all citizens, they are equal for all citizens, and they are legally grounded. Last but not the least, all are entitled to rights to meet obligations (Brochman, 2002). Other similar models explain the citizenship and naturalization processes in Europe. The first is territorial, and referred to as 'Jus soli'. The model grants citizenship to immigrants based on birth in a territory (Brochman, 2002). The idea here is to grant citizenship to people who are most likely to live in the country, abide by the laws of the country and contribute economically to society.

France is an example of countries that use the 'Jus soli' model (Brochman, 2002). This policy made France engage in an offensive assimilation politics in relation to immigrants. Brochman argues that this form of policy involves active integration of immigrants since it entails adopting a very liberal naturalization policy as a tool for citizenship regardless of ethnicity and national origin. This implies that ethnic and cultural distinctions are not just encouraged. In addition, assimilation pressure is significant and to meet realities, there is a need for adjustments in policies.

The second is Jus Sanguinis and this is a "blood" or the inheritance related principle (Brochman, 2002). The model is based on parentage. According to Brochman (2002, p 8) "Nations that use this model grant citizenship to immigrants who could demonstrate that they have relatives in the country". This means that only those who have connection with the society through blood ties could seek citizenship. Brochman argue that the idea was based on the belief that the immigrants without blood relations in the country can never be proper citizens of the country, even if they wished. According to Brochman Germany is one of the countries that relied on the Jus Sanguinis model, the term "gastarbeiter", which may be understood as people who are mere labor power, reemphasize how they view and evaluate immigrants. For the Germans, the immigrants were only guests expected to return home, when they no longer needed their services (Brochman, 2002). Such immigrants have therefore certain social rights, but no citizenship rights. This model however came under attack when large numbers of immigrants settled in Germany. According to her this called for a number of

measures to facilitate adaptation of German immigrants (Brochman, 2002). In societies where "gastarbeiter" ideology exists, there is minimal pressure on immigrants to assimilate to the host society, rather there is room for cultural diversity. Limiting assimilation and granting cultural diversity is supposed to make a possible return to their countries of origin, unproblematic. According to Brochman the multicultural naturalization model is the third regime that was gradually developed in addition to the two classical regimes. The model was developed as an active naturalization approach since 1970, to grant citizenship to immigrants as part of an integration process. This third model is based on the premises that immigrants are here to stay and that inclusion of immigrants in society is a necessity. One author who used this model is Young. Young (1989) identified the multicultural model as universal citizenship. According to Young (1989: 250), universal citizenship is to ensure equality of rights and status that define 'citizenship for everyone, and everyone the same qua citizen'.

Sweden and Canada are two countries that make use of this model that emphasizes a liberal naturalization policy combined with openness for immigrants to retain their own traditions (Brochman, 2002). These countries do not subject their immigrants to assimilation against their wish. Norwegian immigration policies are categorized under this liberal naturalization regime. Even though the Norway allows multiculturalism, it has stricter requirements for its immigrants (Brochman, 2002). Norway therefore combines liberal naturalization policy with a policy that allows immigrants to retain their own traditions and avoid compulsory assimilation.

The naturalization policies for immigrants are also influenced by internationalization and the accompanying changing conditions of nation-states that were relatively sovereign. When nation states become members of international entities, this can lead to situations where their national decisions can be overruled. International entities often provide the framework within which national governments make their decisions. The extensive institutional arrangement of the European Union, for example, are not limited to member countries, but also affects non-member countries including Norway (Brochman, 2008). Migration is one of the areas that international entities have strongly influenced national decisions. A good example is the European Union's Schengen Agreement, which Norway is a signatory to, has affected the nation's ability to control immigration. The 2001 Agreement is to make the difference between EU countries and Norway less when it comes to immigration politics. Even though the national agencies still have the power to determine whom to reject, the European Union's

control regime is strengthened by the implementation of the Schengen system (Brochman, 2008).

Authors like Faist & Gerdes (2008) also addressed the issue of dual-citizenship using similar arguments in their article “Dual citizenship in the Age of mobility”. According to them, the question of whether dual citizenship should be allowed usually comes up when the discussions turns to be about integration of immigrants (Faist & Gerdes. 2008, p. 3). The discussion about dual-citizenship centered mainly on integration and loyalty to a nation-state. “This could be perceived as exclusive or viewed in European or global framework of human, civil and political rights” (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 3). According to Faist and Gerdes (2008) whether dual citizenship helps or hinders integration depends on how one defines integration and views the mutual relationship between naturalization and integration. They argued that one is bound to play a zero-sum game when ones view integration as exclusive loyalty of immigrants to only one state (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). This means you are either in or out. According to the two, this approach does not leave room for intermediate conditions.

In contrast, toleration or recognition of dual citizenship corresponds with an understanding of integration as a ”dynamic two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member states” (Faist & Gerdes 2008, p. 3). According to Faist and Gerdes (Ibid.), the first and the common basic principles of immigrants integration policy, agreed upon by the European Council in November 2004, states that: “Citizenship of the residence state should provide immigrants with a voice on an equal basis with native-born citizens” (Gerdes & Faist, 2008, p. 3). Quoting the European Council, Faist & Gerdes (2008, p. 4) noted that “if the participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures... supports their integration then it is argued that full political inclusion of immigrants is the paramount goal.” For the policy advocates, the European Union principles on immigrants integration tolerates dual citizenship and can be a tool for the promotion of naturalization and an instrument to close the gap between the resident and the voting populations (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). Faist & Gerdes are of the view that “those who are subject to the law should have the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process of implementing democratic rights” (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 4). The authors claim that granting the same political rights to immigrants and liberalizing the naturalization procedures are ways of achieving naturalization. Dual citizenship is therefore a major instruments for naturalization (Gerdes & Faist, 2008, p. 4).

Another major argument for dual citizenship is based on the fact that increasing tolerance of dual citizenship is embedded in the international laws, for example, rules for gender equality, combinations of rules for citizenship acquisition and finally considerations concerning immigrant integration. The argument here is that policymakers are bound to face the problem of how to deal with the issues of dual citizenship in the midst of international laws in the immediate future. This calls for explicit legislation (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 5).

According to Faist and Gerdes (2008), dual citizenship topic arises whenever a person is born within the territory of a country where the 'law of territoriality' or 'jus soli' holds, but whose parents are citizens of another country that observes the blood principle (jus sanguinis). They argued that the developments in gender equality under the citizenship law were the main legal mechanism for expanding dual citizenship. Historically, the citizenship status of women was entirely depended on husbands through marriage. Dual citizenship was made part of the citizenship laws in order to secure the rights of women to retain their own citizenship and also serve as protection for the families.

Out of fifteen European Union countries only six still require renunciation of previous citizenship. Even though the immigration laws of Spain, for example, demand renunciation of former citizenship, the country does not enforce or require proof of the actual loss of previous citizenship from applicants (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 6). Countries like the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Luxembourg, the renunciation requirement has a number of exceptions. For example, these countries allow dual citizenship when renunciations are legally impossible or extremely difficult and individuals with recognized refugee status may also have dual citizenship. These and other exceptions, according to Faist & Gerdes (2008) results in dual citizenship in 40 to 50 percent of all naturalization cases. According to Faist & Gerdes (Ibid) the situation varies in European countries that do not belong to the European Union. For example, Switzerland has tolerated dual citizenship of immigrants since early 1990, but Norway requires individuals to renounce their previous citizenship before they can become Norwegian citizens (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 6).

3.2.4 The benefits of dual citizenship

Dual citizenship has many benefits. According to Faist and Gerdes (2008) increasing tolerance for dual citizenship has strengthened the rights of expatriates. Expatriate were formerly excluded from political participation in their countries of origin, but can now vote

due to increasing extraterritorial voting rights. There are however some cases where external voting may have an impact on national elections, for example, in the case of Italy in 2006. The point is that the emigrants' countries face the challenge of the extent to which, and under which conditions they can allow this practice (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 6).

Some of the European countries that adopted the dual citizenship policies include France (1973), Portugal (1981) and Italy (1992). Some of Norway's neighbors for example Sweden (2001) and Finland have also joined the progressive nations that adopted the policy of dual citizenship. Faist & Gerdes (2008, p. 6) pointed out that it was the desire of the emigrants of these countries to retain their nationality that compelled their respective governments to take the bold step with respect to acceptance of the policy of dual citizenship .

Another major benefit of dual citizenship, according to Faist & Gerdes (2008), is that it is a means of increasing naturalization. Many immigrants who are eligible to acquire citizenship in a country but do not apply due mainly to the policy of renunciation. The naturalization rates of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands is said to have increased greatly between 1992 and 1997 due to the dual citizenship position of that country. However, the naturalization rates of their neighbors Germany was low as they did not accept dual citizenship (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 8). Similar trends in naturalization was experienced in Canada and USA that accept and do not accept dual citizenships respectively. The authors are of the view that even though immigrants of the United States know actions will not be taken against them they are restrained by the fact that the country does not approve of it. According to the two authors "Canada operates on another level and in contrast to the states". Although dual citizenship is valid officially in Canada, the ethnicity paradox or the practice of holding onto ethnic origins is what actually helps group members to become incorporated into the host polity or country (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 9).

The high value of political participation of immigrants is another factor that makes dual citizenship a beneficial policy. Non-citizens immigrants are often not represented especially when they lack the right to vote. A consequence is that those who represent them politically and those running for political office may not take their concerns seriously. This is simply because, the politicians cannot expect votes from them.

Dual citizenship depends on the legal framework of the host country in which an immigrants is residing, but has advantages of making immigrants stop worrying about work permit and

expulsion. It also grants immigrants access to public employment and decreases administrative difficulties. Dual citizenship has advantages also in the EU context as it clearly enhance the probability of socioeconomic integration. Since free movement without visa is tied to citizenship, dual citizenship allows for easy mobility within the European Union (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 9).

Faist and Gerdes (2008) are of the view that dual citizenship enhances transnational participation beyond the European Union. This is because dual citizens holders can travel freely across borders and this can enhance educational and employment opportunities (Pitkanen & Kalekin -Fishman 2007). With dual citizenship immigrants may enjoy privileged access to the territory and the economic sector of the countries of origin. In addition, they may not lose the privileges of retaining their rights to inheritance and property (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 10).

Another important argument is that a nation-state's acceptance of dual citizenship for immigrants means granting them recognition and strengthens the symbolic and emotional ties connected to immigration. Many migrants have emotional attachments, plural identifications, loyalties and other forms of involvements in two or more places across nation-state borders (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). When immigrants spend their time wondering about which citizenship they would keep or which to renounce, this may lead to experiences of emotional difficulties (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 10). The authors are of the view a state's acceptance of dual citizenship as a kind of official legitimization of their multicultural identity and a symbolic acknowledgement of their transnational living circumstances. Immigrants with dual citizenship can grow up within different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, nations and religions. Dual citizenship therefore enables immigrants to choose their own integration and also enhances their esteem and self-respect (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 10).

In a local context of participation and intercultural contacts, dual citizenship may also help natives to recognize immigrants as full and equal members of society. This can contribute to the reduction of discrimination and avoidance of situations of disrespect. The point is also that claims of citizenship status may help immigrants perceive themselves as competent and worthy members of society (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 11).

3.2.5 Dual citizenship – Counter arguments



There are many arguments leveled against the promotion of the dual citizenship policy. Faist & Gerdes (2008) pointed out that the arguments against dual citizenship for the nation-state are “real” but weak. According to them, some countries resist dual citizenship because of fear of the consequences of dual voting (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 12). This argument however is weakened by the benefits of having more people participating in the state where they reside. The authors argue that the issue of double voting seems overestimated because even if voting rights are exercised in two or more countries, the votes are casted in different elections and polities. The votes therefore counts only ones in each country, and not twice (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 12). One can therefore not talk about double voting in each country.

Faist & Gerdes (2008) identifies lack of integration as another major argument commonly used by states that do not cherish dual citizenship. These states draw on the patterns of failed integration, especially high unemployment rates, lower educational levels and their higher than average dependence on welfare among immigrants, as reasons for avoiding dual citizenship (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). In addition, the growing fear of Islamic fundamentalism especially after the bombings of 11th September 2001, is also used as empirical evidence against the policy of dual citizenship. However, the authors are of the view that there is no reasonable argument and no proof that dual citizenship contributes to spirals of non-integration, exclusion and segregation (Faist & Gerdes, 2008). It is worth adding that there are many law abiding and hardworking immigrants who meet their tax obligations to the state and are therefore highly integrated both socially and economically in their countries of residence. In any case, many host countries who have dual citizenship policies take measures to ensure integration of its immigrants. For example Netherlands have introduced stricter language and other integration requirements as a precondition for acquiring citizenship. Other European countries have established citizenship tests, which has also been in practice in the United States and Canada to ensure that those granted citizenship can be readily integrated (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 13). The examples imply that lack of integration is not a good enough reason for blocking dual citizenship rights of immigrants, as there are alternative ways of securing integration.

The third point the raised against dual citizenship is lack of loyalty to the nation-state. This argument focuses on immigrants who have lived in a country for many years and yet maintain social and symbolic ties to their home countries and express their wish to return to their lands of origin. While dominant groups in society view the desires to return home as the

immigrants' inability to identify with their country of residence, Faist & Gerdes argue that many of these immigrants do not return to the country of origin or engage in onward migration. The authors are also of the view that it is hard to believe that loyalty to the state of residence can only be enhanced without dual citizenship (Faist & Gerdes, 2008).

To conclude, despite some expressions of fear for dual citizenship, it leads to higher rates of naturalization and encourages overall social and political integration. It also enhances democratic legitimacy because it allows both the resident immigrant population and the rest of the general population to enjoy their common political rights. Dual citizenship promotes integration, regardless of whether the citizenship regime in the host country favors integration or not. For Faist & Gerdes, (2008), dual citizenship transcends exclusive policies in political communities and will continue to grow as new immigrants and their children strive to become full members of liberal democratic communities (Faist & Gerdes, 2008, p. 15).

3.2.6 Paradoxes in citizenship formations

The concept of citizenship involves multiple phenomena and is often used in contradictory and confusing ways (Brochman, 2002). Two paradoxes are crucial in understanding the contemporary formations of citizenship (Soysal 2000). Soysal (2000) identified one paradox associated with increasing decoupling of rights and identities. She pointed out that, regardless of historical and cultural ties, contemporary states engage in the practice of decoupling citizens from belonging to the national collective (Soysal, 2000). For example when Turkish immigrants in Berlin, press on Berlin's authority structures and participate in Berlin's public institutions demanding the teaching of Islam in state schools, this is a way of decoupling the immigrants from belonging to the collective national ideal for citizens (Soysal, 2000).

The second paradox of Soysal (2000) relates to how collective claims are made through mobilization. According to Soysal, it is also paradoxical when for example Pakistani immigrants in Britain mobilize around a Muslim identity, to pressurize the national government using universalistic language of "human rights" to justify their claims on teaching of Islam in local schools (Soysal, 2000). Soysal noted that, such trends complicate the national order of citizenship and introduces new dynamics for membership and participation in the public sphere (Soysal, 2000).

