Home, Family and Gender in the Lives of Young Adults of Nigerian Descent in Ireland

by

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List of abbreviations

CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DJELR	Department of Justice, Equality, and Law Reform
DP	Direct Provision
INIS	Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service
MFMM	Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministry
MIPEX	Migrant Integration Policy Index
NCCRI	National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism
NESC	National Economic and Social Council
NPAR	National Action Plan Against Racism
OPMI	Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration
ORAC	Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
UNCRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
TIES	The Integration of the European Second Generation Survey

Abstract

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In comparison with other Western European countries, immigration in Ireland is a relatively recent phenomenon. The percentage of foreign-born residents increased from just 2 per cent in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2016. While the first generation of immigrants has attracted significant scholarly attention, little is known about the experiences of their offspring raised in Ireland. Most studies investigating the second generation have been conducted in countries with long traditions of immigration, particularly the US and Western Europe. Additionally, while the family unit is known to play a key role in migrant integration, there is still relatively little qualitative research on relations between generations in migrant households.

This thesis aims to address this gap by exploring intergenerational family relations in Nigerian households in Ireland. This study explores the role of the household in shaping the dynamics of children's interactions within wider society, while investigating how the host society influences family relations. Based on qualitative research, the study explores how Nigerian migrants and their children negotiate norms, expectations, but also values and identities. A particular focus is paid to gendered dynamics in the household; it explores how gender norms and behaviours are negotiated alongside other expectations.

This thesis draws from focus groups and in-depth interviews with young adults aged 18- 24 living in Ireland. It also engages the perspectives of parents, community leaders and youth workers to provide a comprehensive picture of the issues studied. The findings indicate that the household is one of the main sites of identity construction for the participants in this study. Parental stories and household activities become a source of knowledge about their ancestral homeland and at the same time, they allow for a better understanding and appreciation between generations.

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1   Introduction

1.1   Introduction

This thesis explores intergenerational family relations in Nigerian households in Ireland. Based on focus groups and interviews with young adults of Nigerian descent, their parents and community workers, it examines family relationships of the second generation in Ireland. This research contributes new and unique knowledge about the role of families in the lives of the second generation, with a particular focus on the gendered dimension of these dynamics.

This chapter introduces the main themes that are relevant to this research. It begins with an overview of the Irish context in which the research is located. This is followed by a brief review of related literature and by the rationale for this study. The next section lists the research questions, aims and objectives of this study as well as the contributions it aims to make to the existing body of literature. The final part outlines the following chapters.

1.2   Rationale and context of the study

Unlike many countries in Western Europe, Ireland was, until recently, a country of emigration. However, due to rapid economic developments in the early 1990s, it started to experience immigration on an unprecedented scale. As a result, the demographic profile of the country has changed drastically over the past 30 years, with the number of foreign residents in Ireland increasing from just 2 per cent in 1990 to 17.3 per cent in 2016 (Central Statistics Office, 2016). Since the 2008 economic recession, the growth of immigration has decreased. However, the society's cultural and ethnic make up continues to diversify; the number of Irish-born children with foreign-born parents grew from just 1 per cent in 2009 to 23 per cent in 2015 (Healthcare Pricing Office, 2017). The 2016 census shows that 19 percent of all young people aged 15-24 were born outside the Republic. The data also shows that among this age group, 2.9 percent of the respondents identify as Black or Black-Irish and 2.6 percent are Asian or Asian-Irish (Central Statistics Office, 2016).

The growth of migration attracted attention from scholars and led to the development of a significant body of literature (Fanning, 2018; Gilmartin, 2015, Krings et al., 2016). However, despite the increasing diversification of Irish society, most of the focus has remained on the foreign-born population, that is the first generation of migrants (see Fanning, 2018; Gilmartin, 2013). The scholarship defines as second generations children of migrant parents (King & Christou, 2009). As the second generation youths are already socialised in the host society, their experiences are different from those of their parents, but also from those of their peers with native-born parents. This study however also includes the experiences of the so called 1.5 generation, that is children who were born in their parents' country of origin, but migrated in early childhood and completed education already in the host country (Roh & Chang, 2020)

This study focuses on the experiences of young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. Most members of the Nigerian community arrived in the early 2000s, the majority as asylum seekers. Many of them have since secured legal status and settled in Ireland with their families (Fanning, 2018). Despite constituting only a fraction of the migrant population in Ireland, African migrants and particularly Nigerian migrants and their children were most salient in the debates around belonging, most notably in the discussions about the right to citizenship, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three (Ní Laoire et al., 2011).

Understanding the experiences of the second generation is considered crucial in ethnically diverse societies, as they are believed to link first generation migrants with the host society environment. Observing the integration trajectories of the second generation is also seen as a tool to measure long-term effects of integration policies. As in many European countries, the second generation comprises a significant proportion of the population that continues to increase, there is a growing body of scholarship examining their experiences. As a large part of the second generation in Europe is Muslim, the majority of research focuses on this cohort (Alba & Holdaway, 2013; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015). Research mostly examines the assimilation trajectories of the second generation, investigating how far the second generation adapts the norms and values of their host societies (Crul et al., 2012). The relations within migrant families have been, however, less focused on and migration

flows from Africa to Europe in particular need further examination (Cook & Waite, 2016).

To partially address this gap, this research focuses on second generation youths in the context of their families. Studies show that they rely on their families as a source of emotional, practical and material support (Ní Laoire et al., 2011). Families are considered key to the migration process, as they influence each stage of relocation, from the decision to migrate to the settlement in the destination country (Attias-Donfut & Cook, 2017). Though we tend to consider the family unit as limited to the confines of the household, the impact of family relations reaches significantly beyond the household – dynamics within the household influence experiences in school, employment, with peers etc. and vice versa- they can also shape household relations (Foner, 2009). The process of migration affects family members across borders and generations, including "those who left to come here, those family members who stayed in their countries, and those who come and go" (Falicov, 2007:158). Understanding the dynamics within migrant families can therefore provide a better understanding of the interactions of individual migrants and their offspring with the host society.

Migration reshapes family meanings and relations, with changes that can lead to work-life conflict, loss of extended kinship network, reshaping of gender roles, parenting challenges and changes in intergenerational relationships (Tafadzwa Mugadza et al., 2020). Relations in migrant households are thus different from those in families that do not migrate, as they are characterised by an "intricate tangle of attachments and divisions" (Foner, 2009:1). One of the key features of migrant households is the generational gap between parents and their children, as the latter are exposed to values and norms from the host society that might be contradictory with those in the household. As Zhou notes, a conflict between parents and their children both born and raised in the same country is a conflict between adults and adolescents, whereby in the cases of migrant families, the conflict is between two adult worlds: those of migrants and those of the larger society (in Foner, 2009). This can also lead to ambivalence among the parents who, on one hand, want children to integrate well into the host society, but on the other, want to maintain some values

and customs from their home country. Though achieving solidarity in these circumstances might be seen as more challenging than in non-migrant households, research highlights the existence of both conflict and cooperation (Attias-Donfut & Waite, 2012). Parenting practices and priorities can change post migration, but studies show that there are key parenting goals across cultures, including raising healthy, independent and respectful children (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2018; Perron, 2018).

1.3   Research aims and questions

This research initially stemmed from the need to address the gap in literature on the second generation in Ireland. Existing scholarship is mostly focused on first generation migrant children, whereby little is known about the experiences of the second generation, especially past childhood. Existing research is often focused on identity and belonging (McGarry, 2012; Yau, 2007), but less attention has been paid to the role of their families in these dynamics. When exploring the directions this study could take in the context of this existing body of literature, I have been motivated by the need to facilitate accurate representation of the second generation and their families. The study aims to provide a platform where young people can discuss their lives in the context of their families. To do so, this research draws on literature that, while recognising conflict in migrant families, highlights the coexistence of conflict and tensions with love and cooperation (Cook & Waite, 2016; Creese, 2016; Foner, 2009).

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the growing qualitative literature on the second generation by exploring intergenerational relationships of young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. This study explores the role of the household in shaping the dynamics of children's interactions within wider society while investigating how the host society influences family relations. Based on qualitative research, it aims to explore how Nigerian migrants and their children negotiate norms, expectations, but also values and identities. Particular focus is paid to gendered dynamics in the household and to the exploration of how gender norms and behaviours are negotiated alongside other expectations.

To achieve these aims, this study answers the following questions:

The main research question is:

How do second generation youths of Nigerian descent negotiate values, norms and expectations in their households?

This question will be answered with the following sub-questions:

- How do young adults of Nigerian descent negotiate and balance intergenerational relationships?
- How are gender norms and behaviours negotiated alongside other expectations?
- How is identity negotiated in this context?
- What is the role of the host society in influencing these negotiations?
- What role do transnational connections play in these negotiations?

Throughout this thesis, I explore various conceptualisations of home and household. Drawing on the feminist perspectives on home and on previous studies looking at migrant households, this thesis explores the meaning of home and its relevance in the lives of second generation youths. Here, the negotiations in migrant families do not occur in isolation, but are influenced by social, economic, political and cultural institutions and practices and thus any analysis must take those dynamics into account (Espiritu, 2001). This research examines the role of the second generation's transnational connections to their parental home country and how these influence their family relations. As the gender dimension is central to all aspects of our lives, not only regarding migration, but also our relations in households and identity-building, this research pays attention to the role of gender in these negotiations.

The study focuses on a group of young adults aged 18-24 who were either born in Ireland, or moved here in early childhood. A qualitative approach consisting of community consultations, focus groups and interviews was adopted. In total, 41 young adults participated in this research, of which 30 people in focus groups and 13 in individual interviews. In addition, I conducted 5 tape-recorded interviews with Nigerian parents and 10 with community workers and representatives.

This project is innovative in several aspects. Much of the research of the second generation is conducted in the US, with many of theoretical models of integration also analysed in the US context (Vermeulen, 2010). This includes some of the theories underpinning this research, like transnationalism (Brocket; 2020; Byng, 2017; Levitt, 2009). Majority of the research in Europe is conducted with focus on value acculturation of the second generation (Idema & Phalet; 2007; Kretschmer, 2018; Spierings, 2015). This study focuses instead on the processes occurring in the family, thus more on the level of emotions and associated meanings. Considering the relatively recent emergence of migration in Ireland, this research is especially relevant and contributes to a better understanding of the lives of the second generation growing up in the country. Ireland is also an interesting example due to its unique position in British colonialism (Garner, 2004) which led to particular dynamics of identity, belonging, but also othering, as will be discussed in the following chapters. This study also contributes to the growing literature on second generation youths by examining relations within the household with dynamics present in society and exploring how these interact. It adopts a transnational approach to study relations in the household, thus allowing to uncover the role of transnational connections on relations within the families.

Most studies looking at gender in the context of the household, particularly in relation to household division of labour, focus on first generation migrants (Haidinger, 2016; Kaspar, 2005; Torosyan & Gerber, 2016). The second generation is only considered in this context once they enter adulthood, with little research on their contribution during childhood (Hyams, 2003). This study addresses this gap and aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the involvement of second generation youths in the household, the expectations placed on them and their views of these dynamics. The participants in this study are all over 18 years of age and most of their accounts represent their reflections on their childhood and adolescence. This allows for more reflective perspectives as well as for an overview of changes and shifts in migrant families.

1.4   Thesis organisation

The thesis begins with a review of the literature on which this research is built. As the study is of interdisciplinary character, it draws on scholarship from multiple fields, with a focus on race, identity, family, migration and transnationalism. This chapter critically reviews approaches to the study of the second generation and migrant families in Europe, analysing a body of literature which is assimilationist in its approach and mostly quantitative. This is followed by review of qualitative studies on second generations and transnationalism in a bid to develop an alternative approach.