The paradoxes mentioned above, indicate that, the new forms of making citizenship claims are beyond the limiting and ethnically informed diaspora arrangements, transaction and belongings (Soysal, 2000). Four developments have implications for the institution of citizenship and notions of identity and rights, according to Soysal (2000). The first one is about the transformation of national and ethnic composition of European countries. This trend is due to massive migratory flows not only from the immediate European periphery, but also from distant lands, for example Ghana. Secondly, the intensification of transnational discourse and legal instruments, that codify "human rights" or personhood as a world level principle. The third is about the increasing legitimacy of the rights to indigenous culture and identity. This was the case after the redefinition of collective identity as a category of human rights. Soysal (2000) noted, that apart from massive decolonization, the works of the United Nations and the Council of Europe making the right indigenous culture and identity a reality (Soysal, 2000). Soysal (2000) presented diffusion of sovereignty as the fourth development that has paradoxical implications on national citizenship. With the increasing influence of international entities in citizenship legislations, it is becoming increasingly difficult for sovereign nations, to control fully citizenship decision making in their respective countries (Soysal, 2000).

3.3 Identity

3.3.1 Individual and Social Identities

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998), view identity as a means through which people care about and care for what is going on around them. The concept of identity relates closely to social identity (Jenkins 1996), even though there are some differences between the two concepts. According to Stets & Burke (2000), the differences are more in emphasis than in kind. Jenkins (1996) argues for example the concepts identity and social identity interchangeably to mean the latter. As Jenkins (1996, p. 5) explained, "human identities are in some sense and usually a stronger rather than a weaker sense social identities." (1996, p. 5). Another author who dealt with identity is Craib (1988). He is of the view that, "We all have a number of social identities which organize our relationships to other individual and groups within our social world".

Identity refers to how individuals evaluate themselves as unique individuals. Creppell (2003) views identities as the main sources of knowledge, expectations, commitments, obligations, and aesthetic experience. According to Creppell (2003), people form new identities, if former ways of aligning and understanding the self, does not give coherence and meaning. Identity is also about belonging, and what one has in common with some people (Weeks, 1991).

According to Layder (2004), individuals are unique despite the fact that their surroundings, society and social relationships have great influence on them. Individuals do not only react to life challenges, but also have the capacity to reflect differently to realities and experiences in life. Identity enables individuals to have our own unique take on the world (Layder, 2004).

Craib (1998) noted that identity is a way of experiencing the world and is socially constructed. For Craib (1988), experiencing the world involves reflexivity or revising our personal stories and reconstructing ourselves.

The definition of identity involves two ideas: the idea of absolute sameness and lasting distinctiveness (Craib, 1998). The idea of absolute sameness and lasting distinctiveness has to do with how members of society classify themselves into social groups. In other words, it is about how people come to see themselves as members of one category (the in-group) in comparison with another (the out-group) (Stets and Burke, 2000). As a member of one group, the individual associates him or herself with the in-group and not the out-group. When a person says 'I am a man, not a woman', this is to say that he has all things common to males in society. The person behaves as others in the group and sees things from the other's perspectives. Similarly, if a person says he or she is a Ghanaian and not a Norwegian, it implies that the person shares and behaves strictly according to the values and culture common to Ghanaians. A consequence of such categorizations, following Turner et al. (1987), is ethnocentrism, which may also lead to practices of discrimination. Also, this categorization may result in identity crises for people who are born to parents from two countries and may be in a constant liminal state of mind.

Brubaker & Cooper (2000) describe identity as an elastic concept, that has can be stretched to a point of meaninglessness. However, the authors the authors have identified two forms of identity; the strong version and weak version of identity. According to Brubaker & Cooper (2000), the strong version of identity is fundamental and this provides a sense of selfhood while the weak version form stresses fluidity, impermanence, complexity, context sensitivity of identities. The authors were of the view that the strong version has been eclipsed by the

weak version of identity. The weak version of identity states that individuals have multiple or hybrid identities or even a range of identities. The weak or postmodern view of identity is therefore important in understanding how immigrants identify with their countries of origin and their new country of residence.

Brubaker & Cooper (2000) noted that the process of making and claiming identities is now common. The authors pointed out further that, identities are not attributes that people have, rather what they do. It is therefore more useful to describe what people do rather than concentrating on “flattering rubric of identity (Ibid. p. 9). According to the Authors, it is better to describe what people do because it is difficult to reduce a person’s cognitive and emotional sense of who the person is, to a single process under the rubric of identity. (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). This thesis seeks to throw light on the situation of immigrants who operate with multiple identities and would therefore benefit from understandings of identity concept that is open, not constraining.

Social identity is a characteristic of humans as social beings (Jenkins, 1992). It is ‘our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people’s understanding of themselves and of others’ (Jenkins, 1996 p5).”Without frameworks for delineating social identity and identities. I would be the same as you and neither of us could relate to the other meaningfully or consistently without social identity, there is in fact no society” (Jenkins, 1996, p. 6).

According to Macionis and Plummer (2005, p. 175), social identity ‘serves as the social bridge in social life between human beings and wider culture.’ Jenkins (1996) is of the view that theorizing of social identity should include ‘the individually unique’, and the ‘collectively shared’ in equal measure. He differentiates between individual and collective identities claiming that individual identity emphasize ‘difference’ while collective identities emphasize ‘similarity’ (Jenkins, 1996). For Jenkins (1996), since social life is a prerequisite of identity, the reverse should also hold. The point is that individual identity is meaningless in isolation, since individuals construct selfhood socially through the processes of primary and secondary socialization. In other words, individual identity formation has its roots in the processes of socialization. Primary identities including selfhood, human-ness, gender and under some circumstances, kinship and ethnicity are examples of identities established early in life through the processes of primary socialization (Jenkins, 1996 p.21). Through socialization, individuals in society understand images of oneself as well as the synthesis of internal and

external definitions of oneself. Following Mead, Jenkins pointed out that we come to see ourselves as other people see us. According to Jenkins, the works of Coley (1962; 1964) and Mead (1934) contributed to the understanding of images of the self. Understanding of how we see ourselves and how others see us is important in this thesis, which highlights the views and experiences of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway who have little alternative than to make decisions that challenge their identities.

3.3.2 Citizenship and Identity - the conflicts

One of the most fundamental and challenging issues on citizenship and identity are concerns about group rights and their just distribution (Isin & Wood, 1999). According to Isin and Wood (1999), liberal democracy has brought western nation-states closer to justice than previously. The ideology of liberal democracy appeals to due process and rule of law, and emphasizes equality and participation for citizens. Discussions of forms of discrimination, oppression and misrecognition based on class, gender, race “ethnicity”, age and ability are central to the liberal democrats (Isin and Wood, 1999). To Isin and Wood (1999), the basic conflict between citizenship and identity arises from the conception that citizenship is universal, but identity is particular (Isin & Wood, 1999). Littleton (1996) described the conflict between citizenship and identity pointing out that people place more emphasis on identifying with particular social groups to fulfil their political aspirations, than working for universal rights for all members of the sovereign state in which they live. In other words, instead of doing their best to secure universal rights for all members of society, some people direct all their efforts at asserting the rights of their own group members (Littleton, 1996: 1). While citizenship signifies universal attachments, group identities are particularistic. Friedman (1989:61-62), observes that: “the weakening of former national identities and the emergence of new identities lead to the replacement of state-governed society with identities based on “primordial loyalties, ethnicity, race, local community, language and other culturally concrete forms.”

3.3.3 Human rights and citizenship

As stated earlier according to (Soysal, 1994), citizenship rights were increasingly modified as human or personhood rights after the Second World War. There were changes made in the rights that previously were associated with belonging in a national community. The community level rights increasingly became abstract, and this legitimated the emergence of

rights at the transnational level (Soysal, 1994). According to Michael Haas in his book "International human rights": the redefinition of rights and the emergence of new rights have changed the perspectives of citizens of a country about what is desirable and intolerable as civilized beings (Haas, 2008). When humans redefine their rights, policy makers must embrace and place the new rights in the public domain. For example, when citizenship rights change to make room for the right to dual-citizenship, this new right should be available to all, and not just some selected few. When only some and not all enjoy the new rights, this could constitute injustice. As Haas (2008) puts it "Institutions of governments are responsible both for protecting against abuse and injustice and for ensuring and facilitating human development, so when they act otherwise, the human rights project will end."

According to Haas, moral and legal rights are two forms of human rights. Moral rights are the ethical justification for setting up, maintaining, respecting and protecting individuals (Haas, 2008). The basic values that guide moral rights include autonomy, dignity and equality. According to Haas (2008), moral rights are established when one uses arguments to appeal for freedom and justice. The moral rights approach is a rationalist understanding of rights, in which rights are considered self-evidently imprescriptible (Haas, 2008.3-4p).

He argue that a legal right is an alternative form of rights that guarantees legal protection. It is therefore an institutional arrangement to protect the interests of citizens in a given society. Haas (2008) views legal rights as a positivist understanding of rights in which humans gain or lose rights depending upon the current state of the law. Individual exists only when state laws or judicial opinions say so (Haas, 2008). The point is also that rights presuppose obligations. The responsibilities and ability to live up to the responsibilities is often a way of redefining citizenship. For many Ghanaians immigrants in Norway, ability to meet for example, tax obligations in Norway, should also attract the enjoyment of increasing universal rights such as dual citizenship.

There is no consensus on the precise meaning of the term 'human rights' (Haas 2008). It can be defined as "The claim of individuals to enjoy a minimally restrictive yet optimal quality of life with liberty, equal justice before law, and an opportunity to fulfill basic cultural, economic and social needs" (Haas, 2008 p.4-5). They are therefore rights that individuals have as human beings.

Klug (2000) distinguishes three main waves of human rights. Wave one started in the late eighteenth century in the West against a background of totalitarianism and lack of religious freedom. The search was for liberty, justice and equality before the law. The French Declaration of Man and Citizen of 1789 and the US Declaration of Independence from British colonial rule are two examples. The task of this wave was freedom from state tyranny and religious persecutions. The second wave began “around the Second World War and an evolving United Nations (UN) (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p. 420). This was the time that international human rights treaties and declarations were enacted and enforced by international courts and other monitoring bodies. The focus was dignity, equality and community. The human rights document that has human dignity as its core value is enshrined in Universal Declaration of Human Rights and built in the UN Charter.

The third wave evolved around 1991, that is, getting to the end of the Cold War. This was also an era of increasing globalization and a millennium in search common values. Since mutuality and participation were the main targets, many countries initiated their own right programs and human right regimes. Non-governmental organizations evolved to take up the challenge of ensuring mutuality and participation in society. The third wave called for a new kind of citizenship labelled as the global citizenship, and begins with people’s daily lives. Global citizenship “is realized in collective action up to the level of the globe” (Albrow, 1996:177).

3.3.4 The trouble with citizenship rights

Even though there are frequent references to citizenship rights in contemporary politics, the issue of rights is not free of problems (Macionis & Plummer, 2005 p. 422). The authors identified the claim of universalism, unenforceable right claims and individual right talks, as some the main problems the limit the enjoyment of citizenship rights. According to the authors, when the UN adopted the classic Universal Declaration of Human Rights, most of the low-income societies were still under colonial rule. In addition, Western countries use human rights to justify intervention in other countries. Human rights are therefore often a universality of the privileged (Macionis & Plummer, 2005 p. 422). The point is also that, many of the rights claims do not appeal to people in many parts of the world. Some of these countries cannot simply afford to provide some of the rights to their citizens. Macionis and Plummer (2005, p. 422) explained, “even if there could be agreement, many right claims are almost completely unenforceable pragmatically.”

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

According to the authors, there are gross violation of the rights by both oppressors and liberators during liberation wars. Macionis and Plummer (2005) also pointed out that focus on rights is mostly on individual rights, not group rights. The point is that collective rights differ from individual rights. Macionis and Plummer (2005, p. 422), noted that, “human right theory traditionally has focused on the rights of the individual, independent of social groupings, and advocates for individual human rights seek redress mainly through the nation state system or through intergovernmental structures, such as the United Nations.” The authors continued that “The focus of collective human rights, on the other hand, is on the rights of social groups, and proponents seek to create an innovative framework independent of nation states to enhance and protect these rights” (Macionis & Plummer, 2005, p. 422).

3.4 Power and citizenship

The concept of power means different things to different people. While some people view power as a resource that individuals or groups possess and use to dominate or legitimate their authority, others view power as a positive force that people can employ in the fight against inequalities and secure their rights. Weber (1971) defined power as the ability of an individual or group of individuals to realize their own will in a communal action even against the will of other participants. In other words, power consists of the ability to get your own way even when others are opposed to it.

Luke (1974), proposed three dimensions of power; power in terms of decision-making, power in terms of non-decision making and power in shaping desires. Power in decision-making is the case when individuals or groups express different policy preferences from those of decision-makers and gain accept for their policies (Ibid.). Trade unions for example exercise power in decision making when they are able to make governments to follow policies that they suggest. Luke’s idea on power in non-decision making focuses on situations that individuals or groups of individuals try to prevent certain issues being discussed or taken up. Individuals or groups exercise power for example by preventing decision makers from considering alternative sources of action. This is also the case when individuals limit the range of decisions that decision makers want to take. Luke’s last face of power (shaping desires) is about manipulating the wishes and desires of social groups. This happens when for example individuals or group of individuals in society persuade other social group members to accept or desire a situation that may be harmful. Another example may be when immigrants are manipulated to accept their situation as people who do not deserve dual

citizenship even though this right is increasingly becoming the norm internationally, and is being enjoyed by others who are conversant with the inconsistencies in the citizenship laws of the state.

Parsons (1937) is another social theorist who provided an understanding of the concept power. For Parsons (1937), power is a resource in society or something that a whole society holds, not something that some hold at the expense of others. According to him, power is the ability to mobilize the resources of the society for the attainment of the societal goals. The amount of power in society has is therefore determined by the extent of achievement of collective goals. If politicians will promote social integration by promoting global citizenship rights, at the expense of particularistic state rights, the collective economic goals of a country that depend on immigrant labor can be attained.

The views on power above reveal that actors or a group of actors mostly exercises power. One can also understand the concept of power in terms of norms that create hierarchies and marginalisation in society. Schiefloe (2011) describes three main types of power: political, economic and ideological power. Political power takes the forms of laws, policies and formal decision-making systems. Political power is the ability to undertake legal force with the help of the legal system, police and the military. Economic power is about the distribution of material goods. It has with control over natural resources, means of production and capital. The ability to have control over or influence cultural elements for example language, knowledge, norms and values constitute ideological power (Schiefloe, 2011). Ideological power can constitute the basis for discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, disability, sexuality and other identities. These norms and values are often “internalised”, becoming part of the unconscious social patterns to which both powerful and powerless people conform.