Chapter Three focuses on immigration in Ireland to contextualize the study by providing an overview of the environment in which the cohort subject to this study grew up. It outlines the main trends of immigration to Ireland, reviews the most relevant integration policies and includes an overview of the African community in Ireland, paying specific attention to the historic processes of racialisation due to the dynamics of colonialism in Ireland. The chapter also reviews up-to-date literature on second generation and minority ethnic youths in Ireland.

Chapter Four is dedicated to the methodology employed in this study. It outlines the ontological and epistemological considerations, grounding the study in a post-colonial feminist approach. These considerations aided the development of the research techniques employed in this study. The chapter then makes a case for the application of a qualitative approach with elements of participatory research. Research tools include focus groups and interviews with young people, community workers and parents. Particular attention is paid to the researcher's positionality and reflexivity throughout the research process. Positionality here is understood both methodologically, by positioning myself in the wider structures of power, but also in the context of individual interactions with research participants. The chapter includes a review of the choices made during the processes of transcription and data analysis. An outline of ethical considerations concludes the chapter.

Chapter Five is the first of three empirical chapters in this study. It examines how identity, intergenerational relations and feelings of belonging intersect. It explores

the meaning of the household and practices within the household in the construction and performance of identities among second generation youths. In this part, I also discuss transnational connections of Nigerian parents and their children and examine how they shape their family lives and individual identities. The chapter stresses the role of parents and households in the maintenance of ethnic identities among young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. By analysing the meaning of household for young people and their parents, this chapter provides context for the remainder of the thesis that further explores the connection between practices within household and identity.

Chapter Six focuses on the relations between family members in Nigerian households in Ireland and the meaning that they assign to those relations. This part outlines issues in the households that were most discussed by second generation youths. The chapter highlights the coexistence of solidarity and conflict in Nigerian households and points to the shifts that occur in intergenerational relations over time. Building on the previous chapter, it also outlines how some household practices and activities are seen by the respondents as ethnic markers. The final section discusses the influence of household negotiations on ethnic identities.

Chapter Seven is dedicated to the gendered dimension of household relations. Drawing on West & Zimmerman's (1987) model of 'doing gender', it explores how gender is 'done' in Nigerian households in Ireland. The chapter outlines the aspects that the respondents in this study found gendered in their households and their attitudes and strategies to address this. The chapter also explores gendered meaning of the household that was highlighted particularly by the female participants in the study.

The conclusion restates the main arguments of this thesis to answer the research questions. It links knowledge presented throughout the thesis to draw a comprehensive picture of the family lives of second generation young adults in Ireland. It highlights the multiple meanings and functions of the household and family for Nigerian youths that extend beyond relations between family members. The chapter also discusses the contributions and implications to knowledge presented

in this study, particularly in relation to challenging culturalist perspectives on second generations. It also calls for further research in Ireland on the second generation and on the experiences of their parents.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review empirical and theoretical literature underpinning this research and to situate it within the existing scholarship. This study investigates intergenerational relations in Nigerian households in Ireland and draws from multiple fields including family studies, migration, gender, intergenerational relationships, and transnationalism. As the lives and experiences of the second generation are deeply rooted in their family relations, this chapter reviews literature on family and related dynamics, such as intergenerational relations, conflict and solidarity between family members. The role of the families here is key as the early literature on migration not only assumed that men were always the pioneers of migration, whereby spouse and children were conceptualized as passive followers, but also ignored the role of family in the process of migration. It considered the individual as the main unit of analysis and understood migration as being primarily motivated by economic reasons (Kofman et al., 2011). With the incorporation of the gender perspective to the study of migration, the research increasingly recognised the role of families. This includes both families that are part of the migration journey and those staying behind, thus viewing the family as geographically dispersed networks (Boyd, 1989). As observed by Creese:

> Although migration scholarship often treats migrants as isolated individuals, immigrants are embedded in family relations; strategies of 'flexible' adaptation take place within household contexts (2011:149).

This chapter reviews how the existing literature has so far conceptualised migrants and their offspring in the context of family relations. To do so, it reviews both qualitative and quantitative research on the topic, critically analysing how the second generation and their families are positioned within in.

2.2   Family

2.2.1   Definition of family

Prior to exploring family dynamics in the context of migration, it is necessary to clarify the meaning, makeup and functions of the family unit. Families vary depending on the dynamics and interactions between their members. There is no single definition of family due to the diversity of ways in which they can exist (Muszel, 2013). Individuals can also define family and family membership in different ways; while for some, in line with the *nuclear family* paradigm, it is constituted of only the closest members, others include extended kin relations, friends and even pets in their conceptualisations (Munro & Munro, 2005). A definition of family by Leeder is sufficiently broad to encompass variations in the understanding of family composition: "a group of people who have intimate social relationships and have a history together" (2005: 25). A more specific definition by Mattessich & Hill can be also of benefit for the purpose of this project, as it provides features of families that are relevant in this research:

> Families are groups related by kinship, residence, or close emotional attachments and they display four systemic features- intimate interdependence, selective boundary maintenance, ability to adapt to change and maintain their identity over time (in Olatuyo & Omobowale, 2006:85).

Another concept relevant to this thesis is that of a household, which Casimir & Tobi define as "a single person or group of persons who share resources, activities and expenditures on a regular basis for a specified period of time" (2011:504). Leeder adds that:

> Households are places where people live together and share assets. Household implies common residence, economic cooperation, and socialisation of children (2005:27).

Families can form a household, although they not necessarily do so. Economic circumstances might lead families to live apart or to form two separate households because of migration. Their composition varies across the world; in some countries traditional heterosexual marriage organised by patrilineal and patriarchal lines is

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considered the organising unit of society (e.g., Egypt and Turkey); in other locations there is a mixture of recognised family compositions, including single-parent, cohabiting, extended families, same-sex couples (e.g. Ireland, Germany, Norway) (Roopnrine & Gielen, 2005). Family structures and relationships between family members are not static, but react to the external environment. The structure of the society influences the entity and role of the family. Thus, it "acts and reacts to the social, political, economic and environmental forces around it" (Leeder, 2005:2). As argued by Leeder:

> The family in the world is in process. Resilient, the family copes with the forces acting on it and adopts in an ongoing manner that makes it a highly elastic and changeable form (2005:2).

Nuclear families consist of one or two adults that live with their or adopted children. Nuclear families can be found everywhere, in Europe and North America are the main family form (Scanzoni, 2016). On the other hand, extended families are more prevalent in African societies and comprise of:

> persons of common lineage with combined nuclear families and the primary connection coming through the parent-child relationship (Leeder, 2005:27).

These families usually include a number of generations and they are considered to be connected by blood line between generations or siblings, whereas in nuclear families the ties rely more on emotional and love connections. There is an ongoing debate as to whether modernization unavoidably leads to the decomposition of families from extended to nuclear. In line with this argument, agricultural societies required extended family networks to work the land. The industrial age however shifted the family model to nuclear family, as they did not anymore rely on family networks (Scanzoni, 2016). On the other hand, evidence indicates that some families coming from societies with traditionally extended families seem to adapt to the nuclear form, but they often still rely on their extended networks (Leeder, 2005). In fact, in most societies there is a form of extended family, often comprising of kins living nearby that support each other (Roopnrine & Gielen, 2005).

Additionally, nuclear families are also undergoing changes, as they are no longer

limited to heterosexual married couples, and other forms of nuclear families are increasingly recognised in a number of countries, including Ireland, with the recognition of same sex marriage in 2015. While most families are to at least a certain extent still organised along patriarchal lines, where women are responsible for the dual shift of housework, this is also slowly changing. The increased equality in the household division of labour is stimulated by some of the recent social changes, like the decrease of the authoritarian family model and increase in women's participation in the labour force (Roopnrine & Gielen, 2005). Just in Ireland, this increased from only 20 per cent of women participating in the labour force in 1971 to 50 per cent in 2018 for women aged over 15 years (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019).

The composition and definition of the family may vary, but there are certain characteristics common to most. As argued by Leeder (2005:35) "the family is diverse in its structure but common in its basic functions". Firstly, it serves to procreate, secondly, it acts as an important agent of socialisation of children. The nature of this process depends largely on race, class, gender and ethnicity and is not limited to the childhood period, but spans over the lifetime of an individual. The family also fulfils the material and emotional needs of its members. For some, it is a site of refuge and self-growth. The family can also serve as a status provider; depending on cultural context, the family into which one is born can determine their rank in society (Leeder, 2005).

2.2.2   Conflict, solidarity and ambivalence in family relations

There is generally a distinction between 'intergenerational relations' and 'family relations', as the former can be used to describe not only relationships between generations in the family, but also more broadly in society. Similarly, 'family relations' can refer to relations within the family between members of the same generation. In this thesis, the terms 'family relations' and 'intergenerational relations' are used interchangeably, as intergenerational relations are discussed solely in the context of family and household, thus they have the same meaning here. Just like social structures influence the composition of a family, relations within the family change as they are impacted by societal factors such as economic

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restructuring, demographic changes and shifts in social norms. These changes lead to an increased diversity of attitudes and positions in the family, which consequently cause a variety of relations and attitudes in the household (Izuhara, 2010). The structures of society and the state can influence relations in the family. For example, welfare and caring for older parents are often defined by state policies; when there is no such infrastructure, these systems are established within the family, consequently impacting relations in the household. As argued by Finch:

> any government wishing to restrict public expenditure is likely to explore how family ties can be strengthened either explicitly or implicitly by defining such obligations (in Izuhara, 2010:4).

An important aspect of relations in the household is intergenerational solidarity, which is viewed as a key element of cohesion in family relations. It organises relationships between those who give and those who receive. Resources, either material or affectional, usually flow from those who have more to those in need (for example, from more affluent parents to children with less economic security). Family solidarity can be essential for well-being and support in situations like emigration (Katz & Lowenstein, 2010). In social research, families are often conceptualised either as places of peace and refuge or spaces of violence, abuse and anger (Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006). This is based on the belief that families are either characterised by high conflict or high solidarity. However, this dichotomous view has since been challenged by scholars who recognise the complexity of family relations (Cook & Waite, 2016; Foner, 2009).

Following classical sociological theory, some researchers argue that in close relationships, like those between family members, conflict and strain are inevitable (Coser in Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006). Conflict is also often more likely to occur in certain solidarity situations, like caring for a family member. Moreover, a small amount of conflicts might in fact lead to an improvement of relationships in the household. Thus, Bengston et al. (in Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006) argue that conflict-solidarity dynamics in the household might not be reduced to high conflict-low solidarity or low conflict and high solidarity, but that there might be additional compositions, where high solidarity and high conflict or low solidarity and low

conflict, exist. The view of solidarity and conflict has been later expanded by adding a perspective of ambivalence by Luscher & Palmer (1998), that describes relationships, where individuals try to meet competing and often contradictory expectations of their own goals, their family and society.

2.2.3   The household as a gendered space

 I draw on the literature on home from feminist perspectives, where home is not entirely a private domain, but rather a site where social dynamics are constructed and reinforced. Thus, "the home itself is intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world" (Blunt 2005:510). Feminist research contributed in a large measure to this understanding of the home. In feminist theory, the household is conceptualised as a space where gendered dynamics are constructed and reinforced. Early feminists saw the public sphere as emancipatory, yet mostly reserved for men. The private realm was on the contrary viewed as a space dedicated to women, but also the site of their oppression (in Hyams, 2003). Scholars observed that despite the house being predominantly a feminine domain, women did not have the authority over it, with the needs of the male spouse and children being prioritised. Already at the end of the 19th century, Veblen described the 'home' as "the household with a male head" (Veblen in van Staveren & Ode bode, 2007:908). In this body of research, women are seen as homemakers and domestic labourers. Particularly among second wave feminists, the household was viewed as a site of oppression and tyranny (Mallet, 2004).