In immigrant/state relationships, which this thesis is preoccupied with, an understanding of the concept of power and powerless is central. The state has the power to grant citizenship to immigrants. The majority has the full right or power to define the criteria for granting citizenship in democratic states. Members of the state who do not have citizenship rights therefore become second-class citizens, which may expose them to marginalization and exclusion from participation in many activities in mainstream society.



CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

This chapter highlights the social scientific base and the methodological approaches adopted for writing the thesis. It seeks to clarify what I am attempting to do, why I am doing it and how I am going to do it. It justifies therefore the choices made in the research. The chapter also presents the strategy for analysis of the generated data and outlines the quality concerns associated with the research. I use the term generation of data because the data is not just there for me to take. Rather, the information for the thesis is a product of my interaction with my informants on their views on citizenship and dual-citizenship.

4.1 The chosen approach

I chose an exploratory approach to seek and provide an understanding of the views of my informants. According to Bryman (2012), an exploratory approach is often chosen when the problem is neither well known nor clearly defined. As at present, there is no evidence of research on renunciation of citizenship and the need for dual-citizenship concerning Ghanaian immigrants living in Norway. The exploratory approach allowed me to gather adequate information to promote better understanding of the experiences of my informants on the phenomenon of migration and citizenship. Exploring the experiences of Ghanaian immigrants on the topic on citizenship policies of Norway invites the use of rich qualitative data or words rather than numbers (Bryman, 2012). In qualitative research tradition, researchers are concerned about interpretative understanding of the people under study. This should be done by closely listening and treating them as knowledgeable human beings, not merely as subjects of a study after seeking their informed consent (Silverman, 2006 p. 7).

The idea of qualitative research may be traced to Kant (1781) who argued that there are ways of knowing about the world other than direct observation. Kant proposed that perception

relates both to what we sense and how we interpret what the senses tell us. Knowledge is therefore about understanding and reflecting on what happens. The understandings, interpretations and reflections of both the researched and researchers are of primary importance in this research.

My epistemological stance is interpretivism (Bryman, 2012). Epistemological positions reject the appropriateness of the natural science approach in studying humans (Bryman, 2003:59). In this thesis, I am concerned about the ways of knowing and learning about how my informants understand and interpret their experiences regarding renunciation of citizenship and denial of dual-citizenship to some immigrants in Norway. The knowledge generated in this thesis ‘is based on induction, a ‘bottom-up’ process through which patterns are derived from observations of the world.’ (Ritchie et al. 2013, p. 6) This contrasts with the arguments of others that ‘knowledge is generated through deduction, a ‘top-down’ process where logically derived propositions or hypotheses are tested against observations’ (ibid.). My intention is not to identify one objective truth on the experiences of my informants. Rather, I am exploring knowledge on how the social world of the actors is influenced by the Norwegian immigration laws. In Norway, Ghanaian immigrants have to undergo renunciation of citizenship to their country of origin in order to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Also, the right that some immigrants have to hold dual citizenship in Norway, does not apply to Ghanaian immigrants. My perspective, following Bryman (2012), is therefore to capture perceptions, experiences and viewpoints of my informants on citizenship renunciation and non-dual citizenship. My data generation and interpretation is therefore based on subjective interpretation, which according to Bryman (2012) can only be found in the minds of my informants. Following Guba (1990), it is the essence of subjectivity that plays the key role in accessing the data in this thesis.

The ontological stance of the thesis is constructionism (Bryman, 2008) or what Guba (1990) labels as relativism. Ontology is about the nature of reality that the researcher wants to capture. In this thesis, it is the world view or the nature of the social world of the Ghanaian immigrants in Norway which is my focus. While some theorists are of the view that reality exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations, this thesis lends support to the view that social reality is shared or constructed. Constructionism depicts human knowledge as an outcome of human activity. In qualitative research, the aim of constructionism is to display “constructed realities of people in a particular setting, exploring their meanings and

explanations” (Ritchie et al. 2013, p.18). The realities captured in this thesis are subjective and multiple, and the findings may therefore not be absolute truths, but rather complicated and constantly changing truths (Guba, 1990). In this thesis, it is my informant’s truths at that time which were in focus. This research is therefore a search for multiple understanding of the various experiences of my informants or immigrants who have to live with immigration laws that can have different effects on them.

4.2 Research methods and techniques

Qualitative research techniques are used in this thesis which seeks to explore and understand the experiences of Ghanaian immigrants on the policies of renunciation and non-dual citizenship in Norway. The data generation techniques adopted in this thesis is qualitative individual and group interviews. Group interviews are less expensive and can provide a more comfortable research atmosphere for data generation. On the other hand, group interviews can serve to promote the views of the eloquent and powerful in the group. When used with other methods, group interviews can serve as a source of validation of generated data (Bryan 2012). In this thesis, the group interview with six members of an association of Ghanaian in Norway was to serve mainly as a test of the interview questions. This step enabled me to review the interview guide for the individual interviews by deleting less useful questions and including other questions that were necessary to strengthen data generation. Even though the thesis presents the generated data from the group interviews, the participants in the individual interviews also expressed similar views. Data from the participants of the group interview were therefore not actively used in the discussions.

I have also generated data directly and indirectly in interactions with individual informants using semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interview is a well-established method for gaining access into experiences of people. The strategy is useful in generating in-depth knowledge on a social phenomenon and facilitates the acquisition of rich and detailed answers from my informants (Bryman, 2012). The choice of semi-structured interviews in this thesis made the research process flexible, as there was room for asking follow up questions, which according to Bryman (2012), are necessary to acquire relevant data. My decision to conduct semi-structured interviews also stems from the fact that the research technique allows new themes like example “discrimination “to develop during interviews. According to Bryman (2012), the semi-structured interviews are important in researching themes that a researcher may not have prepared for prior to the interviews.

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

4.3 Informants and data generation process

The data generation process began with the engagement of six group interview participants and later eight individual interview informants to discuss their views and experiences on the renunciation and non-dual-citizenship policies of Norway. The chosen numbers of informants are in consonance with the recommendation of Polkinghorne (1989) that qualitative researchers engage between 5 and 25 informants who have experienced the phenomenon under study. My informants who are between 19 to 60 years old are all immigrants from Ghana who have lived for a number of years in Norway, and were confronted with the decision to renounce their citizenship before acquiring Norwegian citizenship. Apart from two participants (1 informant in the individual interviews & 1 informant in the group interview) who are still Ghanaian citizens, the rest have acquired Norwegian citizenship. In this thesis, the participants in the individual interviews are given the fictive names Ama, Amavi, Kwesi, Kwame, Kodzo, Kofi, Kwaku and Nana.

The first informant Ama is a lady of about 25 years old and came to Norway when she was 12 years old. She obtained her Norwegian citizenship after 8 years in the country.

Amavi is about 19 years old and she is my second informant. She is a student and a part-time worker. Amavi was born in Norway and live here. Kwesi is the third informant. He has been living in Norway since the late 1980s. Kodzo is the fourth informant who came to Norway in 1980s. Kwame is the fifth informant who came to Norway also around 1980s. Kofi is the sixth informant, also came to Norway in the 1980s. Kwaku is the seventh informant who came to Norway 10 years ago. He is a student and is yet to acquire the Norwegian citizenship. The last informant is Nana. He has been in the country since the late 1980s and has the Norwegian citizenship.

The participants of the group interview bear pseudonyms Abla, Adzo, Mensah, Akwasi, Kofi C. and Senyo. Abla presented herself and said, she has lived in Norway for many years and has the Norwegian citizenship. Adzo said she was half Ghanaian and half Nigerian and she has Norwegian citizenship. Mensah is the Chairman or president of the group and have lived in Norway since the middle of 1980s, and have the Norwegian citizenship. Akwasi said he is



the general secretary of the group and have lived in Norway for many years and has the Norwegian citizenship as well. Kofi C is responsible for the welfare of the members of the group and he also has the Norwegian citizenship. Senyo does not have the Norwegian citizenship but he lives and work in Norway.

The individual interview sessions were preceded by preparation of an interview guide which included questions directed at getting answers that are relevant for the research problem. The interview guide used for the individual interviews in this research has an open-ended nature. The use of open ended questions made it possible for my informants to express and interpret their experiences. It therefore enabled me to capture and utilize their rich and in-depth views (Bryman, 2012). The main questions for the group interview were also extracted from the interview guide. The questions discussed centered on their opinions on their Diaspora identity, experiences and feelings around renunciation of the Ghanaian citizenship, opinions about the citizenship laws of Norway and the need for a dual- citizenship policy between Ghana and Norway.

Finding informants who are willing to answer my questions on their citizenship was a very important stage in this research process. The snowball effect (Bryman, 2012) which involved being introduced to relevant informants by people that the researcher had previously been in contact with, was central in the process of engaging research informants. A contact with a member of the Ghanaian Association in Norway did set the ball rolling. I acquired written informed consent from the research participants after thoroughly explaining to them my reasons for conducting the research, how I intend to generate and use the generated data. Clearance was also sought to make use of tape recorders during the interview processes. Informants were assured that the information provided on tape will be destroyed after completing the thesis. The right to withdraw from the research at any stage was also communicated to the informants.

4.4 Locating and conducting the interviews

The group interview took place in a department building in Oslo with Ghanaian music at the background. The day chosen for the interview coincided with one of the monthly meetings of the group. It took the form of meeting where we all sat around the table. The leader of the group welcomed me and the other participants to the meeting. He also took the opportunity to remind the gathering about the reasons for my presence at their meeting. The leader then

asked me to lead the interview process, which involved a free discussion of the questions I asked them on their views about citizenship and dual citizenship. Before the main discussions, I asked general questions about the group, as a way of establishing the rapport. This might have cooled down possible tensions that might have been created due to my presence at their meeting for the first time. Even though I recorded the information during the discussions on tape as we earlier agreed on, I also took down notes during the process as a check on possible problems that might arise when information on the tape is not clear or in case the tape recorder develops a problem. This group interview session lasted one hour.

The individual interviews took place on both physical and virtual arena. Three of my informant's lives outside Oslo, but the remaining five live in Oslo. Some of my interviews with the informants living in Oslo took place in their respective offices. Other interviews were then conducted in various locations including a coffee shop and a hair dressing saloon. Interviews with the three informants who live outside Oslo took the form of video chat on Skype. The time and place for the respective interviews were coordinated via phone calls, Facebook message and with the use of mobile phone. English language which is the lingua franca in Ghana, and is spoken by most Ghanaians was used during interviews. The individual interviews which lasted between 30 to 60 minutes were also recorded on a tape recorder with the permission of my informants.

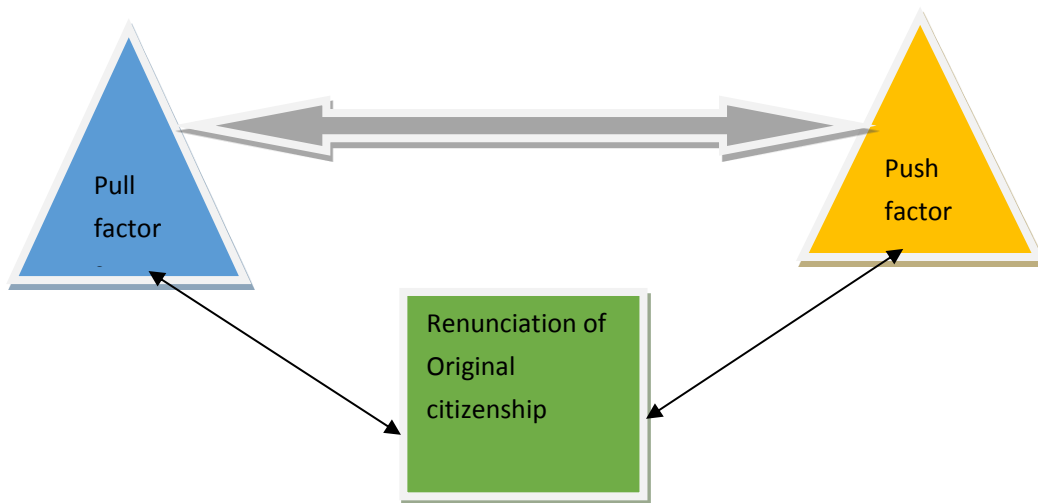
4.5 Strategy for systematizing of data and Models for data analysis and discussion

Systematization of the generated data started with transcription of recorded interviews. Each interview was transcribed word for word, with 'I' representing the interviewer and G1, G2, etc. representing the interviewee. I read the interviews many times before I re-organized the information into categories under the sub-headings; on Ghanaian and Norwegian citizenship, renunciation of citizenship and dual-citizenship. The categorization of data made it possible to have an overview of who said what with regards to the subheadings. These categorizations facilitated the emergence of analytical themes that paved the way for presentation and discussion of data.

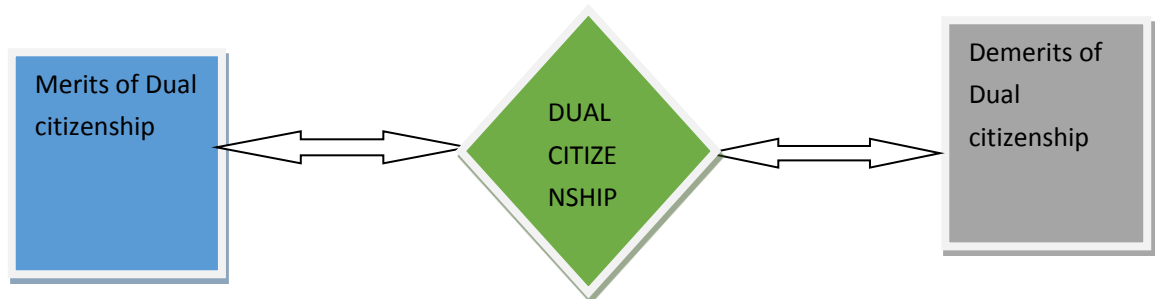
Two analytical models evolved and formed the basis for discussion of the thesis. These are the pull-push model for the analyzing the views on renunciation and the merit-demerit model for discussing the non-dual citizenship policies. The pull factors in this thesis are those the views that pull immigrants from accepting renunciation and the push factors are those that

push them to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship. The merits are the views that promote the desire for dual citizenship and the demerits are about the views that are not in appreciation of dual citizenship for Norway. The Models of Renunciation and Dual citizenship are illustrated in the figures below:

Model 1. The Pull – Push model



Model 2. The Merits-Demerits Model



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4.6 Methodological challenges and Research Credibility

According to Silverman (2005, p. 209), “unless you show your audience the procedures you used to ensure that your methods were reliable and your conclusions are valid, there is little point in aiming to conclude a research dissertation”. I do not intend to go into discussions of reliability and validity since some qualitative “researchers argue for different standards for judging the quality of a qualitative research” (Trochim, 2006, p. 3). I encountered some challenges during the process of writing the thesis. It is challenging to manage a research project that seeks knowledge on a topic that personally concerns me as a Ghanaian immigrant in Norway. As a Ghanaian immigrant, I have my own experiences and views on denunciation of citizenship and the non-dual-citizenship policies in Norway, which may have influenced the research process, including the processes of data generation and interpretation. Even though it was difficult to play a non-partisan role in a research in which I consider myself as an ‘insider’, my consciousness and reflections on my new role as a researcher, kept me focused on the experiences that my informants shared with me.