Many studies show that household tasks are divided disproportionately between men and women as a result of gender ideologies (Claffey & Mickelson, 2009; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Consequently, the household division of labour is not based on the actual needs of the household, but rather reflects assumptions of gender in the broader society. As a consequence, the tasks assigned to everyone in the household are not based on equal division, but on what is considered the culturally appropriate role in the household (Davies and Carrier, 1999, Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). While for women the household was a site of inequality, for men, who were not engaged in care and childrearing, the household was considered the safe haven and site of leisure (Mallet, 2004). However, more recent literature shows

the household also as an area of emancipation: bell hooks, writing about home and homemaking in black households during American racial apartheid, argues that for black grandmothers, the kitchen was a site of resistance against the patriarchal white-dominated society:

> African Americans "could strive to be subjects, not objects … be affirmed in … minds and hearts … [and] restore … the dignity denied … on the outside in the public world" (hooks in Hyams, 2003:551).

In line with this research, other contemporary studies have since also challenged the belief that home is just an oppressive private domain where women are limited to reproductive work, and highlighted the amount of paid employment in which women engage in the household, such as paid work from home, providing childcare in their own households, cooking or washing for someone else (Oberhauser in Mallet, 2004).

Moreover, more recent literature recognises the emergence of 'alternative domestic masculinities' (Rezeanu, 2015). Men have been involved in household tasks conventionally assigned to women, like childcare and cooking (Kan et al. in Rezeanu, 2015). They also sometimes contribute to the domestic space by doing DIY projects in the household. At the same time, some scholars argue that these processes, rather than realistically challenging unequal division of labour in the household, are in fact reconfigurations of the status quo in ways that reinforce conventional conceptions of masculinities. For example, men might engage in 'manly' forms of cooking, like barbecues, which are seen as 'fun'. As observed by Swenson, masculine cooking has been endorsed by TV programmes, where:

> food programmes are regarded as having played a specific role in invoking a particular sense of 'masculine domesticity' which has given men a legitimate place at the stove, without fundamentally altering the power dynamics of heterosexual households (in Meah, 2004:14).

As the above paragraph shows, the dynamics in the household are gendered, however they are not indefinitely fixed. Thus, while the household is a site of gender reproduction, it is also a site it where conventional gender divisions can be challenged.

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2.3   Doing/Undoing Gender

To conceptualise gender dynamics among Nigerian young adults in this research, I employ a model in which gender is not considered static, but rather a social construct that is constantly negotiated in interactions. Traditional gender theories have often understood gender as a fixed 'trait' one acquires through gender role socialisation. These conceptualisations have been challenged by a model of 'doing gender' developed in 1987 by West & Zimmerman, in which gender is not a natural and fixed trait of a person, but an accomplishment. It is "not something we are, but something we do" (Deutsch, 2007:106). 'Doing gender' is a process in which gender is created during social interactions, it is "the product of social doings" (West & Zimmerman, 1987:129). We do not merely learn gender through socialisation as children, we recreate it our whole lives. Individuals 'do gender' through all social activities, in which they reproduce normative conceptions of femininity and masculinity. 'Doing gender' means creating differences that are not natural or biological. While we might try to refuse this process, it is unavoidable. Every social interaction involves a display of gender identity, and the public unconsciously assessing and classify gender codes, assessing our actions as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'. As we are held accountable for our gender performance to society, we continue to display it according to the normative conceptions. In this way, each social interaction reinforces patriarchal hierarchy in society. Consequently, through 'doing gender', gender differences are considered natural and fundamental. This model remains one of the most important works in gender studies, however it has been criticized and further elaborated upon. Deutsch (2007) critiqued the model for not offering space for resistance and change. She investigated how gender can be 'undone' to challenge the status quo and democratize gender relations, something that other models conceptualizing gender do not offer (Rezenau, 2015). Here, 'doing gender' means actions that reproduce gender difference and 'undoing gender' refers to actions that reduce it (Deutsch, 2007).

2.4   The second generation

The literature on migrant integration usually defines as second generation native-born children with at least one parent born abroad (Röder, 2014). Despite a significant increase in research on second generations in recent years, many studies

still treat both foreign-born immigrants and their offspring as a homogeneous group (Westin et al., 2015). However, second generation youths constitute a separate category, since while they are not raised in the country of their parents, their experiences of growing up are different from peers with native-born parents (Hamel et al., 2012). There are a number of studies looking at various aspects of the second generation's adaptation, including educational attainment, language and transnationalism, religion (Maliepaard & Lubbers, 2013) and integration into the labour market, mostly in the US and Western European countries which historically experienced most immigration (Westin, 2015). The research highlights the unique experiences of this cohort, who faces different challenges to those of their native-born peers while also experiencing discrimination due to their migrant background (Röder, 2014).

2.4.1 Socialisation of the second generation

Social researchers agree that families across the world share a set of similar expectations towards their children, that is: to develop skills necessary to survive in their social context, to develop language competence and to successfully procreate. At the same time, there are variations across the world in what parents consider important to raise competent children. There are also differences in the beliefs about how children should behave, in the psychological and institutional value of children to the family at different stages of development and in how families perform rituals (like baptism or bar mitzvah). Depending on the external environment, parents might prioritise different socialisation goals for their children at different times. These depend not only on the cultural context, but also on micro factors, like the family composition, which can also play a role; practices and beliefs can fluctuate if the households are single-parent, same sex, extended family structures, etc. (Roopnarine & Gielen, 2005).

The socialisation trajectory varies depending on whether children are raised in an individualistic or collectivist culture. Some cultures emphasize obedience, while others prioritise indulgence. Additionally, in some contexts, interpersonal relations and family can be more important than in others. Raising children can be context-dependent; in places where there continues to be ongoing social and political

changes, parents might focus on developing skills and attitudes in their children that enable them to deal with the rapidly changing social and economic conditions. In countries where there are individuals from many cultural backgrounds due to migration, there might a large diversity of socialisation patterns and parenting styles (Roopnarine & Gielen, 2005).

The processes of socialisation and enculturation are central for the transmission of values and customs from parents to their children. Values can be defined as "abstract desirable goals that become the guiding principles in developing personal attitudes and behaviours" (Idema & Phalet, 2007:76). Shared cultural values facilitate the construction of collective identity and solidarity, which can be particularly important in migrant and minority communities. Due to their key role in maintenance of ethnic identities, they might be resistant to change (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Socialisation can be understood as the intentional teaching of societal norms and involves practices like child-rearing and formal schooling (Schönpflug, 2001). While enculturation, that is, the gradual acquisition of cultural norms and values, can also consist of deliberate practices, it is mostly unintentional learning, allowing an individual to become a member of a culture and includes development of language, identity and rituals (Schönpflug, 2001). As preserving a culture is only possible through social transmission, the concept of value transmission is central in the discussions about cultural continuity or discontinuity between generations of migrants. In order for socialization to be successful, value transmission is an essential element and involves adolescents' voluntary "acceptance of values, standards and customs (…) to function in an adaptive way in the larger social context" (Grusec & Davidov in Barni et al., 2011:106).

In early studies of value transmission, children were understood to passively adopt parental messages. However, this conceptualisation has evolved over time. It is now understood not as mere copying, but rather as an interactive process where both parents and children can intentionally initiate action and have agency over making decisions. Consequently, transmission might produce both change and similarity (Barni et al., 2011). Differences between generations can also occur as parents may recognize that while some values might be good for them, something else might be good for their children. Hence, the values that parents decide to transfer to their

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children, the so-called 'socialisation values', might be different to their personal values. Children can perceive the values of their parents both accurately or inaccurately and then they can accept or reject what their parents try to transmit (Barni et al., 2011). Consequently, cultural transmission does not lead to an identical replication in the next generation, but rather varies in different aspects on a spectrum ranging from exact replication to failure of transmission.

Norms and values are transmitted both within and outside family settings. Berry differentiates between vertical transmission in which values are transmitted from parents to children and horizontal transmission, occurring from contact with peers and outside migrant communities in educational settings and through the adoption of role models from the host society (in Idema & Phalet, 2007). In migrant families, one can expect a discrepancy between the vertical and horizontal modes of transmission, as parents were raised in a different sociocultural context to that of their children. In this setting, vertical transmission is necessary to preserve the culture of origin beyond the first generation. On the other hand, the horizontal mode is essential to adapt to the norms in the receiving society. Consequently, migrant parents might feel a greater need to transmit their culture, but also a bigger challenge, as their culture might have lost some of its utility in the new cultural setting (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001).

As descendants of migrants increasingly adapt their way of life to the local cultural setting, the generational gap usually increases. Attias & Donfut describe this process as the 'unchaining' rather than the reproducing of generations as it usually involves cultural discontinuity in almost all domains, including ways of life, family memories and values (in Attias-Donfut & Waite, 2012). Apitzsch et al. (2014) highlight dilemmas faced by migrant parents in transmitting knowledge and values to their offspring. If they try to introduce them to their country and culture of origin, they also have to talk about the reasons why they left the country. Similarly, when trying to highlight the positive aspects of the host society, they would potentially also have to talk about the discrimination and downward mobility that they face as migrants. These conversations might also lead to discussions of past wars, conflicts or colonial relations between the country of origin and the host society. Moreover, it is essential to note at this point that intergenerational transmission in migrant families does not

occur only from parents to children, but also from children to parents, who usually are more culturally fluent in the host society through formal education and contact with peers. For example, children can help parents learn the language of the host country (Kuziemko & Ferrie, 2010) and norms parents transmit to their children (Cook & Waite, 2016).

2.4.2 Intergenerational transmission

Studies focusing on cultural continuity and discontinuity compare the values and beliefs held by the second generation with those held by the host society, by their parents, or with those held in the country of their parents' origin, to establish the levels of intergenerational transmission and acculturative change (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015). While intergenerational transmission is measured by establishing similarity in values between the second generation and their parents (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015), acculturative change is established by measuring the difference between migrant children and their parents (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2002 in Idema & Phalet, 2007). This body of literature assumes that as children acculturate at a faster rate than their parents, the value discrepancy between generations will be greater in migrant families than non-migrant families. Significant attention is being paid to gender, as it is believed to be a marker of integration. There is an assumption that that migrants will have traditional patriarchal views which might become liberalized in the process of assimilation as they move from industrial to post-industrial societies (Kretschmer, 2018).

The majority of European studies of migrants' children is based on *The Integration of the European Second Generation* Project, known as TIES (2007), a dataset based on surveys of second generation youths from fifteen cities across eight European countries. This body of research has investigated gender beliefs and behavior among the second generation (Spierings, 2015), household division of labour (Goldscheider et al., 2011), the role of culture on fertility and labour participation (Blau, 2015), union formation and partner choice (Pailhe, 2015), gendered differences in acculturation patterns (Röder & Muhlau, 2014) and work and family plans (de Halk, 2008). The studies have looked at how factors like religiosity, parents' education levels or migration patterns, intercultural and intergenerational relations influence

these processes (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015). The results are however inconclusive in some aspects. For example, a number of studies show that as children adopt host family values, they endorse traditional family values of interdependence less than their parents (in Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, other research shows that the direction of acculturation can shift in the opposite direction. For example, Birman & Trickett found that Soviet Jews, despite their language and behavioural acculturation towards the host society, identified stronger with their ethnicity than their parents (in Idema & Phalet, 2007).