The choice of e-mail and Facebook as data generations tools was also challenging. The advantages of direct face to face interaction during data generation may be lost. The effective use of e-mail and Facebook tools in data generation meant doing all to avoid misunderstanding of the written questions I sent to my informants. The point is that written questions and answers may easily be misunderstood by informants and researchers, and can therefore lead to the generation of irrelevant data. This can have implications for the credibility as the use of unobtrusive tools like e-mail and Facebook make little room for instant correction of misunderstandings. Unobtrusive tools may helpful when researchers and the researched are guarded by commitment to their research process. When informants involved in a research process are introduced to the researcher by their friends, it is likely that the informants show commitment to the research process. This may take the form of leaving the virtual gates wide open and accessible to the researcher to follow up the interview when necessary. The possibility of getting back to my informants when information provided by them was unclear took care of the possible challenges and secured research credibility.



I have taken other steps to ensure the credibility in my research. I have involved informants who have experienced renunciation of citizenship and two who have not changed citizenship in the research. Even though the two do not have the Norwegian citizenship, they interact often with the other informants who have renounced their Ghanaian citizenship. The two informants however have important views to share on other aspects of the research problem, especially their reasons for not acquiring the Norwegian citizenship even though they are qualified to do so. Their participation is important to strengthen the views of the other informants on the consequences of citizenship change, and may therefore add to the credibility of the research findings.

The adoption of different forms of interviews made comparison of expressed views possible. In this research, comparing data from the individual interviews with group interviews served as a check on the generated data. The step taken to include both interview forms was therefore a way of securing research credibility. Avoidance of leading questions may also add to the credibility of a research. By making good use of the interview guide, I tried as much as possible to avoid what Bryman (2008) and other research methodologists may describe as asking leading questions. This step therefore made it possible for me to avoid generating a data that does not represent the real views of my informants.

Transparency was another key that opened the door for generating credible data. Following Silverman (2006, p. 282), I made sure that the approach, methods of data collection and analysis, and theories used are sufficiently described in relation to the research objectives. I also explained carefully the aims and objectives of the research to my informants before interviews took place. I assured them that their information is only for study purposes and taped information will be discarded after the examination. This was in a way to give my informants the security needed to provide credible information on the research problem. I also made sure I established the rapport using 'small talk' before going on with the main questions. This made it possible for me to engage the informants in a way that enabled them share their knowledge.



CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data generated from individual and group interviews for the discussion of my research problem: “*What are the views and experiences of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway on the policies of renunciation of former citizenship and non-dual citizenship?*” Even though narratives of the group interview members are presented, I have limited the further discussion of the data to the interviews of the eight individual informants. While this decision may limit the scope of the discussions, it is a conscious attempt to reduce the volume of work. In addition, the leader of the group interview was part of the informants who were interviewed individually. More importantly, most of the views of the individuals in the group are similar to the views of the eight individual informants. The group interview thus served as a check on the individual interviews. The data from my informants is presented in the form of narratives and encompasses views on their identities to Ghana and Norway, their experiences of losing Ghanaian citizenships, the effects that loss of Ghanaian citizenship has on them and informants’ views on dual citizenship. As indicated in the methods chapter, the fictive names Ama, Amavi, Kwesi, Kwame, Kodzo, Kofi, Kwaku and Nana are used in the presentation of data. The group interview members bare the pseudonyms Abla, Adzo, Mensah, Akwasi, Kofi C. and Senyo.

5.2 Informant narratives – Individual interviews

1. Ama

I have lived in Norway for 13 years and work in the department of health care and have the Norwegian citizenship. I had the opportunity to apply for the Norwegian citizenship after living here for 8 year but it was expensive and I couldn’t afford it in those days. Also, I didn’t want to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship, but because of some advice from people close to me and my Aunt, I decided to apply eventually. I have some family here and some family



back in Ghana and define myself as both Ghanaian and Norwegian, but I still feel more like a Ghanaian inside. I still cook Ghanaian food and also attend the Ghanaian church in Oslo. I feel Norwegian too. I work and interact with Norwegian friends. Seriously passport is passport, it doesn't change anything. It doesn't make me feel less Ghanaian. It is important to have the Norwegian passport especially because of the benefits like it makes it easier to travel outside Norway. Also, having the Norwegian citizenship gives a form of security and a lot of confidence to interact in the Norwegian society. For example, Norwegian citizenship makes it easier when applying for a job and school. On the other hand, I wanted to keep my Ghanaian passport you know? Because when you look at it you will see this picture from way back home and remember how it was to have that first passport. This passport picture means so much; it reminds me of where I come from. In my view, the renunciation of my Ghanaian citizenship as a condition for acquiring Norwegian citizenship law in Norway is bad, it is not fair. I wish they could consider changing this law, I am not here to stay forever, I would go back to Ghana one day, and will like to participate in things there. I wish I could keep my Ghanaian citizenship so when I go back it would help me. I haven't traveled to Ghana since I got my Norwegian citizenship. The thought of applying for visa to enter my own country is irritating.

2. Amavi

I am a 19 years old student and have a part-time work as assistant at my sister's African shop. I was born in Norway but my parents are from Ghana, so I am a second-generation Ghanaian immigrant and have automatically the Norwegian citizenship. Most of my family members live in Norway and most of my friends are Norwegians. So in a way Norway is all I know. I don't know, I have so much of Ghana in me so I don't define myself as Norwegian but I don't define myself as a Ghanaian either because I have a lot of new modern view points as Norwegian people do but I have a lot of tradition in me as well as the Ghanaian people. I think if I wasn't so divided between my Norwegian culture and Ghanaian culture and was leaning more to my Ghanaian culture I will be more affected by the renunciation. It would have been right to have both the Ghanaian and Norwegian citizenship. I have some of my family members in Ghana but no friends. At times, I visit my family in Ghana and then come back home to Norway again. I think the Norwegian non-dual citizenship rule is a bit blurry. We are being treated differently. Some immigrants are allowed to have the dual citizenship and we are not. This is discrimination. I also feel discrimination when I have find time to apply for my visa in Denmark before going to Ghana. You have to fill some forms when the



plane lands as well, and then you experience have the hassle of being an immigrant in your own country. Personally it doesn't bother me much, but my mother who was born and raised in Ghana seems to be a bit bothered by it. She seems emotional about that, but learns to live with it, every year she travels to Ghana. I am not personally bothered because at my age, I haven't thought about having a career in Ghana, or going back to live in Ghana. I could choose dual citizenship for Norway because I don't see any downsides with it. If I want to travel internationally and come by problems with my Ghanaian visa I can use my Norwegian passport. That's always an easy way to travel. If I want to have other job opportunities in Africa or in Ghana I can use my Ghanaian passport. So I think there are more advantages to have dual citizenship.

3. Kwesi

I have families in both Ghana and Norway. I have three children, two live here in Norway and the third lives in Ghana. One of the two boys who live in here has a Norwegian mother and the other has a Ghanaian mother. I came to Norway in 1988 and currently doing further university studies. I identify myself as both Ghanaian and Norwegian. I have spent exactly half of my life in Ghana and half here in Norway so I am a citizen of both countries. I also contribute to both countries. I realized that I think and feel more Ghanaian than a Norwegian. I always tell my friends that I discovered that I am a black person when I come to Norway. Before I came to Norway I just felt I was a human being, a Ghanaian and a member of the Ewe tribe, but when I came to Norway, I realized that oh after all I am a black person, you know? So I discovered my black identity in Norway. After living in Norway for all these years and going to school, I feel a sense of obligation to give back to the Norwegian society as well as to the Ghanaian society. I attended a university in Ghana before coming here, but in all I feel more Ghanaian. Despite the fact that officially speaking I am a Norwegian, and I have some loyalty to Norway, I tend to identify more to Ghana because of my experiences in Norway. I became a Norwegian citizenship in 2005. I could have done it earlier but renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship in order to have the Norwegian one was something I had to think about for many years. It wasn't easy. The Norwegian citizenship law is something I have been contemplating about. I think it is very discriminating, some have dual citizenship with Norway and some do not. If they have a reason for asking for renouncement of citizenship, it should apply for all. So I chose to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship because it



is required that if I want to have the Norwegian citizenship then I have to renounce the Ghanaian one. It is a requirement in the Norwegian citizenship Law. But one more reason why I acquired the Norwegian citizenship is that I wanted to participate more effectively in the Norwegian political process. Without the Norwegian citizenship, I cannot vote during the National elections and there are certain jobs I cannot really do. My final reason is that having the Norwegian citizenship also makes traveling easier when am traveling around the world. Renouncing the Ghanaian citizenship has effects on emotions, for example the process of applying for a visa to enter my own country. Also when I arrive in Ghana I have to join a queue for non-Ghanaians, meaning the queue of foreigners. It brings up some emotional issues, I mean you are a Ghanaian going to Ghana but you have to apply for a visa to enter your country feels like you are a stranger in your own country. I was in Ghana some time ago and needed to go to a clinic. When the people working at the clinic found out that I had the Norwegian passport, they increased my fee. I had to pay a fee for foreigners, which was more expensive. You know, that brought some mix emotions as well. Another crucial incident was a time I went to the passport office to issue and apply for passport for my daughter who lives in Ghana. They could not issue her the passport on the basis that even though I am the father I am no more a Ghanaian citizen. The passport was therefore issued on the basis of her mother being a Ghanaian. There was an official working there, who was even teasing me in a way saying you are no longer part of us, you have decided to renounce your citizenship so you are no longer part of us. This was not only humiliating but it felt very bad, it is almost like experiencing discrimination. It's not a good feeling. If I could choose I will choose dual citizenship for Norway. The Norwegians would also benefit from dual citizenship. Those of us who are Ghanaians in Diaspora understand the Ghanaian system you know, so we can always help Norwegians who want to do business in Ghana. We can tell them what to invest in so having dual citizenship can encourage this diaspora entrepreneurship. It's also important that we participate in the political process in Ghana. In Norway we live in or are living in a welfare state, a Western democracy and we have lots of experience that we can take back with us, so having dual citizenship is really good. And it will help Ghanaians to participate in both political systems. And I think dual citizenship can promote integration as well. There are a lot of Ghanaians who wouldn't want to renounce their Ghanaian citizenships because they don't care about what happens in Norway. They're not involved politically but then if we have the dual citizenship at least we have the chance to vote in the national election. And I think having dual-citizenship would benefit Norway too. Because if the Norwegian politicians know that there are a lot of Ghanaians in Norway who have dual citizenships and can vote,

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

they would be in a better position to take seriously the concerns of Africans or Ghanaian living here. We live in an era of globalization so, to be able to move across borders, I feel Norway will benefit more from dual citizenship. It is possible to have two loyalties, he said. I really want to have the Ghanaian citizenship I really want to participate in the political process in Ghana. I have been working many years in Norway and have a lot of experienced which I want my country Ghana to benefit from. Also I want to contribute to the development of Ghana but then I cannot do that if I don't have the Ghanaian citizenship. For example, I got information from Ghana that the president is going to start or set up a National Youth Authority and they might need my services, so now how am I going to do that? Although I am not a Ghanaian citizen on paper, I am a member of the Norwegian branch of NDC, a political party in Ghana, so that also creates some conflict within me. It's a bit challenging, I think back and I tell myself maybe I shouldn't have renounced my Ghanaian citizenship.

4. Kodzo

I have been living in Norway since 1987 and a leader of a Ghanaian Association in Oslo. I find it difficult to define myself. It is difficult to say whether I am a Norwegian or I am a Ghanaian. I can say I have spent half of my life time in Norway. So I can call myself more Norwegian than Ghanaian, but I am still a Ghanaian because as Bob Marley or Peter Tosh said, "no matter where you come from as long as you're a black man you are un African." I am a Ghanaian-Norwegian, but I don't hold a dual citizenship, no I don't. Well at the moment, if you ask me what nationality I have, I can say I am a Norwegian because I hold the Norwegian citizenship and a passport. I don't have a Ghanaian Passport therefore I am an African-Norwegian. I got my Norwegian citizenship around 1993-1994. In those days it was not a force that you have to renounce your citizenship. They only asked me to surrender my passport and that was it. We should have been fighting for our rights. In my opinion it is now that Norway is learning to be at the international level when it comes to politics compared to countries. Countries like USA, Canada and Australia have this dual citizenship program in their systems. But Norwegians doesn't accept it yet. The reason why I applied for the Norwegian Passport is that I married a Norwegian. There was a time we travelled together to Ghana with my Ghanaian passport. When the plane arrived at the Kotoka airport we were treated differently. She was treated as if she had a VIP passport, but I was scrutinized and delayed. When I was finally released to go my wife told me that it was too difficult to travel with me. I realised that I was going to face lots of problems anytime we travelled. When we came back from the holidays after that experience, I applied to change my passport to the



Norwegian passport so we can travel without complications even though I don't like the idea of applying for visa to enter my own country. When the government of Ghana introduced dual citizenship, it was for the benefits of many African Americans who traveling to Ghana for visit. It is to make easy for them to travel up and down without restrictions. I don't travel often to Ghana so the question of a dual citizenship is not very important for me. On the other hand, other members of my association who travel two times a year are very much for dual citizenship. Applying for the visa every time is big barrier to travelling and it doesn't make travelling effective. The majority is for dual citizenship, so I am in support of it. When I go to Ghana, as soon as I enter my country, Norway doesn't have any influence on me because I am back to my people, I am back to my roots, and nobody knows whether I am coming from Norway or USA or Canada. All they see is a Ghanaian. Therefore, no matter what the law says, they can pressure us to choose between the two countries about citizenship, but my identity is my identity, nobody can take it away from me, so as soon as you get together with your people you are one of them. A friend who travelled to Ghana and he got into a serious accident and went into a coma. He was admitted to the 37 military hospital bout 3 days, and one friend from Norway went to visit him. This man was in coma so nobody could talk to him, so fortunately, for him his friend put his hand in his pocket and found his Norwegian Id card and his insurance. He then called his insurance company in Norway and immediately they sent SOS for emergency doctors from the nearby country to rescue him. The insurance company also sent an ambulance from Norway to bring him back to Norway because as long as you are a Norwegian citizen when you enter Ghana and anything happens to you it is not the Ghanaian authority that is responsible for you, but the Norwegians. It is not very necessary for me to hold 2 passports, I can always apply for the visa, but it is good for those who are doing business and travel more frequently.