Some values are also more likely to change than others; Schönpflug & Phalet (2001) found in their study of the Turkish second generation that they were more likely to adopt their parents' values relating to family, like filial obligations and gender roles, but not academic achievement values. The outcomes of acculturation can also vary depending on the country of origin. Maliepaard & Lubbers (2013), studying religious transmission among the Muslim second generation in the Netherlands, found that attendance at church services was more significant among the Turkish than Moroccan youth, which they believe can be associated with the language, where Moroccan youth struggles more with the language spoken at the mosque. The process of acculturation also depends on gender; a number of studies show that second generation females are more likely to adapt egalitarian gender attitudes than their male counterparts (Gungor & Bornstein, 2008; Idema & Phalet, 2007).

This body of research allows to see various patterns of acculturation. It enables generalizable findings and comparisons not only between generations and between migrant and non-migrant populations, but also between different nationality groups. However, the scholarship has been criticized as those studies often assume that migrants, coming from less economically developed societies hold more conservative views. Thus, this research draws divisions between 'backward' and 'patriarchal' countries of origin and 'modern' and 'equal' receiving societies, as the research is done in Western 'developed' societies (Diehl et al., 2009; Goldscheider, 2011; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015). Smith (2006) notes that those perspectives employ a monolithic view on both cultures, ignoring the divisions within them, but also overlooking the changes and modifications which occur over time, as cultures evolve. For example, Echevarria (2012), in her study of Moroccan

families in Spain found that the society in Morocco changed over the period since the migrants left their home country and they now hold more conservative views than their counterparts in Morocco. Consequently, migrants' children reported being subject to a more traditional upbringing than their peers in Morocco.

Attias-Donfut & Waite (2012) have criticized perspective for ignoring the heterogeneity of possible paths towards modernity and not allowing for an understanding of how family relationships are affected in the process. The studies have been also criticized for exaggerating divisions between generations of migrants. According to this perspective, children find themselves balancing between two conflicting worlds. In this way, the studies assume linear patterns of value transmission and heterogeneity of each generation, while ignoring the changes and adjustments occurring among the parents' generation post migration. As argued by Cook & Waite:

> migrant families are not situated in the 'host' or 'home' country- they are more usefully understood as transnational; blending what they perceive to be the best aspects of both cultures (2016: 1390).

2.5   Transnationalism

Since the early 1990s migration scholarship increasingly recognises the transnational aspects of migrants' lives. Questioning methodological nationalism, that is, considering the nation state as the central analytical focus of inquiry, scholars recognised that social activity occurs outside national borders and thus expanded the unit of research beyond its confines (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Theories of transnational migration shifted away from viewing migrants as fully located either in the sending or receiving society and provided an alternative to the assimilationist belief according to which, in order to successfully integrate into the host society, migrants must abandon traditions, cultural heritage, identities and networks from the country of origin (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Instead, transnational scholarship recognises that migrants can maintain many links with their country of origin, be they political, familial, economic, social, organizational and religious. To describe the transnational connections of a particular population, scholars used terms such as 'transnational space' (Voigt-Graf in Lee, 2011) or 'transnational social field' (Glick-Schiller in Lee, 2011). Transnational scholars recognize that integration into the host

society can occur when migrants maintain ties with their home country (Itzigson & Giorguli Saucedo, 2005). Levitt & Glick Schiller (2004) call for avoidance of binaries such as migrant/non-migrant or acculturation/cultural persistence as these ignore the fluidity of migrants' identities and actions.

The form and intensity of transnational activities vary across migrant groups and depend on factors such as geographical distance from the home country, homeland politics and frequency of visits (Kasinitz in Levitt, 2009). Scholars recognize the transnational character of migrant families, where family ties are maintained across national borders and even generations (Kalule-Sabiti et al., 2012). Although, as already mentioned, migration also impacts the sending community, Kalule-Sabiti et al. (2012) argue that extended family networks, common in many African countries, are not necessarily in danger of breaking when part of the family moves abroad. In fact, it is often the extended family which makes a decision as to who migrates and provides initial support, which contributes to the preservation of family ties post migration. Within transnational social fields, migrants consciously choose which kinship connections to emphasise and which not to, depending on their needs (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). As migrants maintain some relationships in order to have contacts and support in case they return home, migrant networks can be used strategically, including marrying into the right kinship network (Kibria, 2009; Levitt, 2009).

Levitt (2009) observes that most studies looking at the transnational dynamics described above assume that transnationalism is relevant only to first generation migrants. Yet, children are often the main reason why parents maintain transnational networks and move regularly between home and host country (Orellana et al., 2001). Research shows that parents will bring their children to their places of origin to introduce them to their ancestral culture, promote learning of mother tongue and remove children from what is considered a negative environment in the host country (D'Alisera, 2009; Kibria; 2009). The intensity and frequency of transnational activities among the second generation varies, ranging from regular contacts to single response to particular events (Louie, 2006).

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Lee (2011) differentiates between three modes of transnational engagement for the second generation: intradiasporic, indirect and forced transnationalism. In intradiasporic transnationalism, actors engage in actions with other diaspora members with in their community. Indirect transnationalism includes any activities beyond direct engagement with the host country, like contributing to family remittance pools or taking part in fundraising activities for their homeland. Forced transnationalism describes any involuntary transnational practices, such as sending children and youth from the diaspora to the homeland against their will. Levitt & Glick Schiller further differentiate between 'ways of being' and 'ways of belonging' to describe the activities that can occur in transnational spaces. 'Ways of being' are actual activities and relations in which actors engage, whereby 'ways of belonging' mean emotional connections (in Somerville, 2008).

Though the second generation's transnational activity is not likely to be as intensive as their parents', they are still growing up in households, and are often members of a diasporic community, in which people, finance, ideas and practices circulate between their ancestral and current country. Through membership of ethnic communities, children of migrants often acquire contacts and skills which they can later use as a source of information and support. As Levitt puts it:

> Even if they rarely visit their ancestral homes or are not fluent in its language, they are often raised in settings that reference the homeland ideologically, materially and affectively each day. They are socialised directly and indirectly into the asymmetries and disjunctures inherent in the transnational social field and are part of the cast of characters who resolve them (2009:1231).

There is evidence of second and even third generation youths returning to their parents' home country in search of a romantic partner. Even when they were previously not fond of their parents' cultural heritage, once grown up they will seek to transfer ancestral values and traditions to their offspring (Levitt, 2009; Zontini, 2007). The transnational dynamics and kinship processes affect all social relations, particularly those relating to gender (Smith, 2006). Children negotiate their values and norms not only in the context of their country of settlement, they also need to do so with ideals transmitted by their parents and kinship networks in their ancestral

homeland. These processes occur during visits to their parents' country of origin and through phone calls or social media.

As Levitt (2009) observes, they do not pick one set of values, but rather fluidly learn to balance between the two, adapting selectively depending on the circumstances. Similarly, Smith (2006) in his study of Mexican second generation in New York found that while they constantly negotiate their gender identities between both the US and Mexico, these are not acted out separately depending on geographical location, but are negotiated simultaneously and interactively in one field. Here, the transnational perspective is believed to offer a better insight into Mexican-American gender negotiations as it is a site where, simultaneously to these negotiations, second generation Mexican-Americans seek to validate their ethnic identity as Mexicans (Smith, 2006). Thus, viewing second generations through the lens of transnationalism allows us to see them not as permanently caught up between values and norms from both their settlement and ancestral societies and instead observe how they create their own set of practices in the transnational social field.

2.6 Migrant families and intergenerational relations

In line with the quantitative studies listed above, there was initially a tendency to depict migrant families as caught between two cultures and consequently conflicted – either among gendered (first generation spouses) or generational (parents and children) lines. However, new studies show that this is not necessarily the case; families can find migration liberating and some of its seemingly negative aspects positive, like loss of controlling kin networks, while for others similar situations can be disorientating. Recent scholarship has also underlined the impact of legal frameworks on family relations, like the role that family reunification policies play in family conflicts and women dependency (Strasser et al. in Kofman et al., 2011). Further, Creese (2011:149) reminds us that divisions can occur even within families due to internal diversity. Differentiated access to power and experiences of migration will produce 'many parallel narratives' rather than a monolithic view of pre- and post-migration family life. In Creese's (2011) study of African migrants in Vancouver, the topic of family was among the most recurring ones in the conversations surrounding settlement. Research participants focused on issues of

family reunification post migration and maintaining emotional links with family dispersed geographically. The family has been conceptualized as an institution bridging the host country with the country of origin, where it serves as a foundation allowing for the reconstruction of new forms of intergenerational relationships and networks (Bracalenti in Kalule-Sabiti et al., 2012).

Most scholars agree that the process of migration affects functions within families and reshapes them. Leading to the reconfiguration of intra-familial dependencies and identities, this can influence gender relations and roles, changing patterns of childrearing, particularly in countries where those systems are different (Attias-Donfut & Waite, 2012; Creese et al., 2009; Kwak, 2003). In the period immediately following migration, families need to readapt their structures and behaviours as the former ones might be inadequate in the new cultural setting. As argued by Kalule-Sabiti et al.:

> immigrant families are placed at crossroads of demands and requirements as they are called on to adjust, negotiate and revise relationships (2012:159).

Families are thus considered one of the most important units in the process of migration and serve as a mediatory factor between the sending and receiving societies (Creese, 2011). The family unit is the first place where new shapes of collective expressions and intra- and extra-family relationships are formed. Moreover, particularly in the case of migration from countries with limited social welfare provisions, the family is often being arranged in such a way as to protect against life risks, even if institutionalized provisions exist in the receiving country (Kalule-Sabiti et al., 2012).

The transformatory processes in migrant families are still sometimes viewed in the literature as a linear process of integration from home to host culture. This approach assumes cultures to be homogeneous, thus ignoring the diversity within them, depending on factors like ethnicity, religion or social class. Furthermore, it assumes that the primary process of interaction occurs between the two cultures, ignoring possible intra- and cross- cultural dynamics. It prioritizes culture and treats it independently from everyday practices, structural factors and power relations. A second perspective, more in line with recent developments in social sciences

generally as outlined in the first paragraphs of this chapter, perceives families as fluid and heterogeneous, constantly evolving and reconstituted, not fixed in a specific temporal and spatial setting (Cook & Waite, 2016; Creese et al., 1999; Saraceno, 2008;) In this view, immigrant families are viewed as:

> heterogeneous, multiply positioned, and stratified - they differ in their composition, their social positions according to social class, ethnicity, race, and locality, and in the experiences of various family members, especially in relation to gender and generation (Creese et al., 2009: 4).

The literature on intergenerational relationships in migrant families adopts more fluid understanding of the family unit; this body of research still tends to focus on conflict and tensions (Cook & Waite, 2016), but it also shows evidence of intergenerational understanding, care and cooperation (Foner & Dreby, 2011; Zontini, 2007). Scholars investigated many domains, including approaches to education, parental authority, care for older parents and partner choice (Espiritu, 2009; Kibria, 2009; Zontini, 2007). Foner & Dreby observe that regarding many domains, in many, probably most, cases, conflict is mixed with caring and cooperation, and rejection of some parental standards and practices is coupled with acceptance of others (2011:546). Studies report that migrant families develop strong emotional connections, bonding family members together (Foner & Dreby, 2011). Family values of interdependence play a central role in supporting a sense of collective identity and in-group solidarity in the context of migration (Verkuyten, 2001). Parents often try to transmit their culture to children through a variety of ways, including indigenous languages, food and cultural events or visits to the parents' country of origin (Cook & Waite, 2012).

While some second generation youths distance themselves from their parents and their origins, many recognize the specific life experiences of their parents as migrants. Waters & Sykes (2009) found that while second generation West Indians tend to resent their parents' strict discipline in their teenage years, they start appreciating it as adults and often attribute their life successes to it. Furthermore, the second generation is not necessarily forced to constantly balance between two conflicting worlds, but can instead adopt the elements from both cultures they see most positively (Kasinitz et al. in Foner & Dreby, 2011). D'Alisera (2009) in her research of Sierra Leonean children in Washington, DC, found that despite the alienation of children from their parents' place of origin, many still felt a sense of

cultural pride.

Children also try to understand their parents' viewpoints and expectations and will often compromise to maintain good relationships within their households. Kibria (2009) reports that while Bengali youths in the US did not approve of marriage arrangement customs in Bangladesh, they still expressed an understanding of their parents' expectations in this regard. In Prieur's (2002) study of second generation youths in Norway, the respondents expressed appreciation of both some Norwegian values and some values they interpreted as specific to their parents' culture of origin. Though sometimes children might refuse to accept some of the norms their parents try to pass on to them, they might find themselves later in life integrating those cultural elements in their own way and transforming them into a resource, something Bertaux & Bertaux Wiame (in Apitzsch et al., 2013) call "*transmission en équivalence*". Thus, the 'generational gap' which is highlighted mostly in quantitative research does not necessarily directly imply a break in transmission, but rather a generational adjustment, where hybrid forms of integration and value retention are created.

Moreover, parents do not necessarily try to impose traditional values upon their children at any cost. On one hand, the scholarship highlights their struggle to make their children understand and relate to their country of origin, which in many cases seems distant to the children. Consequently, many parents feel a cultural gap between them and their offspring (Cook & Waite, 2016; Creese, 2011). However, Cook & Waite (2016) in their study of African families in the UK observed that in this situation the dynamic of transmission did not occur from 'old world' parents to 'new world' children, but rather parents were actively reconstituting values they were transmitting to their children. For example, most parents decided to transmit to their children elements from both their culture of origin and from the host society. Migration also gave parents the freedom to independently choose these elements from their culture which they considered most important (Aigner & Waite, 2012). They might try to work out a compromise with their children in areas like marriage arrangements or extended curfew hours (Foner & Dreby, 2011). For example, Water & Sykes (2011) found that although Western Indian parents usually tried to uphold disciplinary techniques from the home country, some of them adjusted their

parenting practices to American ones, often even learning locally appropriate behaviours from their children's stories. Cook & Waite (2016) showed that African parents in the UK consciously relaxed their expectations to allow children to integrate better into society, even at the cost of departing from their culture of origin. Meanings of identity and parenting are thus fluid and are being renegotiated between generations. Cultural traditions, rather than being replicated, evolve and change to a different socio-cultural context (Waite & Aigner, 2012). Research also shows that intergenerational relationships are shaped by many factors and include legal status, gender and social class (Foner & Dreby, 2011). Furthermore, relationships and emotions within families are fluid and can change over time and depending on circumstances, where conflict, compromise and solidarity are not contradictory (Attias-Donfut & Waite, 2012). Cook & Waite (2016) observe that the experiences of conflict create a basis for negotiation and can provide both generations with an opportunity to exercise agency and reshape intergenerational relations. Moreover, Zontini (2007) notes that conflict does not necessarily put intergenerational relations at risk, as the bonds between generations were revealed to be very strong. While some of the bonds might be considered constraining, they are also valuable as they offer both practical and emotional support. Water & Sykes (2009) found that grown-up children often expressed gratitude for their parents' strict parenting as it improved their educational and professional achievements.

2.7   The second generation and gender negotiations

Kofman et al. (2011), note that literature on gender and migration focuses mostly on the role of women in the migrant household, leaving relations between family members under-researched. The scholars call for a closer investigation of parenting, motherhood and fatherhood and associated concepts of masculinities and femininities in the context of migration. Even though these questions are not the direct focus of this research, these dynamics clearly play a central role in migrant families, and thus they will be also addressed in this study.

In the literature on intergenerational relationships, gender is usually discussed as a static independent variable rather than as the main topic of analysis. However, Lopez calls for a more complex perception of the intersections of gender and race, where

they are seen as:

> contextually based, historically variable social relationships that are continually being created at both micro and macro level (2003:7).

Negotiations of gender occur simultaneously and are complementary to the negotiation of racialized identities, where the second generation responds to racialized and gendered expectations from society. Creese (2015) found in her research of African Canadian second generation that young men performed masculinity in the framework of African American hip hop culture as a form of resistance to discriminatory racial treatment by institutions due to being a young Black male and to meet the expectations of their peers to perform a certain kind of masculinity due to their skin colour. The performance of masculinity in line with peers' expectations was rewarded with popularity in school. On the other hand, while women are also expected to fit into certain types of African American oversexualized hip-hop femininities, this did not lead to popularity among their peers, and white middle-class femininity standards are impossible for them to attain. Instead, they identify with and maintain closer links with the African community in Vancouver.

Warikoo (2005) observed similar dynamics among the West Indian of Indian descent youth in the US, where girls voluntarily identified with and enjoyed elements of Indian culture including clothing style, music and films, whereas boys adopted urban hip hop styles, thus distancing themselves from the Indian community, as identification with ancestral culture could be viewed as identification with household, thus a feminine, not masculine, domain. Moreover, while in American popular culture identifying as Indian might increase social capital for women as it is considered trendy, the adoption of Indian culture is not as attractive for men as this can lead to being racially stigmatised as Arab and it can prompt stereotyping as working-class Indian, popular in American mainstream culture through stereotypical portrayals in the media.

Smith (2006) in his ethnographic work with a Mexican community in New York found that men negotiate their gender ideals between quite patriarchal Mexican 'ranchero' masculinity, Mexican gang member or rapper masculinity, and white

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middle-class masculinity. Women on the other hand, even though they are not expected to be rancheras, are still expected to perform most of the tasks associated with this role like housework and raising children, while simultaneously emphasising their independence with a focus on education and career (Smith, 2006). These examples show that negotiations of femininity and masculinity do not occur in a social vacuum, but are influenced by racialized discourses of belonging and in turn, have an impact on the construction of ethnic identities. Second generation youths often need to find a balance between hegemonic and non-hegemonic discourses of masculinity and femininity, some of them different to those of their peers due to perceived belonging and ethnic identity.

Gender negotiations of second generations are thus a complex process of manoeuvring between gendered and racialized discourses and expectations. These dynamics are influenced by, but also influence, gender negotiations and relations within the household, affecting dynamics between parents, parenting strategies and children's behavior (Lopez, 2003). As already mentioned, migration leads to a reconfiguration of family structures, including gender relations. This often occurs when migrant women enter the labour force in the host country and thus start playing an important role in financially supporting the family (Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Children's exposure through education to a different set of gender arrangements in the host society might also lead to changes on the family level.

While these processes can be met with resistance, there is also evidence that changes in parents' gender relations influence what they will transmit to their children, sometimes distancing themselves from the more restrictive elements of their cultures of origin to allow their children, particularly daughters, more opportunities (Cook & Waite, 2016). This shows the importance of looking at the transformations in the parents' generation when discussing intergenerational relationships. Gender also influences parents' experiences of parenting in a new culture and their strategies for coping with the challenges that may arise. While mothers struggle to raise their children without the support of extended family, often coupled with new employment obligations, it is fathers who find it more difficult to adjust in the new situation (Creese, 2011). Women find it easier to adopt new parenting strategies and

to accept compromises in how they raise their children. This difference can be ascribed to the fact that whereas for women adjustments not contradict their identity as mothers, for men loss of parental authority impacts on their concept of masculinity (Cook & Waite, 2016; Creese, 2011; Creese, 2013;). Creese (2011) also observes that this can lead to conflicts between spouses and father and sons, who can clash about the adaptation of certain types of masculinities.

The studies often report differences in the treatment of sons and daughters by their migrant parents, women tending to face stricter rules (Creese, 2011; Dion & Dion, 2001; Espiritu, 2009). This is attributed to the fact that family traditions are considered the most important, but also the most threatened values. Women often play a central role in these domains through child rearing and upholding particular cultural practices (Dion & Dion, 2001). They are therefore considered the 'keepers of culture' and the morals and behaviour of young women in the community are seen to be markers of the community's reputation and status (Espiritu, 2009; Prieur, 2002). Parental pressure on daughters to embody traditional behaviour occurs particularly when the values of the host society are seen by parents as threatening to the values of the culture of origin (Dion & Dion, 2001). Consequently, double standards in parenting based on gender are one of the main sources of conflict in migrant families. Espiritu (2009) found that Filipino parents are stricter towards their daughters than towards their sons, and Idema & Phalet (2007) report that Turkish parents have higher expectations of academic and professional achievements for their sons.

Dion & Dion (2001) observe that parents are especially strict towards their daughters regarding peer relationships, particularly interactions with men, like dating. This is potentially met with resistance from the daughters, as studies report that second generation women have less traditional views than their male counterparts (Dion & Dion, 2001; Rosenthal et al., 1996). On the other hand, double standards in parenting can have an impact on socialisation experiences and educational outcomes. As in the case of gendered identity formation, this does not occur because of one's gender, but because of the social construction of gender with associated parenting practices and behaviours. Warikoo (2005) supposes that the fact that young Indo-Caribbean women are subject to more parental control and associated restrictions on social life,

dating etc., has a direct positive impact on their educational performance.

Cook & Waite (2016) in their study observe that even if there is a traditional separation of gender roles in the domestic sphere there is space for compromise. Daughters can negotiate with their parents in order to fulfil some tasks but only to a certain extent. For example, they might adopt traditional female roles when visiting their parents' place of birth, but will revert to a different behaviour once back home. Warikoo (2005) found that in the US, young second generation Caribbean females of Indian ancestry who identified with their Indian roots adopt those aspects of Indian culture which attracts them most, resisting some of its patriarchal elements. This is an example of how multidimensional and fluid gender behaviour in a family can be, as they can shift depending on spatial and temporal context.

2.8   Families in Nigeria

Families in Nigeria, like in other African countries, are often characterised by extended kinship networks. The family extends beyond parents and children and includes other members, related either by blood, residence, or close emotional attachments (Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006:86). In pre-colonial times, age played a major role in the status in the family, with the eldest woman being responsible for raising the child, either as mother, first wife, or grandmother. She also made decisions about the division of family tasks among household members, set codes of behaviour and decided on disciplinary action. Women and their children were often tasked with duties around the household, while men's primary responsibility was farming and boys assisted their fathers from a young age. However, women were not only responsible for the household, but actively participated in the economic and political activities of the community, engaging in trade and solving disputes (Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006). This was, however, possible due to what Naemeka (in Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006) referred to as 'multiple and collective parenting', which allowed for women to delegate their childrearing tasks to other women. However, during colonialism, families were required to pay individual taxes, which shifted the focus from food production to monetising, and ultimately destabilised the family structure. The new system under British colonialism encouraged forms of farming that shifted emphasis away from the family and the community and

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rewarded the decrease in family size, where children are seen as a burden rather than an additional pair of hands to carry out necessary work, as was the case in the precolonial times (Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006).

With the changes in the domestic economy and family make-up, women were forced to undertake urban employment and their relevance in the community decreased, since they could no longer rely on other women in the community to support childrearing while they fulfilled their leadership roles in the community. This was coupled with changes in the economic model and in schooling, labelled '*academic colonialism*' (Okrah in Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006), where the education system was disconnected from people's cultural values and practices:

> as the family transits from polygynous, extended and its structurally necessitated socialization of the child based on the communal economy, to the monogamous, nuclear and individualized socialization practices located outside the family and conditioned by the capitalist economy, structural instabilities have emerged manifesting in form of what has been watered down and labelled 'social problems' – perceived as 'issues' that are inevitable in 'modernizing societies' – thus recommending palliative measures rather than a fundamental transformation of the existing social structure (Olutayo & Omobowale, 2006:91).