5. Kwame

I have been living in Norway since 1986. I have a dual citizenship which is at the moment not functioning. I have both the Ghanaian and the Norwegian passports but I can only use the Norwegian passport. My family is Norwegian, and since I have been here now for over 27 years, so I am practically Norwegian in a lot of ways. I am a Norwegian of course, but my ethnicity and culture and everything is still a Ghanaian but I think there is lots of Norwegian culture in me also. Technically, I am a Norwegian citizen but my culture and ethnicity haven't changed. When it comes to identity, I define myself as a Ghanaian, a Ghanaian living in Norway. I think I still have lots of strong ties to Ghana and my family and friends back in

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



Ghana. I also have strong ties to Norway because my family life and also my professional life are here. I haven't lost my Ghanaian citizenship. The circumstances under which I still maintain my Ghanaian citizenship, is that when I qualified for the Norwegian citizenship, the law says that in Norway you can't hold two citizenship, you have to renounce your original citizenship. But then there were some loopholes in the Law. If your country of origin for example Iran and Iraq does not accept renunciation then it does not apply to you. Another example is if your country of origin demands or asks you to pay more than 2000 Norwegian kroner or delay your application for renouncement of your citizenship, then the law doesn't apply to you. Therefore, if you can prove that your country is not willing to renounce your citizenship then you can have both. What happened in my situation is that I applied to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ghana for renouncement of my Ghanaian citizenship, but they took a long time to reply. When I didn't hear anything from them, the Norwegians asked me to find out what was happening. I then told them that I have applied for the renouncement of my citizenship but I have not heard anything from them for the past 6 months and they said ok, that is reasonable so you can keep the Ghanaian passport and we will give you the Norwegian one also. So I maintain my Ghanaian passport and received my Norwegian one. I was happy about that but actually it doesn't change anything. Since I became a Norwegian citizen, my Norwegian visa in my Ghana passport was cancelled. So I have only the Norwegian passport and so when am travelling to Ghana I still need to get a visa. The first time I travelled with my Ghanaian passport, I thought that I didn't need a visa to Ghana, since I had both passports. But when I was coming back to Norway from Ghana I still showed my Ghanaian passport at the airport, I was stopped and asked about my visa to Norway. I told the officer that it has been cancelled so he told me I cannot join the flight. I then told him I live in Norway and they demanded me to prove it. I showed them my driving license but not my passport. He then said I think you have a Norwegian passport so just show it to me. So I showed it, he said I don't have a Ghanaian visa in it so I should pay 100 dollars for the visa. That was an emotional situation for me. I refused to pay and informed them that I am a Ghanaian and I was actually on a mission in Ghana doing charity work at the Surgical Department of Korle-Bu hospital in Accra. They eventually allowed me to board the plane and I didn't pay, but from that day I always get the Ghanaian visa from Denmark or pay emergency visa fee of 100 dollars or 150 dollars at the airport whenever travelling to Ghana. Having to apply for visa every time I am travelling to Ghana makes me feel rather alienated. I don't like the fact that every time I travel to Ghana I have to pay for the visa. It is very painful for me. Sometimes it is very painful for me to when I send my passport to Denmark

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



for visa. I don't like it. It seems it is easier to have a Ghanaian passport when travelling to Ghana than a foreign one. When I travel to Ghana I want to feel at home, I don't want to feel like a foreigner. I don't even take malaria affiliates because I don't want to feel like a foreigner. There are lots of advantages in getting the dual citizenship. The issue of dual citizenship is about brain drain and brain gain because for example a lot of Ghanaians live outside Ghana. Many of these people are highly skilled and are still closely attached to Ghana. Ghana as a country benefits from it, and the individual also benefit from traveling to Ghana. Ours families still live there and we still send lots of money to them. The country takes advantage of our remittances and skills so I think the individuals should be allowed to travel to Ghana without the hassle of getting the visa which is not cheap anyway. If I look at it in a sense of transfer of resources and technology there is a lots of advantages both for country and individual. Dual citizenship also has limitations. You don't have the rights as a full citizen. I can't be president, a member of parliament, a director of an organization, an immigration chief and I can't be a chief justice in Ghana. I can't hold these so called sensitive positions because I also have a citizenship in another country. A new Patriotic party member of parliament in Ghana was actually jailed two year recently for having both Ghana and British passports. This because he was working in the parliament of Ghana and steel held the British passport. That's the kind of limitation that comes with a dual citizenship. I think the same benefits I talked about in Ghana also apply to Norway, but Norway is one of the richest countries in the world so they don't have the same brain drain and brain gain issues. Norway is not in the same position as Ghana so of course the advantages for Norway will be much more limited. That is why Norwegians will not be so eager to change the Law to allow dual citizenship. I think most people don't really want to renounce their citizenship from the country of their birth. I don't think they want to ...but they are compelled by circumstances to do that, so I was very happy when I found out that Ghana didn't want the renouncement of my citizenship. Double citizenship in Ghana means you can travel with this passport interchange as much as you want. When you talk about dual citizenship in Ghana, I think it means that you have just a stamp in your own Ghanaian passport that you are a Ghanaian citizen. With dual citizenship you cannot hold some positions in both countries so it is beneficial to have double citizenship than dual citizenship. Presently, I need to renew my Ghana passport to be able to register a business in Ghana, but it means hiding the fact that I have the Norwegian passport. I think for the individual and for the Ghana as country, the double citizenship could have been better so we can keep both. I think Ghana should also change their Law so that those of us living in the diaspora can get more benefits.

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



6. Kofi

I am married to a Norwegian and we have two children. I came to Norway in 1983, almost 30 years ago. When I am in Norway, I behave as a Norwegian. But of course I have the Ghanaian values I can use to organize my life in Norway. When I am in Ghana, I am a Ghanaian, but I have the Norwegian values as well for example of being time conscious. I am a dual person. Dual citizenship it has its advantages and disadvantages, but I believe that it is the prerogative of any state or national state to decide either to have it or not. The non-dual citizenship law we have here in Norway has a lot of disadvantages for me as a Ghanaian. For example, the emotional consequence of giving my Ghanaian passport away, and I don't get it back. However, there are disadvantages of traveling with my Ghanaian passport as well. Before I became a Norwegian citizen whenever I was traveling out of the country with my Norwegian students using my Ghanaian passport, I often experienced being held back at the airport by the immigration officers. My students will go through the check points without problems and will be wondering what was happening to their professor. On another occasion, something similar happened airport when I travelled with my wife and children. We were traveling together but they went through the checkpoints at the airport and everything went fine. When it came to my turn I was held back. My family was at the other side of the security fence and I was at the other. They were looking at me wondering what was happening to me. So to avoid such embarrassment I turned to the hard decision of giving away my passport. I lived in Norway for over ten years before my decision to renounce my citizenship and apply for the Norwegian citizenship. It wasn't easy giving away my former citizenship in the sense that I know I am a Ghanaian. I have the values of a Ghanaian, I have the color identity. I have a paper saying that I am not a Ghanaian and somehow the metaphysical values the intangible values that I have is sort of mixed up with the tangible value, that is my passport. Whenever I travel back to Ghana I am not classified as a Ghanaian. At the Ghana airport I have to stand in another queue on arrival with other foreigners. This awakes some emotional feeling and seeing people who keep looking at me as a foreigner. When it comes to the time for the immigration officer to look at my passport, different thoughts are run through my head like what is the officer thinking about me. I feel they may be judging me in one way or another because the passport says, I am Norwegian, but the name is Kofi. It also shows I was born in Ghana. I also felt they were thinking I run away when things were difficult and coming back to enjoy the fruits of their labor. I often had these thoughts especially when things were difficult in Ghana. I don't think my mum knows that I changed my identity, only those around me. I kept one document

though, that is my Ghanaian driving license. I keep on renewing it, it shows that yes, I am a Ghanaian. So even though I have my Norwegian license and my international license with me, I still use my Ghanaian license, because it is important to me. I will say yes to dual citizenship, I know some friends in the USA who have kept their Ghanaian identity that is the passport. I also know another person in Britain who chose to keep his Ghanaian passport. It is the prerogative of any state to grant the dual citizenship or not to do it. A good thing is that, we are living in a country that celebrates multiculturalism. So if you do celebrate that, one of the steps or key is to allow persons to keep their original identity and it also makes physical and psychological movements easier for them. It is possible to work in Norway as long as you have a resident permit and a working permit you can work and keep your identity. Meaning you don't have to renounce your citizenship. The fact that you have a Ghanaian passport doesn't prevent you from having a gainful employment in Norway, especially when your stay is regularized and you have a resident and working permit. Now governments are looking at relationships which are based on the volume of trade. With the Norwegian passport you can get visa on arrival in Tanzania and can also apply for permission to work there. Formerly Gambians didn't need visa to come here. So I think it's a question of relevance.

7. Kwaku

I am a Ghanaian currently doing university studies in Trondheim. I define myself as both Ghanaian and Norwegian because I have been here for about 10 years now. I see Norway as a part of me, but naturally, I am a Ghanaian. I was born in Ghana so I feel much more a Ghanaian. So I am a Ghanaian-Norwegian. I don't have the Norwegian citizenship. I keep postponing the application for it. Another reason is also the fact that I have to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship in order to apply for the Norwegian citizenship. That's something that I always have at the back of my head. The whole idea of renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship in order to have the Norwegian one makes me uninterested in applying for the Norwegian citizenship. Before I started studying, I was working and paying tax so I have been contributing to the Norwegian society. Therefore, I also think that I should have some rights and make my voice heard. For example through voting when there is election. But this is something I cannot do at the state level because I am not a Norwegian citizen. If I want to go for my quota in politics, I have to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship according to the Norwegian citizenship law. This is something I am not really willing to do. I think it's very unfair and frankly I may label the non-dual citizenship law in Norway as a form of



discrimination. The statistics shows that of all the people who were granted the Norwegian citizenship in 2010, about 52 % also have their original natural citizenship. So why is the same rule not applicable to Ghanaians? I also think that being able to have the Norwegian citizenship and my Ghanaian citizenship at the same time can enable me to integrate much more into the Norwegian society. I would be able to freely and really function as a Norwegian and help establish the link between Norway and Ghana when I finish school. But that's not possible for me because I can't have a dual citizenship in Norway, the home of the multicultural society. Kwaku also stated that he feels Norway will also benefit from allowing dual citizenship. If I was married to a Norwegian and I have a child, my child is a Norwegian but I would like my child also to identify with my country of origin. If it's on paper that the child is only Norwegian it will be on the mind of the child. So no matter how much I tried to make him or her believe that he or she has both identities, it will not have so much effect. However, if I have both citizenships, my child may automatically have both. That will mean a lot in the development of this child; how he or she sees and views both parts of who he or she is. Having on paper the fact that she or he is a Norwegian-Ghanaian, in my opinion is very important. If I could choose, I will definitely choose dual citizenship for Norway.

8. Nana

I have lived in Norway since 1988 and I have the Norwegian citizenship. I am also a Ghanaian by birth, so I consider myself as both, but if I have to choose between Ghana and Norway my support goes to Ghana. I remember Ghana played against Norway some years back and my feelings and support went straight to Ghana. Although my feelings went to Ghana, I was at the same time hoping the game will be a draw. I will always have some small feelings for Norway but Ghana is my home and it will always be. I didn't submit or renounce my Ghanaian citizenship because I wasn't asked to do so, but my Norwegian visa in my Ghanaian passport was cancelled. Even though I have the Ghanaian passport, it has expired and I have not renewed it because I knew that Norway doesn't allow dual citizenship. I tried using the two passports on a trip to Ghana, but was harassed by an officer of the Ghanaian immigration. From then I only use the Norwegian passport. The main problem I have after becoming a Norwegian citizen and using the Norwegian passport when travelling to Ghana is the issue of applying for a visa to go home. I am expected to fill a Visa form as non-Ghanaians do, before travelling to Ghana. It's not a good feeling at all, sometimes I feel like I am a stranger in my own home whenever I travel to Ghana. When I arrive at the airport in

Ghana the officers working there often ask me whether I have the Ghanaian passport and when I say no, they start scrutinizing your papers looking for faults. They at times asks whether I have obtained visa or whether my visa has expired. Even if the visa expired few days before departure they can be questioning you on that despite the fact that there are some few days grace period within which you can leave the country or renew the visa. It is quite embarrassing. Even though I live in Norway, I also contribute to the Ghanaian economy in the sense that I often send some money to my family members and my parents. If one person stays in Ghana to work and pay tax and the works abroad and sends foreign money to get Ghanaians out of poverty, then both should be seen as contributing to the country's economy. Apart from sending money I have initiated different projects in Ghana including an IT training which helps many children, to learn to use the computer. It is painful that one contributes to a country but can't be spared the troubles of going through visa formalities. Having dual citizenship will help solve our problems connected to travelling. It will especially minimize the emotional problems of Ghanaian-Norwegians who travel often to their homeland. It is also more beneficial for Norway to have dual citizenship with Ghana because when citizens are happy it is also to the benefit of the country. If citizens develop emotional problems due to the fact that they have to renounce the former citizenship, then that's not good for the country. So yes I believe it is beneficial for Norway that its citizens who want to have the dual citizenship are given the chance.

5.3 Informant narratives – group interviews

The discussions of the six participants of the group interviews based on issues of identity, renunciation and dual-citizenship are presented as follows:

On the question of identity, most of the participants in the group interviews expressed their strong feelings for Ghana, their country of origin. Abla pointed out that: "I love Ghana. For me I will never regret that I am from Ghana." Kofi C added that "But you know this citizenship is just a process, when I travel to Ghana I am a Ghanaian." Referring to Norwegian citizenship as something outside him, Senyo pointed out that, "... for my identity as a Ghanaian citizen, I have to clarify that what is within me is more powerful than what is outside of me I feel within me that I am more a Ghanaian." Senyo added that: "For now I will say I will like to be a Ghanaian ... It really never occurs to me that I need the Norwegian passport... But sometimes I feel I need it for traveling."

On experiences and feelings around renunciation of the Ghanaian citizenship and opinions about the citizenship Law in Norway, Abia said: “Before I renounced my Ghanaian citizenship, I didn’t know much about the Norwegian society, and now that I know I just regret that I renounce it. For me it was a disadvantage renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship and I don’t want a dual citizenship. “I would like to have my Ghanaian passport back”, she said. On his part, Mensah pointed out that: “I came here in 1985, during that time renunciation wasn’t a problem as it is today. Actually the Norwegian Law didn’t demand this from me”. “I haven’t had any disadvantages by renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship,” he added. Mensah continued that: “... the reason why I did it was because my wife and I once traveled to Ghana and I experienced that she was treated differently when we arrived at the airport” He said further that: “She went true the line at the customs checkpoint in Ghana so easily, but me the Ghanaian, it took me many hours ...I was treated differently and in a bad way because I was using the Ghanaian passport. They scrutinized me at the Ghanaian airport”. That made me feel like for me, having the Ghanaian passport was a disadvantage. Mensah added that: ... when I came back from Ghana after this experience, I applied for the Norwegian citizenship.” Mensah pointed out: “Since then, I have to apply for the visa before going home....but that doesn’t bother me applying for the visa he said.