In contemporary Nigeria, the model of extended family still exists as the basic unit of social organisation. While there are many social groups, all ethnic groups are characterised by patrilineality. Consequently, there is often a preference for a male child given the dominant role of men in patrilineal societies in which inheritance and descent are transmitted through the male line (Milazzo, 2014). Until a sufficient number of male children is present, family members might keep exerting pressure on the woman. The emphasis on the male child is strengthened by the custom whereby only males have the right to family property. Sons are also highly valued by women who can only inherit property through them, in case of the early death of their husband. Having a son can be therefore a source of economic protection in case of widowhood. There is also an emphasis on having children as a guarantee to perpetuate the family line:

> Childlessness is the most dreaded tragedy for a man or a woman to experience in Nigeria's patrilineal society. (...) The majority of the

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respondents felt that a man without a child, particularly without a son, will not be remembered in the family; his branch of the family will come to an end. For the same reason, a man who has only daughters may acquire a second wife to enhance the chance of having a son. Clearly, in such a patriarchal system, the perpetuation of the family line is a strong motivation for children (Isiugo-Abanihe in Milazzo, 2014: 6-7).

Another aspect of Nigerian family life is child fostering. Whereby in majority of the Western world children are raised by their own parents in a nuclear family and fostering takes place only in exceptional circumstances, it is much more common in West Africa, including Nigeria. Children might be sent away to the city to their extended family, to attend school, or to work. If parents migrate, either internally or internationally, children might remain for a period of time with their extended families (Serra, 2009). Isiugo-Abanihe argues that what is particular about child fostering in West Africa is how prevalent and institutionalised the phenomenon is:

> fostering here is rooted in kinship structures and traditions, children are sent out not only in the event of family crisis or when one or both natural parents cannot, for some reason, manage to bring them up. Rather, the sending out of children is practiced by both stable and unstable families, married and single mothers, healthy and handicapped parents, rural and urban homes, and wealthy and poor parents (1985:56).

It is important to highlight that much of the research on family relations in Nigeria has been conducted in the early years of imperialism with a colonial frame. Anthropologists and other social researchers working through that lens argued that gender relations in Nigerian households and society were characterised by inequality and patriarchy, that are intrinsic to Nigeria and its culture (Nzegwu, 2006). However, this has been challenged by some African feminist writers, who argue that such essentialisation of gender relations in Nigeria is not only inaccurate, but serves conservative patriarchal leaders to maintain the status quo as it is presumably part of the Nigerian culture and tradition. In fact, Nzegwu (2006) shows that prior to colonialism, the Igbo society, which is one of the main ethnic groups in Nigeria, was non-patriarchal and non-gendered and first underwent changes due to Christian evangelism, slave trade, colonialism and rapid urbanisation. According to the scholar, early researchers, by trying to apply inaccurate models of white patriarchy to Nigeria, could not understand the egalitarian aspects of some social dynamics.

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Furthermore, scholars have also stressed the changing role of women's position in family, depending on the context. Amadiume (in Udegbe, 2004) refers to 'male daughters and female husbands' to describe the flexibility of gender arrangements. Similar experiences are also documented among the Yorubas, where women's position might be situational; for example, women can have more status in their families of origin as compared to the families they establish. In certain groups, other characteristics, like age, might be the determining factor in establishing status. These examples further prove Nzegwu's (2006) argument on the inaccuracy of Western models, which can often fail to capture those dynamics.

2.9   Families in Ireland

The regulation of the family in Ireland has been for a long time the task of the Catholic Church, at least for the 50 years following the Independence. Over the past 40 years however, Ireland has experienced significant changes in family structure, relations, attitudes and values (Canavan, 2012). Divorce was banned in Ireland until 1996, when a referendum amending the constitution was passed by only 9,000 votes. Reproductive health was also restricted for a long time, with contraceptives banned and only made fully available in 1993 (Canavan, 2012). Until 2018, abortion was legal only in the case of direct threat to women's life. In 1996, married couples comprised 78 per cent of all families and only 2 per cent were cohabiting couples. The percentage of cohabiting couples increased to 9 percent in 2016 and 25,4 per cent family units with children were headed by a lone parent. The average number of children in a family fell from 3.76 in 1960 to 1.38 in 2016 (Central Statistics Office, 2016). In 2016, 36 per cent of children were born outside of marriage (CSO Statistical Yearbook, 2016).

In relation to children, there is an increased emphasis on children's rights and on viewing children as individuals with agency. A 2010 study of parenting methods in Ireland indicated that parents believe significant changes took place in parenting over the past two decades. Firstly, there is a belief that there is more responsibility on parents, who at the same time have less control over their children (Halpenny et al., 2010). According to the study, parents reported discipline measures ranging from non-aggressive strategies to physical punishment, with most engaging in non-

aggressive inductive strategies, like reasoning, discussing or grounding. Aggressive strategies were much less common, with under 50 per cent of parents reporting shouting at children, a quarter of parents reported smacking or hitting a child. The majority of parents believed that an occasional smack is not harmful to a child and only 42 per cent were convinced smacking should be illegal (Halpenny et al., 2010).

2.10 African migrant families

Nigeria is only one country in this diverse continent and labelling migrant experiences as simply 'African' follows the tendency of much of the West to homogenise the whole continent. At the same time, Creese (2011) in her study of African immigrants in Vancouver defends the approach as it refers to the internal and external homogenization of all Africans, to which the immigrants are subject. Externally, it is the already mentioned ignorance in Western societies which leads to consider Africa as a unitary continent. This impacts on intercommunity relationships post-migration, affecting issues of racialisation, belonging and discrimination. Creese (2011) also noted that African immigrants in Vancouver created a pan-African identity and in the Canadian setting referred to themselves as African rather than by their specific nationalities. A similar trend appears to be observable in Ireland, where migrants from Africa establish pan-African organizations like AkiDwa or African Business Association. Additionally, most studies of immigrant families from Africa usually involve multiple nationalities rather than a single one (Cook & Waite, 2016; Creese, 2011).

Creese (2011) warns of a tendency to portray African families in the literature either through a romanticised perspective of a static transmitter of traditional values and culture or on the contrary, a pathologised image of the African family as backward and uncivilised. Both perspectives are problematic and do not allow for an insight into the negotiations within the family. Attias–Donfut et al. (2012) advocate considering 'the modern African family':

> as multi-generational and multi-locational, flexible and fluid in nature, fluctuating – depending on the context – between being more nuclear and being more extended (2012:174).

While some modern African families become smaller and shift towards the nuclear

model, particularly as a result of migration, this is not always the case. Additionally, despite the distance, transnational kinship can still take place, as will be discussed in the next section (Attias-Donfut et al. 2012).

A set of patterns emerges from the literature on African immigrant families, which appears to occur in different sociocultural settings. One of the challenges faced by parents post-migration is the discrepancy in family values and customs, like the importance of filial ties and lineage on marriage, between societies of origin and destination. Parents stressed the consequences for parenting of losing community support; in many African countries, a child's education and upbringing are the responsibility of the whole community, with 'uncles' and 'aunts' playing significant roles. As children must obey both parents and other adults in the community, respect for all, not only parents, is considered essential (Attias-Donfut, 2011). The absence of community support is therefore often considered a cause of increased individualism and incorrect behaviour among children (Creese, 2011).

Creese (2011) found that in African families, fathers have undisputed authority while at the same time their role is often more absent from childrearing than in Canada. In this study, men found the loss of authority particularly challenging, especially as it was often coupled with a downward socio-economic mobility due to migration. Parents also feel that they have less rights regarding their children and limited disciplining options due to child protection laws. Men particularly felt unsettled by what they considered a direct and indirect inference of the State into their childrearing practices. However, while this was the reaction of the majority of men, some adapted to the new circumstances and started helping women more (Creese, 2011). Kleist (2010) came across fathers who went on parental leave while their wives were studying. Similarly, while some families found it relatively easy to adapt to the new setting, the process of negotiation was more challenging in other families (Barou, 2012; Creese et al., 1999).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed research on both family and the second generation integration, as these are intertwined and influence the experiences of second generation youths.

The study of the theories of family highlighted the diversity of family structures and experiences. Families vary across cultural contexts and locally and can be differentiated by size, composition, interpersonal relations and approaches to socialization. They are one of the most constant and basic units of society, at the same time they are not static and are prone to changes and adjustments due to shifts in the external environment.

The structure of the family in Nigeria that underwent significant changes since precolonial times is an example of these shifting dynamics, as are migrant families. While these are often portrayed as conflicted and caught between two cultures, this chapter shows that families can be a source of security and support in the uncertainties of migration. In doing so, the chapter calls for increased scholarly attention to the role of family in the lives of migrants and their offspring. Review of the theories of integration of the second generation and studies that utilised these theories to date shows that while this approach allows to observe patterns of intergenerational shifts in attitudes and behaviours in migrant families, it runs the risk of exaggerating conflicts and divisions between generations. To develop an alternative approach, this study draws on research on intergenerational relations and transnationalism, which allows to depart from binary views such as migrant vs. non-migrant, integration vs. cultural persistence or sending vs. receiving society and instead shifts the focus to both family and individual identities. I follow Espiritu's (2001) approach that negotiations in migrant families do not occur in isolation, but are influenced by social, economic, political and cultural institutions and practices and thus any analysis must take those dynamics into account.

3   Immigration, integration, and the emergence of the second generation in Ireland

3.1   Introduction

Ní Laoire et al., in their study of youths of African background in Ireland observe that the lives of migrant youths are shaped by migration policies, institutional practices, and national discourses about identity and belonging:

> Migrant children and youth in Ireland are positioned in specific ways, influenced by the prevalence of notions of childhood innocence and vulnerability, polarised images of youth as problematic/vulnerable, complex processes of othering of migrants and minorities, and changing ways of 'being' children and teenagers in contemporary Ireland. Their lives are shaped to varying degrees by this discursive context as well as the structural frameworks of Ireland's evolving policies on migration, integration, education and children's rights (2011:27).

This chapter aims to contextualize the present study by providing an overview of the environment in which the cohort subject to this study grew up. Even though most of the respondents are Irish-born and as they are not considered migrants and thus migration policies seem not to be of direct relevance to them, they have shaped the lives of their parents and ultimately play a role in the lives of the second generation. An overview of the history of immigration in Ireland, as well as of the development of migration and integration policies and debates on national identity, shows how these influence the lives of second generation youths in their families.

At the same time, as will be seen, the development of some of these policies and debates emerged in direct response to the diversifying demographics in the country, including the emergence of minority ethnic second generation. These dynamics have a direct influence on the lives of second generation youths in different ways, as further chapters will show. This chapter also outlines the state of literature on second generation youths in Ireland. It describes the profile of the second generation cohort and provides an overview of existing research, particularly in relation to education, household relations and gender dynamics. Though the vast majority of studies

discussed focus on second generation children or teenagers rather than young adults, these are still relevant to the experiences of young adults who took part in this research.

3.2   History of immigration

Immigration in the Republic of Ireland is a relatively recent phenomenon. Unlike most Western European countries, before the 1990s the island was not a common destination for migrants and refugees. Until the end of the 20th century, the country had no need for foreign workers and had no colonial ties as a colonizer (Messina, 2009). Due to a stagnant economy, Ireland used to be primarily a country of emigration, with only 2 per cent of foreign-born residents in 1990 (Mac Éinri & White, 2008) However, rapid economic developments in the mid-1990s led to shortages of labour and consequently to the need for foreign workers (Honohan, 2010). Indeed, the rate of unemployment decreased from 16 per cent in 1993 to 3.7 per cent in 2001 and stayed below 5 per cent for most of the 2000s, with the number of people in employment rising from approximately 1.5 million in 1996 to 2 million in 2007 (Bielenberg & Ryan in Glynn, 2014; Messina, 2009). In order to meet the workforce needs, Ireland initially focused encouraging Irish citizens living abroad to return to Ireland to Ireland (Messina, 2009). Between 1996 and 2005, approximately 221,000 Irish-born return migrants moved back to the State (O'Leary & Negra, 2016). Once that source was exhausted, most work permits were issued to Europeans from non- EU countries, with most concerning nationals of Latvia, Lithuania, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, South Africa and Ukraine (Messina, 2009).

Before the introduction of a more restrictive Employment Permits Act in 2003, permissions to work in the country were not strictly regulated and migrants obtained permits for low-skilled positions in sectors with labour shortages. Consequently, prior to 2003 approximately 75 per cent of the permits were issued for low skilled and low paid jobs (Ruhs in Glynn, 2014). Both EU and non-EU migration kept increasing in the period up to 2003 as a result of chain migration, family reunification and ongoing recruitment of skilled migrants in areas with labour shortages (Fanning, 2018). Between 1995 and 2000, 248,100 people migrated to the country (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2007). The majority of them were in fact Irish

repatriates and of the remaining immigrants, 18 per cent came from the UK, 13 percent from other EU countries, 7 per cent from the US and another 12 per cent from other countries (Fanning, 2018).

When most EU states put restrictions on immigration from the new EU-10 countries[1], Ireland, alongside with the UK and Sweden where the only EU states that decided to open its borders with no restrictions for citizens of these states (Fanning, 2018). The newcomers did not only settle in the big cities, but throughout the country (Glynn, 2014). This caused another significant demographic transformation in Ireland, as within 3 years from opening its borders to citizens of EU10 accession states, approximately 400 000 of them had registered to work, with Poland being the top country of origin (Glynn, 2014). However, migrants with sought-after skills, such as nursing, continued to arrive and some migrant communities from non-EU countries kept growing, from countries such as India and the Philippines. Following the EU accession, certain categories of employment were excluded from work permits schemes, including construction-related jobs, to encourage employment of migrants from new accession states rather than third country nationals (Ruhs & Quinn, 2009 in Glynn, 2014). As a result, labour migration from non-EU countries slowed down after 2004.

As the above paragraph has shown, immigration into Ireland largely led by labour demands. In fact, Messina (2009) observes that the Irish immigration policy is also shaped by economic objectives. The 2000-2003 social partnership agreement – a consensus arrangement formed regularly between the state, national unions and employers – stated that "immigration policy will be developed, as appropriate, to address the needs of the labour market" (quoted in Glynn, 2014:11). While some migrants left during the economic recession starting in 2008, the majority have remained in the country. According to the 2016 census data, the Republic is now home to migrants from over 200 countries. In April 2016, the number of foreign-born residents stood at 810,406, accounting for 17.3 per cent of the population

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44[1] In 2010, ten states simultaneously accessed the European Union: Cyprus, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. These are often referred to as "EU10", with the member states that have previously been part of the EU being referred to as "EU15"

(Central Statistics Office, 2016). Immigrants in Ireland can be categorized in the following groups: asylum seekers applying for refugee status, programme refugees, non-EU nationals on work permits, student or family visas, and EU migrants who do not require any permission to stay and work in the country (Department of Justice, 2020; Glynn, 2014).

3.3 Integration efforts

Since the increase in immigration flows in the early 1990s, Irish policies of immigration and integration have changed substantially to address the new dynamics in the state (Messina, 2009). In 1998, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) was established by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform (NCCRI, 2000). The Committee's role was:

> to act in a policy advisory role and to contribute to the overall development of public policy in relation to racism and interculturalism and to encourage integrated action towards acknowledging, understanding and celebrating cultural diversity in Ireland (NCCRI, 2000).

The organisation worked in partnership with government bodies and voluntary organisations, supporting anti-racism initiatives, providing advice to state bodies, highlighting the need to monitor hate crimes and improving the rights of migrant workers (NCCRI, 2000).

2005 saw multiple initiatives which can be seen as the first attempt at managing immigration. The first formal efforts at addressing diversity through integration policies occurred in 2005, when the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (DJELR) published a discussion paper with policy proposals for a comprehensive Immigration and Residence Bill. Also in 2005, the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR), a four-year framework aimed at combating racism and discrimination, was launched. The Plan set as a goal to build:

> a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland based on a commitment to inclusion by design, not as an add-on or afterthought and based on policies that promote interaction, equality of opportunity, understanding and respect (NAPAR, 2005: 27).

It was based on an '*intercultural framework'*, reflecting the government's approach

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to managing diversity. This was further evident in the 5 objectives of the framework underpinning NAPAR:

3   Effective protection and redress against racism
4   Economic inclusion and equality of opportunity
5   Accommodating diversity in service provision
6   Recognition and awareness of diversity
7   Full participation in Irish society

In the same year, the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (INIS) was created, which brief is to oversee matters of asylum, immigration and citizenship. In 2006, the National Economic Social Council released its first analysis of up-to-date effects of migration and relevant policies in Ireland (NESC, 2006). The report argued that "the main role of national or state governments in respect of integration should be to exercise policy leadership" (NESC 2006:173). In 2007 'Programme for Government' document committed to implementing a number of recommendations from the NESC Report and Common Basic Principles of Integration by the European Union, including the development of a national integration plan and the setting up a ministry for integration (Ní Chiosáin in Glynn, 2014). In the same year, the first Minister of State for Integration was appointed. The following year, in 2008 the Ministry published *Migration Nation - Statement on Integration Strategy and Diversity Management*. The program stressed the importance of cooperation between government and civil society bodies on integration matters. It also advocated for the mainstreaming of integration policy in other strategies and initiatives designed, the funding distribution towards diversity management at local level, support for teachers and parents in education, the establishment of measures to combat exploitation or discrimination against migrants, an improved asylum process, as well as a new administrative infrastructure to manage diversity (Migration Nation, 2008). Ní Chiosáin (in Glynn, 2014) notes that the document did not recommend any civic courses or diversity enforcement instruments.

Since the release of *Migration Nation* in 2008, most local authorities have published integration strategies. While these were initially centered on combating racism and discrimination, the focus shifted over time to integration through the provision of training and information (Glynn, 2014). However, as the same year Ireland started

experiencing an economic crisis, most of the commitments discussed in the first part of the 2000s never materialized. The work on the *Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill*, which was supposed to replace all previous legislation on migration was suspended. The Office for the Minister of Integration was closed in 2011 and replaced with the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration (OPMI) under the auspices of the Department of Justice and Equality (Glynn, 2014). The office was established to facilitate migrant integration policy across state institutions, through:

> the promotion of the integration of legal immigrants into Irish society, the establishment of new structures for this purpose, the coordination of Ireland's international reporting requirements relating to racism and integration and overseeing the operation of the Irish Refugee Protection Programme (Department of Justice, 2018).

The financial crisis had significant consequences for funding of integration initiatives. In addition to the closure of the Office for the Minister of Integration, the National Action Plan Against Racism came to an end in 2008 and has never been renewed or replaced. At the end of the same year, the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) was abolished. A 2019 shadow report by Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) by the Immigrant Council of Ireland outlined some of the consequences of the discontinued funding and closure of the NCCRI, which resulted in underreporting of racist incidents and in a lack of convictions under the Incitement to Hatred Act. The NCCRI also served the function of monitoring racist incidents and providing anti-racism training. Though NGOs tried to fill that gap, they have been unable to do so to the same extent. The report also highlighted that through the loss of NAPAR, there is now no integrated, strategic mechanism to tackle inequality, a task which was previously carried out by NAPAR, as the current migration strategy *Blueprint for the Future* does not address racism to the same extent (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2019). During the economic crisis, it also became significantly harder to obtain Irish citizenship; in 2009, 47 per cent of applications for citizenship by naturalization were rejected at the minister's discretion (Fanning, 2016).

The *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX), led by Barcelona Centre for International Affairs and Migration Policy group stated that in 2014 there has been

little progress in Ireland's policies on integration, other than ad hoc projects, discussions and guidelines. The report claimed that Ireland offers "only slightly more opportunities than obstacles for non-EU migrants to invest in integration and participate in the society" (Huddleston et al., 2015). It also highlighted the fact that Ireland does not employ any system to evaluate its integration policies. In 2014, non-EU families living in Ireland were less likely to reunite than in any other European country (Huddelston et al., 2015). However, the following report released in 2020 recognized that improvements in integration policy in Ireland were more significant than in any other of the countries where the report was also released, which placed Ireland in the top 10 countries with best integration policies. The report recognised in particular efforts to communicate with the migrant community through targeting them in information campaigns and involving in consultations. Policies in the areas of immigration, health and political participation are now also more favourable for migrants. At the same time, the report highlights shortcomings in regards to equal rights in employment, education and family life, particularly for citizens from outside the EU (Solano & Hudson, 2020).

Most recent migration integration strategy was released in February 2017, titled *Migrant Integration Strategy - A Blueprint for the Future*. The document encloses 76 actions spread across various government departments and agencies. The strategy employs the following definition of integration:

> The ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in all of the major components of society without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity (Department of Justice and Equality, 2017).

3.4   Africans in Ireland

The main rationale for focusing this thesis specifically on Nigerian families, rather than on all African households in Ireland is that household dynamics can vary between different cohorts from the same continent. However, the following section includes not only information about Nigerian migration, but provides an overview of African immigration to Ireland, which displays are common patterns of migration and settlement in Ireland. Furthermore, some of the literature on migration in Ireland

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does not distinguish between different nationalities in Africa. Given that the majority of the African community in Ireland is of Nigerian origin (Central Statistics Office, 2016), it can be assumed that much of the literature on this population relates mostly to Nigerians. In the early 2000s, which were characterised by highest net immigration into the island, one of the biggest incoming non-EU groups was comprised of migrants from Africa, with 54,419 individuals indicating it as their birthplace in the 2011 Census (Central Statistics Office, 2012). In 2016, Africans accounted for more than one per cent of the population (Fanning, 2018). Africa has been described in the UN World Population Report as "the continent with the most mobile populations in the world" (in Ejorh, 2012:580). Ejorh (2012) found in his research of Africans in Ireland that their motivations to migrate ranged from concerns about political and social security to better life opportunities and professional development. A considerable number of Africans have arrived in Ireland as asylum seekers, among which most have been of Nigerian origin. At peak point in 2002, Ireland had the highest number of asylum seekers from Nigeria in the whole European Union (Carling, 2006; Komolafe, 2008). However, many Nigerians have also moved to Ireland outside of the asylum system, for example as doctors, students and entrepreneurs (Komolafe, 2008). They are part of a larger 'brain drain' movement from Africa, with many skilled Africans leaving the continent. In 2013, one in nine Africans with tertiary education were living in more economically prosperous countries in North America and Europe (Firsing, 2016) and the Nigerian Medical Association estimates that 40,000 Nigerian qualified doctors are practicing abroad (Adepoju, 2018).