Kofi C joined the conversation saying: “initially, I didn’t like the idea of renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship. He continued: “... when I got my Norwegian passport I realized that I haven’t lost anything. Kofi C explained that: “before when I was traveling to Ghana with my Ghanaian passport, I also felt I was treated differently ... I don’t really know why they have two lines, one for the indigenous and one for the foreigners ... I have to follow the one for foreigners and not the one for indigenous. Kofi C added: “when I used the Ghanaian passport, I had to follow the long line for the indigenous Ghanaians ... “it is a very long boring process”. According to Kofi C, “The picture I saw was clear, I am a Ghanaian entering my own country but the process was bad and I saw the foreigners’ line move much faster while the Ghanaian line stood still for many hours, so that is very unfortunate. Kofi C concluded that: “I don’t really understand why the process is like that. It wasn’t a good experience, so that is the real reason why I went for the Norwegian citizenship.”

According to Akwasi, “I qualified to apply for the Norwegian citizenship in 1996 but I didn’t apply until the year 2000.... I didn’t feel comfortable doing it.” Akwasi said, “It took a lot of persuasion from my family before I did. I didn’t feel the belongingness to the Norwegian

society at the time.” According to Akwasi, “actually when I went to the police station to collect my passport, the workers asked me again to renounce my Ghanaian passport, before collecting my Norwegian passport.” Akwasi added: “Although I knew before I applied, I wasn’t comfortable at all.” He continued saying that, “I nearly ended up in a fight with the police officer at the police station... I had to call the Ghana ambassador in Denmark for advice, but she told me Akwasi, you knew this before you applied.” Senyo also gave his reason for renouncing his Ghanaian citizen to acquire Norwegian citizenship. According to him “when I was traveling with my son, we had to remain in the line at the airport in Ghana because of me ... those with European passports just walked passed us ... so that was what affected my decision making.”

On the issue of dual citizenship policy between Ghana and Norway, Mensah started by saying “I has never occurred to me to apply for a dual citizenship. Anytime I traveled to Ghana I can stay there as much as I want.” I don’t thing about the citizenship law because in Ghana the laws are different but the actual facts is that it doesn’t affect me. Akwasi noted that: “well for me, dual citizenship is a good thing and a bad thing at the same time. According to Akwasi, “the matter is I consider myself ‘a political animal’ and want to do Ghanaian politics... I am presently blocked by this non-dual citizenship Law in Norway.”

Mensah said “But I can also recognize one positive thing about holding the Ghanaian passport too ... there was a time, when there was a problem in Libya and the Ghanaian government sent a plane to Libya, to get home all the Ghanaians living there. Mensah added: “That time, those who were not holding Ghanaian passport could not enter the plane.” Mensah concluded that: “as representatives of Ghanaian immigrants, we know that the majority of us want dual citizenship.” Kofi C also pointed out that: “Dual citizenship is a good thing, I will encourage anybody...70 % of people holding foreign passports are mostly holding it for travelling purposes. Senyo supported Kofi C’s point adding that: “...holding the Norwegian passport can make traveling easier ...but I would like the dual citizenship... that will be very nice so that it can answer my problems concerning my traveling. I will like to have both.



CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.4 Introduction

The discussion of the research problem “*What are the views and experiences of Ghanaian migrants in Norway on the policies on renunciation of former citizenship and non-dual citizenship?*” is the target of this chapter. The findings indicate that my informants are generally against renouncement of Ghanaian citizenship and see dual-citizenship as a way out of their frustrations. According to the generated data, the views of Ghanaian migrants in Norway on the Norwegian immigration policies of renunciation and non-dual citizenship can be understood severally. The data indicates that the informants have mixed views regarding their identity ties to Ghana and Norway. The informants expressed having very close identity ties to Ghana, the land of their origin. In addition, some informants expressed views of very close ties to Norway as some have lived in the country since birth. They seem therefore to have a more accommodating relation to their conception of where they belong even though their identifications to Ghana seem to outweigh what they have for Norway.

The very close identity ties to Ghana became the pull factor that accounted for the reluctance of many of the informants to renounce citizenship to their country of origin. The informants have also experienced discrimination in their own country of origin, which made the decision to renounce their citizenship less problematic. The discriminatory experiences they faced served as a push factor that facilitated renunciation of original citizenship.

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings, under two main policy categories using direct quotations from my informants and the theoretical resources presented earlier in the thesis. I will first discuss the views and experiences of our informants on renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship before moving on to their views of my informants on the Norwegian policy of non-dual-citizenship for some immigrants. The chapter will end with a summary of the discussions.

6.2 The views and experiences on the renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship in Norway

The generated data indicates that my informants have developed a strong resentment to the Norwegian renunciation policy. This finds expressions in the ways they criticized the principle of renunciation, and practically delayed renunciation of their Ghanaian citizenship.

My informants were critical of the Norwegian policy of renunciation of original citizenship before attaining Norwegian citizenship.

According to Ama:

“In my view, the renunciation of my Ghanaian citizenship as a condition for acquiring Norwegian citizenship ... is bad, it is not fair. I wish they could consider changing this law, I am not here to stay forever, I would go back to Ghana one day, and will like to participate in things there. I wish I could keep my Ghanaian citizenship so when I go back it would help me.”

Ama added that:

“I wish they could consider changing this law, I am not here to stay forever, I would go back to Ghana one day, and will like to participate in things there. I wish I could keep my Ghanaian citizenship so when I go back it would help me. I haven't traveled to Ghana since I got my Norwegian citizenship. The thought of applying for visa to enter my own country is irritating.”

As indicated above, my informants do not only view the citizenship renunciation principle of Norway as bad and unfair, but also irritating. Ama's description of the Norwegian renunciation policy as bad and unfair stems from the fact that the Norwegian citizenship laws

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

seems inconsistent, and allows some immigrants to keep their citizenship to their countries of origin, while others have to renounce theirs. Even though Norway has an anti-discrimination laws in place, the inconsistencies in the Norwegian citizenship laws which make it possible for some to keep citizenship from their countries of origin may create room for discrimination or preferential treatment and feelings of powerlessness. Our informant's feelings of irritation and discrimination due to powerlessness is embedded in what Hernes (2012) may describe as the structural arrangements and collective actions that individuals find themselves in. In a powerless situation as immigrants with minimal political rights, our informants could do nothing to influence the decisions on citizenship policies in Norway.

The experiences of discrimination and feelings of powerlessness of my informants are not minimized by the fact that their country of origin allows dual citizenship. The Ghanaian citizenship policy allows for dual citizenship and does therefore not expect its emigrants to renounce their citizenship when they acquire citizenship to another country with a similar citizenship policy. Ama's views on the principle of renunciation confirms that of Forfang (2013) that the Norwegian immigration law is outmoded and goes contrary to the trend in Europe today. Apart from the economic reasons Ama gave for not applying for Norwegian citizenship when she was qualified to, the bad feelings she had on the principle of renunciation, and the accompanying feelings of powerlessness, seems responsible for Ama's delay in acquiring Norwegian citizenship through renunciation. One may also view the inactions due to powerlessness experienced by immigrants as factors that pull them from readily accepting to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship.

Apart from feelings of powerlessness and experiences of discrimination, the renunciation policy could make one to question ones national identity or connection to ones country of origin. Following Faist and Gerdes (2008), this may have had emotional consequences for my informants. Kwesi pointed out that:

“Although I am not a Ghanaian citizen on paper, I am a member of the Norwegian branch of NDC, a political party in Ghana, so that also creates some conflict within me. It's a bit challenging, I think back and I tell myself maybe I shouldn't have renounced my Ghanaian citizenship.”

Kwesi made it clear that:

Renunciation of his Ghanaian citizenship was emotion laden, especially when he had to apply for a visa to enter his own country and whenever he arrived in Ghana and had to join a long queue for non-Ghanaians or the queue for foreigners. According to Kofi, these experiences made him “feel like you are a stranger in your own country.”

The practical and emotional consequences associated with renunciation made it difficult for Kwesi to apply for Norwegian citizenship. Even though Kwesi came to Norway in 1988, he finally applied for and became a Norwegian citizen in 2005. As he pointed out, “I could have done it earlier but renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship in order to have the Norwegian one was something I had to think about for many years. It wasn’t easy.” Like Kwesi, Kofi also lived in Norway for over ten years before his decision to renounce my citizenship and apply for the Norwegian citizenship. Even though Kwesi and Kofi finally applied for Norwegian citizenship, one can attribute the delays in acquiring the Norwegian citizenship to the discomfort they experienced as a result of the Norwegian principle of renunciation. This discomfort may have to do with the identity connection Kwesi and Kofi have to Ghana. The delays in applying for Norwegian citizenship is a clear sign of the fact that they care very much for their country of origin. Following Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998), their identity to their country of origin, which may be understood as a means through which people care about and care for what is going on around them, seemed intact.

Kwaku is another informant who commented on the renunciation policy of Norway. While other informants gave up their citizenship as Ghanaians Kwaku is still undecided on whether to renounce his Ghanaian citizenship. According to Kwaku,

“The whole idea of renouncing my Ghanaian citizenship in order to have the Norwegian one makes me uninterested in applying for the Norwegian citizenship. Before I started studying, I was working and paying tax so I have been contributing to the Norwegian society. Therefore, I also think that I should have some rights and make my voice heard. For example through voting when there is election. But this is something I cannot do at the state level because I am not a Norwegian citizen. If I want to go for my quota in politics, I have to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship according to the Norwegian citizenship law. This is something I am not really willing to do.”

Kwaku is yet to apply for Norwegian citizenship even though he has been living in the country over ten years and expresses the willingness to become a Norwegian citizen to be able to enjoy the political rights, and continue to meet his tax obligations to the Norwegian state.

Kwaku noted that he kept postponing the application for the Norwegian citizenship simply because of the renunciation principle of Norway. The disapproval or criticisms that my informants levelled against renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship earlier seems to have backed Kwaku's inaction or total disinterest in acquiring the Norwegian citizenship after living in the country for many years. Kwaku did not see the reason why he should be denied the right to participate in the Norwegian electoral process. Haas (2008) defined rights as claims of individuals "to enjoy a minimally restrictive yet optimal quality of life with liberty, equal justice before law, and an opportunity to fulfill basic cultural, economic and social needs". Since rights go with obligations, the rights of immigrants who meet their obligations, by working and paying taxes to governments, should be taken into consideration when nations, including Norway, plan or formulate their immigration policies. Operating with the old citizenship policy that seeks to exclude rather than include immigrants, in a global or postmodern era, Castles and Davidson (2000) argue, is being eroded in many countries in the world in favour of more inclusive approaches. The reluctance of some Ghanaian immigrants in Norway to renounce their original citizenship is but one way of registering their protest, that Norway needs a new citizenship policy devoid of renunciation. Since many people now belong at various levels to more than one society, a citizen policy that can take account of collective identities is what Norway needs.

Ama is one of my informants who also resisted the principle of renunciation for many years before finally bowing to internal pressure. Her disinterest for the policy of renunciation may have been behind her reluctance to effect renunciation in order to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Ama reported that it took years of persuasion from her family members to finally make up her mind to renounce her Ghanaian citizenship and acquire the Norwegian citizenship. According to Ama:

"I didn't want to renounce my Ghanaian citizenship, but because of some advice from people close to me and my Aunt, I decided to apply eventually."

Kwame shares a similar view pointing out that:

“I think most people don’t really want to renounce their citizenship from the country of their birth. I don’t think they want tobut they are compelled by circumstances to do that...”

The above information from Ama and Kwame confirms further that many of my informants had problems with the Norwegian policy of renunciation and had to wait for many years to reach the renunciation decision. While some informants including Kwame renounced their Ghanaian citizenship against their desires, Ama did so after persuasions.

One can understand further the criticisms and reluctance of my informants to renounce citizenship to their country of origin in terms of the pull-push factors. A central findings from discussed above indicates the role of identity as a pull factor which makes decisions to renounce citizenship very difficult. Identity is a pull factor because it is about belonging, and what one has in common with some people (Weeks, 1991). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) identified strong and weak forms of identity. The strong version is fundamental and provides a durable sense of selfhood. The weak version stresses fluidity, impermanence, complexity and context sensitivity of identities (Ibid). Kwesi is an informant who is presently a Norwegian with a stronger identity ties to Ghana. According to him:

“I identify myself as both Ghanaian and Norwegian. I have spent exactly half of my life in Ghana and half here in Norway so I am a citizen of both countries ... I realized that I think and feel more a Ghanaian than a Norwegian.”

The view of Kwesi that he is both Ghanaian and Norwegian, but feels more Ghanaian, indicates that, even though he operates with multiple identities which Brubaker & Cooper (2000) may describe as elastic, his ethnic identity feelings connected to Ghana seem to supersede his feelings of multiple identity. Even though closer identity ties to Ghana may have made renunciation difficult, having additional identity ties with another ethnic group may not have made the decision to renounce citizenship to ones country of origin easier. Kwesi’s situation as one with identities connected to two countries, even though the connection to Norway is weaker, might have also made it more difficult for him to take an early decision to renounce his Ghanaian citizenship soon after he was qualified to acquire the Norwegian citizenship.

Similar to Kwesi's views, the views of Kwame also point at how identity connection can act as a factor that pulls immigrants from making the difficult decision of renouncing their original citizenship. According to Kwame:

“Technically, I am a Norwegian citizen but my culture and ethnicity haven't changed. When it comes to identity, I define myself as a Ghanaian, a Ghanaian living in Norway. I think I still have lots of strong ties to Ghana and my family and friends back in Ghana.”

When Kwame says his culture and ethnicity has not changed, he is operating with what Jenkins (1996) labels as primary identities. According to Jenkins, primary identities, which includes feelings of ethnic belonging, is established early in life through the processes of primary socialization. When people acquire feelings of belonging through internalization, which is one of the processes of socialization, the conception of the self in relation to other group members is not easy to erase. Even though Kwame lives far from his country of origin, his expressions of ties to the land of his origin show that identity or the feelings of belonging does not erode with distance. It is therefore not strange that he still has strong ties with his country of origin. It was therefore a difficult task when it came to the time he had to renounce his Ghanaian citizenship to be able to acquire Norwegian citizenship. His inclination to Ghana served as a pull factor that delayed his decision to renounce his Ghanaian citizenship in order to acquire Norwegian citizenship.

Other identity related factors made renunciation on the part of my informants problematic. Many of my informants still have their relatives in Ghana and do still maintain activities that link them culturally to Ghana. According to Ama:

“I have some family here and some family back in Ghana and define myself as both Ghanaian and Norwegian, but I still feel more like a Ghanaian inside. I still cook Ghanaian food and also attend the Ghanaian church in Oslo”.

When informants narrate that they engage in cultural activities including cooking Ghanaian dishes and worshiping together with other Ghanaians, these are indications that their identity to their country of origin is intact and still strong. Some of the informants visit Ghana and often send remittances for the upkeep of their family members. Other Ghanaian immigrants join organizations for Ghanaians in Norway and travel to Ghana to render voluntary, but vital services to their land of origin, based on their areas of competence, as ways of maintaining

their bonds with the country of their origin. The close ties Kwame has to Ghana, which makes him, among others, travel frequently to Ghana to visit family and render voluntary medical services, when he takes time off his heavy schedule in Norway, seems also responsible for the difficulty he felt in deciding to renounced his Ghanaian citizenship. In other words, Kwame's frequent contact with his country of origin serve as an oil that lubricates his feelings of identity to Ghana and seems to have constituted the pull factor which made renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship difficult.

According to Sagmo & Erdal (2013), "giving up one's citizenship is to lose a part of one's identity." However, most of my informants still associate themselves with Ghana but feel compelled by circumstances beyond their control to renounce their citizenship to Ghana to be able to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Influenced by the pull factors associated with identity, some of the informants had to wait for a long time before taking the giant step. The decision to take the giant step of renouncing ones original citizenship however depends on the extent to which their identity ties to Ghana influence their thoughts and actions.

My informants expressed views on the merits of acquiring Norwegian citizenship and holding the Norwegian passport and the demerits of maintaining Ghanaian citizenship and holding the Ghanaian passport as important push factors that made it easier for them to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship. My informants emphasized the need to enjoy the benefits of holding the Norwegian passport especially when travelling outside Norway. Acquiring and holding the Norwegian citizenship and passport, according to some of the informants including Ama, makes travelling outside the country easier. This is so because immigration officers of many countries including Ghana in general respect holders of European and other passports from richer countries. For example Kodzo made it known that the Norwegian passport is highly valued or respected internationally than the Ghanaian passport. Using his personal experience Kodzo explained that:

"The reason why I applied for the Norwegian Passport is that I married a Norwegian. There was a time we travelled together to Ghana with my Ghanaian passport. When the plane arrived at the Kotoka airport, we were treated differently. She was treated as if she had a VIP passport, but I was scrutinized and delayed. When I was finally released to go my wife told me that it was too difficult to travel with me. I realised that I was going to face lots of problems anytime we travelled. When we came back from the holidays after that experience, I

applied to change my passport for the Norwegian passport so we can travel without complications even though I don't like the idea of applying for visa to enter my own country."

The information given by Kodzo may be understood in terms of discrimination, a process where individuals or groups of individuals receive preferential treatment from other individuals or groups of individuals. However, even though Kodzo views himself as a Ghanaian-Norwegian, experiencing discrimination or preferential treatment from members of his own country was a frustrating experience. It is likely that those that he viewed as his own people view and categorized him as the other, or rather the other who should be treated and valued less than those holding foreign passports. The discriminatory treatment that Kodzo suffered therefore pushed him finally into renouncing citizenship to land of his birth.

It is worth noting that Kodzo was not the only informant who received negative treatment at the hands of immigration officers at the Kotoka International airport in Accra, even though he was originally a citizen of Ghana. To emphasize, the way some immigrations officers treated some of my informants who visited their country of origin was therefore the last straw that facilitated their decision to renounce their Ghanaian citizenship.

My informants also mentioned security reasons as important push factors that made their final decision to renounce the citizenship to their country of origin easier. As Ama puts it:

"... having the Norwegian citizenship gives a form of security and a lot of confidence to interact in the Norwegian society." Some of the informants are of the view that as a Norwegian citizen the country has responsibility to ensure your security anywhere you go.

Kodzoz story on the a friend who got seriously sick in Ghana and was saved by his insurance company in Norway, is an example of the importance of security issues for decisions to renounce ones original citizenship to acquire Norwegian citizenship. Kodzoz story of the experiences of his friend emphasises the fact that citizenship goes with rights, in this case, the right to be feel secure anywhere one travels knowing very well that your new countrymen, women and institutional arrangements will ensure your safety.

The insurance company, according to Kodzo, sent an ambulance from Norway to bring his friend back to Norway, because his friend was Norwegian citizen with the rights to protection by the laws, including those that guide the operations of insurance companies. Haas (2008)

views rights as enjoyment of quality of life with liberty, equality before the law, and fulfillment of basic economic and sociocultural needs. When immigrants know that the national laws on insurance will protect their rights to security, compared to what to expect from their countries of origin, meeting their obligations to renounce their original citizenship may be frustrating, but worth undertaking.

To summarize, the Norwegian policy that requests that Ghanaian immigrants renounce their citizenship to the land of their origin in order to acquire Norwegian citizenship, seems to have many effects on them. Apart from having to cope with the undesirable situation of renunciation, the change of citizenship also exposes them to negative treatments from their former fellow citizens. Renunciation of original citizenship exposes them to what can be referred to as double discrimination. This is to say that Ghanaian immigrants in Norway, experience different treatments, both from the officials of their country of origin and in their new country of residence, especially when it comes to universal citizenship rights, including the right to retain citizenship to their country of origin. The situation my informants find themselves in, calls for action on the part of the Norwegian government to end the renunciation policy that may among other place Ghanaian immigrants in emotional disequilibrium.

6.3 Views of Ghanaians on the dual citizenship policy of Norway

My informants shared also mixed views on the non-dual citizenship policy of Norway and the possible effects that the policy has for Ghanaian immigrants. The views expressed by my informants about dual citizenship for Norway are both positive and negative. The discussions here are therefore structured around the merits and demerits associated with non-dual citizenship policy of Norway. The demerits of the non-dual-citizenship expressed by my informants to do with their practical experiences as a result of their inability to make use of their citizenship rights that exist in their countries of origin. The merits however centers on the advantages of having dual citizenship especially in terms of the benefits to both Norway and Ghana.

Kwame is one of the informants who had much to say about the non-dual citizen policy of Norway. Kwame for example blamed the discrimination he experienced at the hands of

people in authority in Ghana on the non-dual citizenship policy of Norway. Kwame, who had exemption from renouncing his citizenship to Ghana, but had his Norwegian visa in the Ghanaian passport canceled, had this to say:

“The first time I travelled with my Ghanaian passport, I thought that I didn’t need a visa to Ghana, since I had both passports. But when I was coming back to Norway from Ghana I still showed my Ghanaian passport at the airport, I was stopped and asked about my visa to Norway. I told the officer that it has been cancelled so he told me I cannot join the flight ...he said I don’t have a Ghanaian visa in [my Norwegian passport]...so I should pay 100 dollars for the visa.”

Kwame continued:

“That was an emotional situation for me. I refused to pay and informed them that I am a Ghanaian and I was actually on a mission in Ghana doing charity work at the Surgical Department of Korle-Bu hospital in Accra. They eventually allowed me to board the plane and I didn’t pay, but from that day I always get the Ghanaian visa from Denmark or pay emergency visa fee of 100 dollars or 150 dollars at the airport whenever travelling to Ghana. Having to apply for visa every time I am travelling to Ghana makes me feel rather alienated.”

Kofi also expressed his experiences without the right to dual citizenship. According to him,

“Before I became a Norwegian citizen whenever I was traveling out of the country with my Norwegian students using my Ghanaian passport, I often experienced being held back at the airport by the immigration officers. My students will go through the checkpoints without problems and will be wondering what was happening to their professor.”

Kofi pointed out further that:

“On another occasion, something similar happened at the airport when I travelled with my wife and children. We were traveling together but they went through the checkpoints at the airport and everything went fine. When it came to my turn, I was held back. My family was at the other side of the security fence and I was at the other. They were looking at me wondering what was happening to me. So to avoid such embarrassment I turned to the hard decision of giving away my passport.”

Kofi lamented on his experiences as an immigrant with no right to dual citizenship in Norway, pointing out that:

“Whenever I travel back to Ghana I am not classified as a Ghanaian. At the Ghana airport, I have to stand in another queue on arrival with other foreigners. This awakes some emotional feeling and seeing people who keep looking at me as a foreigner.”

Kofi continued:

“When it comes to the time for the immigration officer to look at my passport, different thoughts are run through my head like what is the officer thinking about me. I feel they may be judging me in one way or another because the passport says, I am Norwegian, but the name is Kofi. It also shows I was born in Ghana. I also felt they were thinking I run away when things were difficult and coming back to enjoy the fruits of their labor. I often had these thoughts especially when things were difficult in Ghana.”

A clear Norwegian policy that grants dual citizenship may have saved Kwame and Kofi from the situation in which he felt alienated, guilt, and embarrassed in their country of birth. This should have been avoided if the recommendations of the committee that was set up by the government of Norway to review the citizenship laws of Ghana, which Forfang (2013) wrote in his chronicle were taken seriously by the Norwegian Parliament. When fear for the unknown determines what immigration policies a country must adopt, this can negate the democratic and human right credentials of the country.

Other informants had similar experiences that Kwesi had in interaction with his ex-countrymen, as a result of their inability to enjoy the dual citizenship rights granted to citizens of their country of origin. According to Kwesi:

“I was in Ghana some time ago and needed to go to a clinic. When the people working at the clinic found out that I had the Norwegian passport, they increased my fee. I had to pay a fee for foreigners, which was more expensive. You know, that brought some mix emotions as well.”

Kwesi continued that:

“Another crucial incident was a time I went to the passport office to and apply for the Ghana passport for my daughter who lives in Ghana. They could not issue her the passport on the basis that even though I am the father I am no more a Ghanaian citizen. The passport was therefore issued on the basis of her mother being a Ghanaian.”

Kwesi lamented that:

“There was an official working there, who was even teasing me in a way saying you are no longer part of us, you have decided to renounce your citizenship so you are no longer part of us. This was not only humiliating but it felt very bad, it is almost like experiencing discrimination. It’s not a good feeling. If I could choose, I will choose dual citizenship for Norway.”

The information provided by Kwame and Kwesi above indicates how people who no longer have the citizenship to their countries of origin experience exclusion from the group of citizens and receive undesirable treatment, as if they no longer feel for or have the sense of belonging for their countries of origin. Following Littleton (1996: 1), the locals should be operating at the universal level and directing efforts at asserting the rights of their ex-countrymen. When locals operate at the individual level, this often leads to experiences of conflict between citizenship and identity (Ibid). The implication is that the locals may view the visiting ex-countrymen as incapable of managing their multiple identities and citizenships. Sagmo & Erdal (2013) are of the view that many people feel loyalty and attachment to many countries. Granting dual citizenship to immigrants in Norway including Ghanaians is a sure way of averting the citizenship/identity conflicts and various humiliating experiences that ex-countrymen encounter when visiting their countries of origin.

My informants had other views on the Norwegian stand on dual citizenship. According to Amavi:

“I think the Norwegian non-dual citizenship rule is a bit blurry. We are being treated differently. Some immigrants are allowed to have the dual citizenship and we are not. This is discrimination. I also feel discrimination when I have find time to apply for my visa in

Denmark before going to Ghana. You have to fill some forms when the plane lands as well, and then you experience have the hassle of being an immigrant in your own country.”

Amavi’s view that the non-dual citizenship policy of Norway is a blurry or hazy and indistinct is a good description of a policy that leaves loopholes to provide for some immigrants and leave out others. It is this indistinct nature of the policy that leads to the exclusion of some immigrants including Ghanaians. Forfang (2013) points out that about 50% of immigrants who apply for exemption from renunciation in order to hold two citizenships have their applications accepted. This exemption however, does not make it possible for the Ghanaian immigrant to enjoy the dual citizenship rights of Ghana. This is because Ghanaian immigrants who manage to make the Norwegian authorities to allow them to use the two passports face the challenge of getting the Ghanaian immigration authorities, to grant the dual citizenship card based on loopholes in the Norwegian citizenship laws.

Amavi was not only critical to non-dual citizenship stand of Norway, but sees a clear dual citizenship policy as an asset for all immigrants. According to her:

“I could choose dual citizenship for Norway because I don’t see any downsides with it. If I want to travel internationally and come by problems with my Ghanaian visa, I can use my Norwegian passport. It’s always an easy way to travel. If I want to have other job opportunities in Africa or in Ghana I can use my Ghanaian passport. So I think there are more advantages to have dual citizenship.”

While this view on traveling freely represents what is the general reason why many immigrants, especially those from unstable countries want dual citizenship, this understanding of why, for example, Norwegian immigrants seek dual citizenship, can only serve to paint a picture that natives of the host country do not have similar travel needs. This unidirectional view of who seeks and benefits from unrestrained travelling opportunities may also serve to blur the vital role that unrestricted travel can have for native Norwegian emigrants. Without the right to dual citizenship, an indigenous Norwegian international businessperson would have to give up his citizenship to his land of origin to be able to enjoy the benefits of living in another country of socio-economic interest to him or her. This, according to Forfang (2013), is unreasonable, and may thwart the efforts of adventurous Norwegians to explore opportunities in other countries.

Another important view expressed by my informants is that dual citizenship may benefit the people of both the original and host countries of an immigrant. According to Kwesi:

“... dual-citizenship may make it easier for them to contribute to both countries. If I could choose, I will choose dual citizenship for Norway. The Norwegians would also benefit from dual citizenship. Those of us who are Ghanaians in Diaspora understand the Ghanaian system you know, so we can always help Norwegians who wants to do business in Ghana.”

Kwesi continued:

“We can tell them what to invest in so having dual citizenship can encourage this diaspora entrepreneurship. It is also important that we participate in the political processes in Ghana. In Norway we live in or are living in a welfare state, a Western democracy and we have lots of experience that we can take back with us, so having dual citizenship is good.”

According to our informants, dual-citizenship may help neutralize the effects of brain drain on countries that the immigrants originated. Kwame is of the view that “the issue of dual citizenship is about brain drain and brain gain.” He added that many Ghanaian emigrants in Norway, are highly skilled people who have placed their skills at the disposal of Norway, but are eager to transfer acquired knowledge to their country of origin. Some of the informants including Kwame are in highly valued jobs in Norway and feel that dual citizenship may make it easier for them to visit and share their knowledge with people in their country of birth. As indicated earlier in this chapter, this category of Ghanaians offer their voluntary services to institutions in Ghana, but often face visa challenges each time they go on voluntary missions in Ghana. Norway is a democratic welfare state that grants scholarships to citizens of other countries on condition that they go back and render services to their countries of origin. While this Norwegian gesture is a laudable practice in check of brain drain, Norway’s efforts to provide scholars to bridge the knowledge gap may be incomplete, without making it possible for those who decide to stay in Norway to render their services without visa obstacles. This may make Norway in the forefront of countries that promote brain-gain, instead of the normal brain-drain where the immigrants’ native countries are depleted of the human resources.

It is not only knowledge that Ghanaian immigrants in Norway can contribute to their country of origin. Nana views dual-citizenship for Ghanaian immigrants as important, pointing out that:

“Even though I live in Norway, I also contribute to the Ghanaian economy in the sense that I often send some money to my family members and my parents. If one person stays in Ghana to work and pay tax and the other works abroad and sends foreign money to get Ghanaians out of poverty, then both should be seen as contributing to the country’s economy. Apart from sending money I have initiated different projects in Ghana including an IT training which helps many children, to learn to use the computer. It is painful that one contributes to a country but can’t be spared the troubles of going through visa formalities.”

Nana pointed out that:

“Having dual citizenship will help solve our problems connected to travelling. It will especially minimize the emotional problems of Ghanaian-Norwegians who travel often to their homeland. It is also more beneficial for Norway to have dual citizenship with Ghana because when citizens are happy it is also to the benefit of the country. If citizens develop emotional problems due to the fact that they have to renounce the former citizenship, then that’s not good for the country ...I believe it is beneficial for Norway that its citizens who want to have the dual citizenship are given the chance.”

Kwame also commented on the importance of facilitating travels to Ghana for Ghanaian immigrants in Norway through granting dual citizenship rights, as a tool for contributing to the economy and people of their country of origin. Kwame noted that the remittances of Ghanaians in diaspora in general is a great contribution to the Ghanaian economy. This means that Ghanaian emigrants deserve the right of exemption from visa applications and visa fees every time they plan to visit Ghana. With a clear dual citizenship law in Norway, its citizens who originate from Ghana can help close the poverty gap in their country of origin, which is also the main goal of the Norwegian welfare system.

For Kwesi:

“I think dual citizenship can promote integration as well. There are a lot of Ghanaians who wouldn’t want to renounce their Ghanaian citizenships because they don’t care about what

happens in Norway. They're not involved politically but then if we have the dual citizenship at least we have the chance to vote in the national election. And I think having dual-citizenship would benefit Norway too. Because if the Norwegian politicians know that there are a lot of Ghanaians in Norway who have dual citizenships and can vote, they would be in a better position to take seriously the concerns of Africans or Ghanaian living here."

This also means securing the democratic rights of the immigrants, including anti-discrimination, and this may promote integration and more also strengthen the democratic credentials of Norway.

Kwaku also stated that:

"Norwegian children with immigrant background will also benefit from dual citizenship. If it's on paper that the child is only Norwegian, it will be on the mind of the child. So no matter how much I tried to make him or her believe that he or she has both identities, it will not have so much effect."

Kwaku continued:

"... if I have both citizenships, my child may automatically have both. That will mean a lot in the development of this child; how he or she sees and views both parts of who he or she is. Having on paper the fact that she or he is a Norwegian-Ghanaian, in my opinion is very important. If I could choose, I will definitely choose dual citizenship for Norway."

The views of Kwaku above only seek to emphasise the importance dual citizenship and that the rights that children born to parents hailing from two countries should not be denied. Following Sagmo & Erdal (2013), many people feel loyalty and attachment to many countries, and children of parents from different countries should reserve the right to choose from the rights available to them as citizens of two countries.

My informants did not only present positive views about dual citizenship. Kwame for example had reservations about dual citizenship:

“Dual citizenship also has limitations. You don’t have the rights as a full citizen. I can’t be president, a member of parliament, a director of an organization, an immigration chief and I can’t be a chief justice in Ghana. I can’t hold these so called sensitive positions because I also have a citizenship in another country. A new Patriotic party member of parliament in Ghana was actually jailed two year recently for having both Ghana and British passports. This because he was working in the parliament of Ghana and still held the British passport. That’s the kind of limitation that comes with a dual citizenship.”

Kwame therefore feared losing his birth right, for example the right to stand for election and be elected to hold top public office in Ghana, due to the fact that dual citizenship will be eliminated, when Norway introduces a dual-citizenship policy that includes Ghanaian immigrants.

Kofi does not think that dual –citizenship is the best way out. As he succinctly pointed out:

“It is the prerogative of any state to grant the dual citizenship or not to do it. A good thing is that, we are living in a country that celebrates multiculturalism. So if you do celebrate that, one of the steps or key is to allow persons to keep their original identity and it also makes physical and psychological movements easier for them. It is possible to work in Norway as long as you have a resident permit and a working permit you can work and keep your identity. Meaning you don’t have to renounce your citizenship. The fact that you have a Ghanaian passport doesn’t prevent you from having a gainful employment in Norway, especially when your stay is regularized and you have a resident and working permit. Now governments are looking at relationships based on the volume of trade. With the Norwegian passport you can get visa on arrival in Tanzania and can also apply for permission to work there. Formerly Gambians didn’t need visa to come here.”

While Kofi’s tries to present a balanced argument, his views would only turn the global march towards dual citizenship backwards. The views of Forfang (2013) and other pro-dual citizenship fighters to stop the backward trend of the Norwegian migration and citizenship policies, will be in vain.

As mentioned above, my informants are mostly against the idea of renouncing their former citizenship to acquire the Norwegian citizenship. The renunciation policy has emotional and

practical consequences for Ghanaian immigrants especially when their feelings of identity to the country of their origin are tested by immigration officers at the airport and the fact that they have to acquire visa to enter the land of their origin. Ghanaian immigrants mostly view the act of renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship as a necessary evil, as having the Norwegian citizenship and holding the Norwegian passport is very advantageous, especially when travelling outside Norway. For Ghanaian immigrants who travelled a lot as part of their work and private schedules, remaining a Ghanaian citizen and holding the Ghanaian passport made life more difficult for them. Renouncing the Ghanaian citizenship and acquiring the Norwegian citizenship also has the advantage of securing the enjoyment of all rights due to Norwegian citizens.

To summarise:

1. Dual citizenship is increasingly becoming universal and Norway, which is a democratic welfare state need to be at the forefront of policies that can better the lots of fellow human beings.
2. There is the need for an unambiguous citizenship policy that provide immigrants including those from Ghana, the right to dual citizenship. This is important to make it easier for immigrants to share their knowledge and skills with members of their country of origin.
3. Dual citizenship rights is not only important for immigrants as native Norwegians can also capitalise on it to protect Norwegian interests abroad without losing citizenship to the country of their origin.
4. Dual citizenship can reduce the experiences of powerlessness by both Norwegian immigrants and emigrants.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis presents and discusses the views of my informants on the research problem “*What are the views and experiences of Ghanaian immigrant in Norway on the policy on renunciation of former citizenship and non-dual citizenship?*”

To answer the research problem, I posed the following questions:

What are the views of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway on their identities in the diaspora?

What are the views of Ghanaian immigrants on the non-dual-citizenship law in Norway?

What are the experiences of Ghanaians who have to renounce citizenship to their land of origin?

As stated earlier, the main goal of this thesis is to amplify the ongoing debate on dual citizenship with the focus being on a minority group in Norway, in this case the Ghanaians.

Even though the Norwegian citizenship policies of renunciation of citizenship and non-dual citizenship is based on the sovereign power of the state, may have been reasonable some time ago, the policies seem outmoded in this era, where globalization and international migration is the order of the day. This thesis is a qualitative study that seeks to understand and discuss the views of Ghanaian immigrants in Norway on the Norwegian citizenship principles of renunciation and non- dual citizenship. While Norway made attempts in 2005 to make exemptions to the rule of single citizenship, only citizens from countries who, for example, reject their former citizen’s application for renunciation could have the Norwegian citizenship in addition to that of their countries of origin.

The background information on migration in general and lists of the rules and application requirements were included to provide the background for understanding the thesis. The chapter was enriched by a presentation of two chronicles that highlighted the current debates

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism

on the topic. A number of concepts were defined, followed by other theoretical views and literature on citizenship and identity were then presented to inform understanding of the findings. While some of the concepts and theoretical views were mentioned in a passing, others were used more actively in the discussions. However, it is my view that the concepts that are mentioned in other sections of the thesis, but not actively used in the discussions section, are very important and needed to be included for the general understanding of the thesis.

The data generation process involved both individual and group semi-interviews. I made use of interview guides, the main questions centering on the views and experiences of my informants. Both virtual and face-to-face interviews strategies were adopted after acquiring written informed consent from my informants. My informants had the option to withdraw at any stage of the study. I then transcribed and systematized the generated data according to views of my informants on renunciation and dual citizenship.

I then presented the findings as narratives before subjecting them to thorough discussions. The findings indicate that my informants had many views and experiences to express on the research topic. Most of the informants seem to identify with both Ghana and Norway. However, many of the informants expressed that they have stronger bonds with Ghana. The findings revealed also that, even though Ghana grants dual citizenship, its emigrants in Norway could not access the dual citizenship rights that exists in their country of origin because Norway formally does not accept dual citizenship. Ghanaian immigrants who want to become Norwegian citizens have to renounce their original citizenship, this amidst frustrations and reluctance. Ghanaian immigrants in Norway who attained the Norwegian citizenship, based on the loopholes in the Norwegian citizen laws, cannot use their passports, as Ghana does not operate with legal loopholes in the citizenship law.

Although the Norwegian citizenship laws on renunciation, based on the state's sovereignty, may have been fallen on good grounds some time ago, it seems outmoded taking the European and global migration trends into consideration. The present Norwegian immigration policy seems to be contrary to its own politics of multiculturalism, meaning that all citizens have the right to enjoy freedom, equality and human rights.

The study reveals that Ghanaian immigrants are mostly against the idea of renouncing their former citizenship in order to acquire the Norwegian citizenship. The renunciation policy seems to have emotional and practical consequences for Ghanaian immigrants. This is especially so, when their feelings of identities to the country of their origin are tested by Ghanaian officials who treat them differently. The mere fact that they have to acquire visa to enter the land of their origin was emotionally challenging. Ghanaian migrants mostly view the act of renunciation of Ghanaian citizenship as unavoidable, as having the Norwegian citizenship and holding the Norwegian passport is very advantageous, especially when travelling outside Norway. For Ghanaian migrants who travelled a lot as part of their work and private schedules, remaining a Ghanaian citizen and holding the Ghanaian passport made life more difficult for them. Renouncing the Ghanaian citizenship and acquiring the Norwegian citizenship also has the advantage of securing the enjoyment of all rights due to Norwegian citizens.

My informants also favor dual citizenship as the solution to the problem of renunciation. Ghana grants dual citizenship to their emigrants only on the condition that the new country of the emigrant accepts dual citizenship. Norway does not accept dual citizenship but the law on citizenship is said to have loopholes that can be explored by some categories of immigrants to secure dual citizenship. On the other hand, it does not look like the embassies of Ghana are aware of the loopholes in the Norwegian immigration laws that make it possible for immigrants to hold Norwegian citizenship, based on certain conditions. The Ghanaian embassies therefore stick to the Norwegian laws, which in principle, does not allow dual citizenship. Ghanaian emigrants who apply to their embassies to be granted dual citizenship therefore have their applications rejected. This implies that, a Ghanaian immigrant who falls under the category of immigrants who acquired Norwegian citizenship based on the loopholes in the Norwegian immigration laws cannot be granted dual citizenship by Ghana. One cannot blame the Ghana embassies for rejecting dual citizenship to Ghanaian emigrants in Norway, since the embassies cannot operate with loopholes in laws, but rather, what the law clearly says.

According to Gerdes & Faist (2008, p. 3), “citizenship of the residence state should provide immigrants with a voice on an equal basis with native-born citizens.” There is therefore the need for a Norwegian immigration law that unconditionally grants dual citizenship to all



immigrants in Norway, if the rights for dual citizenship, which all Ghanaian emigrants are entitled to enjoy, can be secured and protected.

In my view, this study is an important one that has a potential for further research. A future nationwide research that includes migrants from other countries, this will keep up the debate on the principle of renunciation and the need for dual citizenship for all Norwegians.



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Appendices

Appendix 1: Recruitment letter

Researcher: Elli E. Kassah

The Norwegian School of Theology,

University institution (Religion, Society and global issues)

Master's thesis

10.09.2013

Dear informant,

My name is Elli E. Kassah, I am a Master student at Mf, Norwegian School of Theology. I am writing a thesis about the need for dual citizenship based on identity issues when it comes to Ghanaian immigrants living in Norway. This is a qualitative research study focused on the Ghanaian immigrants only. I want to find out the Ghanaians point of view concerning the Norwegian citizenship law about renunciation of the Ghanaian citizenship before acquiring the Norwegian citizenship, their experiences based on this transition, and their views on the Norwegian non dual citizenship law.

Since this thesis is based on qualitative interviews, I would like to interview you in order to be able to answers, the questions for this thesis. This interviews will last for 30 m to 1 hour but it depend on how much information you have as an informant. This interviews will be recorded on a voice recorder, so that I can able to transcribe the interview afterwards. Notes will also be taken during interviews. Finally the recordings will then be deleted after the thesis. As a Researcher having the duty of confidentiality, I insure you that you as my informant will be anonymized. I will not use your names but rather give you fictive names in the thesis.

-Participation is voluntary and I will also need signed informants consent for me to be able to use the data generated truth the interview.

Thank you so much for your time and participation

Keywords: Citizenship, dual citizenship, identity, renunciation policy, migration, human rights, multiculturalism, transnationalism



Elli E. Kassah/ God bless you

Appendix 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN NORWAY

- 1) How do you define yourself?, Ghanaian, Norwegian or both? Why?
- 2) How long have you lived in Norway?
- 3) Do you perceive yourself more Norwegian because of the Norwegian passport or Citizenship? If so ,how? and if not why?
- 4) What does it mean for you to have the Norwegian passport?
- 5) Does this affect your self- identity, if so how?

- 6) What are the pros and cones of having the Norwegian citizenship in Norway?
- 7) Are you aware of the non dual-citizenship rules of Norway, how did this effect you?
- 8) What are your thoughts about dual citizenship?
- 9) Why did you choose to renounced your Ghanaian citizenship?
- 10) What are your experiences of the renunciation of your Ghanaian citizenship? and how does the renouncement of citizenship affect your self-identity?
- 11) What are the consequences you face visiting or traveling to Ghana?
- 12) What are the pros and cones of not having the Ghanaian citizenship in Ghana?
- 13) What are your thoughts about dual citizenship?
- 14) Do you have any other thoughts about this issue?

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15) What kind of response do you reserve back home from your family concerning your renunciation of your Ghanaian citizenship?

16) How does it feel to apply for visa when traveling to Ghana?

17) How do you think other Ghanaians look at your choose to renounce your Ghanaian citizenship?

18) Which advice could you give to fellow Ghanaian in Norway which is facing this situation?

19) Would you like a change of law in Norway, which will allow dual-citizenship?

20) If yes, why? If no why?

Thank you for your assistance

/Elli E. Kassah