For some Africans in Ireland, emigration is enabled by the wider family collecting resources to sponsor the move. In exchange, the migrants are expected to send back remittances, that in some cases are used to sponsor the emigration of other family members (Fanning, 2018). As already mentioned, it was mostly the booming economy and liberal immigration policies which attracted migrants during the Celtic Tiger[2] years. However, African immigrants have reported that their choice of the destination was also influenced by the presence of Irish people in Africa. Irish missionaries were heavily involved in the British 'civilizing mission' in Africa

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[2] Celtic Tiger refers to a period of rapid economic growth that occurred from mid-1990s to late 2000s

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(Ejorh, 2012). Many Africans were in direct contact with them through religious practices, but also because they attended Irish Catholic-run schools and access Irish government aid in their countries of origin and thus had a positive association with the country prior to migration (Feldman et al., 2008). In Nigeria in the 1960s, two out of three of the country's archbishops were Irish and so were the majority of priests. At that time, the representatives of the Irish Catholic Church were also running over 2,000 primary schools and 47 hospitals in the country. The clergy was mostly concentrated in the Catholic Igbo areas (Fanning, 2018). Ireland still has a strong presence in Africa as many religious missionaries continue their work in the continent alongside organizations involved in development and other Irish agencies, like government-run Irish Aid - a development agency which priority countries are all African (Mutwarasibo & Smith, 2000).

Since arriving in Ireland, most Africans have secured permanent residency, either through securing citizenship or other residency status. From 2000, newly arrived asylum seekers were accommodated in communal institutional centres or former hotel like settings. This set up, called Direct Provision, is run on for-profit basis by private contractors and was initially designed as a short-term solution to manage the increased number of people seeking asylum, but is still in operation in 2020. In the early years of the system, many asylum seekers were placed in North Dublin city centre. The centres have later been dispersed throughout the country and as a consequence, the African migrants have established communities in smaller towns across the country (Fanning, 2018). During Celtic Tiger there was an increase in housing available in the Northern and Western parts of the city, and many African migrants moved to the developing suburbs of Swords and Blanchardstown in the North-Western part of the capital. This area of Dublin became the area with the highest percentage of migrants in the capital (Fanning, 2018). In Fingal country, where Dublin 15 is located, the areas of Blanchardstown are the most disadvantaged in the county (Fingal County Council, 2015). In 2006, 12 per cent of the population in Dublin 15[3] was African. In 2016, 5 per cent of the population in Fingal County located North of Dublin, identified as Black or Black Irish (CSO, 2016)

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[3] Dublin's postal codes run from 1 to 24 and refer to geographical areas in the city.

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The African community have since established a strong and well networked community, including newspapers (*Metro* and *African Voice*), radio station, civil society organisations like *Africa Centre* and National network of migrant women *Akidwa*. Despite Africans in Ireland being a relatively well educated group, they experience poor labour market outcomes, with the rate of unemployment among Nigerians in Ireland standing at 43 per cent, far higher than most other immigrant groups. Out of 1910 immigrant families in Dublin 15 receiving social welfare support towards the cost of rent, 61 per cent were African (Fanning, 2018). The outcomes have been assigned to restrictive state policies, but also discriminatory practices on the part of employers (Joseph, 2018; O'Connell, 2019). Some Africans reported setting up their own businesses as a strategy to avoid racism in employment (Fanning, 2018). Africans are most likely to be separated, divorced or widowed and a high percentage of households are one-parent families. Only a small number of children is looked after by people other than their parents, usually due to the high cost of childcare (Röder, 2014).

Nigerians have a long history of emigration, which started during colonial times and continued in the process of decolonisation. The current emigration is a result of social and political instability, crime, high levels of corruption following military dictatorships (Iroh, 2009). Among all African immigrants to Ireland, Nigerians are the biggest group. According to the 2011 census, there were 17,642 Nigerian nationals residing in Ireland, making this community the largest non-EU group in the country (Central Statistics Office, 2012). Most Nigerians arrived in Ireland between 2002-2012, when the community double in size from 8,969 to 16,300 (Central Statistics Office, 2012). However, the number of Nigerians between the censuses in 2011 and 2016 has decreased by 3211. This is most likely due to many Nigerians acquiring Irish citizenship as the number of people with dual Irish nationality also rose between those two census (Central Statistics Office, 2016). It is however impossible to estimate the exact numbers of Nigerians in Ireland. There are two main streams of Nigerian migrants to Ireland; some came from another EU country and others relocated directly from Nigeria (Komolafe, 2008). Prior to the 1990s, Nigerian migration to Ireland had been sporadic and limited mostly to business people and medical students (Komolafe, 2002). From the 1980s, some Nigerians resident in the UK were travelling to Ireland in order to secure a visa for the UK and Ireland

Common Travel Area; Nigerians residing in the UK whose visas expired and who were not successful in renewing in the UK often travelled to Ireland as visa extensions granted here could be used to re-enter the UK (Komolafe, 2008). Some of them stayed in Republic. The first immigrants were mostly of Yoruba origin and they established the first Nigerian business community in the country. During a period of rapid economic growth that occurred in Ireland from mid-1990s to late 2020s, Nigerians residing in other EU countries arrived in Ireland and moved their businesses here (Fanning, 2018). In the context of the more recent migration since the mid-1990s, Nigerians came to Ireland through a variety of channels and include students, professionals, asylum seekers and family reunification migrants (Komolafe, 2008). A survey carried out by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (2008) revealed that over one in five Nigerian migrants came to Ireland primarily for education and training and 16 per cent arrived to join family members. However, only one percent of Nigerian nationals were on work permits in 2009 (in Iroh, 2009).

3.5   Asylum seekers

In the 1990s, asylum seekers were one of the biggest incoming groups. The number of asylum applications raised continuously throughout the 1990s, from only 9 applications in 1991 to over 10 000 annually in the years between 2001-2003 (Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2015). In late 1990s, the number of were asylum applications was higher than that of the work permits issued (Glynn, 2014). Consequently, current and former asylum seekers represent a significant proportion of non-EU citizens living in Ireland (Glynn, 2014). In the 1990s, most asylum seekers were citizens of Romania, Nigeria, DR Congo, Algeria and Poland, with Nigeria and Romania remaining in 2000s among the top countries of origin of asylum seekers (Honohan, 2010; Glynn, 2014). Overall, in the period between 1999 and 2006, approximately 61 000 people applied for asylum in Ireland (Office for the Refugee Applications Commissioner, 2007). Nigerians have consistently constituted around one third of asylum applicants in the country (Iroh, 2010). 3500 Nigerians applied for asylum in 2001 and a further 10 000 between 2001 and 2015 (Fanning, 2018). Some Nigerians arrived from other countries, while others travelled from West to North Africa where they paid a smuggler to bring them across the Mediterranean to Spain. As under the Dublin Convention asylum seekers are

supposed to claim asylum in the first country of arrival, many had their applications refused after arriving in Ireland (Fanning, 2018).

Those who arrived before 26th of July 1999 were initially allowed employment. However, the right to work for asylum seekers was later reversed, mainly due to the fear that this would attract large numbers of asylum seekers (Messina, 2009). An inefficient system to process asylum applications led to a backlog of applications and prompted the state to introduce a new system called 'Direct Provision'. Under the new framework, people applying for asylum were placed in accommodation centers, often in former hotels. The majority of the centres are privately run for-profit, with 53the cost of all meals and household maintenance paid directly by the government (Reception and Integration Agency, 2010). For all other expenses, adults received €19.10 per week and children €9.60, which has been increased by €2 first in 2016 and then to €38.80 in 2019. In 2018, the government announced that asylum seekers would be allowed employment if meeting specific criteria (Department of Social Protection, 2020).

3.6   Integration

Before outlining the integration conditions of Nigerian migrants in Ireland, it is important to briefly discuss criteria for integration. Here, I follow Klarenbeek's understanding of integration as:

> a society in which there are no social boundaries between 'legitimate members', or insiders, and 'non-legitimate members', or outsiders (2019:2)

Thus, integration is seen as full social equality and most importantly, it is conceptualized as an end state rather than a process in itself. As such, any actions aim to facilitate integration need to be measured against its contribution to equality. Here, Klarenbeek (2019) argues, economic equality is not in itself a reliable measurement of integration, as it does not necessarily indicate true social equality. A second key feature of integration is its conceptualisation as a two-way process that engages both migrants and the host society. In other words, the onus of integrating is not placed solely on newcomers, but requires equal efforts from the host society. In the words of Anderson:

> Integration does not view disadvantaged communities as the only ones that need to change. Integration aims to transform the habits of dominant groups. It is a tool for breaking down stigmatization, stereotypes, and discrimination (In Klarenbeek, 2019: 12)

The conceptualization above requires to view integration not solely via economic measures, but also to investigate the dynamics of inclusion and (in)equality. The section below describes the societal activities of the Nigerian community in Ireland, whereby the following sections describe in more detail the notions of belonging in Ireland.

Nigerian immigrants in Ireland are highly educated; in 2006, over 40 per cent had completed higher level education, making them more educated than the Irish-born population or other migrant groups (Fanning, 2018). They have also one of the highest rates of English language competency among all migrant groups (CSO, 2016). A study conducted in county Clare in 2007 found that Nigerians were considered more integrated into the mainstream society than other African asylum seekers. Nigerians were viewed as easily connecting with the local population, well-educated and fluent English speakers (in Fanning, 2018). In 2004, two former asylum seekers of Nigerian origin were elected as town councilors. In the following elections in 2009, 20 Africans stood for local elections (Fanning, 2018). Nigerian families in Ireland established their own connections and links through involvement in faith communities, friendships, ethnic community associations and other social networks. These sites operate as means of socialisation, but also as systems of support in a situation when traditional networks that exist in Nigeria are not available (Iroh, 2010).

When the asylum reception system changed to Direct Provision, the reception centres were dispersed throughout the country. As Africans tended to live near Direct Provision centres, this led to the development of many African communities across the country (Fanning, 2018). The Church has taken a major role in many of these communities. Initially, some Igbo joined the local Catholic Churches, but they have since increasingly set up their own institutions. In Ugba's study (2007), the participants reported that they often left the mainstream Churches as they did not feel welcome and experienced racism or they were looking for a different kind of worship, where the role of the Church is not just limited to spiritual practice, but

plays a bigger part in the community. In 2012, the most popular Pentecostal Church established in Ireland – the Redeemed Christian Church of God - had 118 branches and 7,000 members. The Church is reported to have at least one branch in every county with the exception of Roscommon (Irish Council of Churches, 2018). Other popular African-led Pentecostal Churches in Ireland include the Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministry (MFMM) and the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) (Fanning, 2018).

The role of the African churches in Ireland is not limited to religious practice; they play a substantial part in the individual and family lives of migrants and in the African community. Many elements of the service, such as songs and prayers, are adjusted to the local context and focus on the hardships and challenges of being a migrant, of the precarious residence status, of the political climate etc. For churchgoers in Ugba's study (2007), the church was also an escape from the hardships of life, providing an opportunity to restore respect and compensate for the downward social mobility and loss of social recognition associated with becoming a migrant. For some women, the church supports them in family matters like marital issues and raising children, as many parents complained of the bad influence to which their children were exposed in Ireland and the church provides guidance to teach children the right values. The Redeemed Christian Church of God organises many camps and weekends away for youths of all ages. The camps are aimed at personal and professional development. The church also offers multiple youth groups, including Young Men Fellowship and Just Girls (RCCG website, 2018).

The African Pentecostal church sets strict rules for its followers, including abstaining from extra-marital sex, use of dirty language, any alcohol consumption, visit to pubs, attending non-religious concerts and homosexuality. Some of this can seem contradictory with social practices in Ireland and thus can appear to stand in the way of integration of the Nigerian community. Yet, the participants in Ugba's (2007) study believe that the church membership facilitates their participation in the wider community as it allows its members to gain confidence and skills in order to function well as member of society at large. Similarly, Maguire & Murphy in their research of African families in Ireland point to the importance of the church in the lives of asylum seekers and refugees:

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> Pentecostal churches also cross those lines [the lines separating asylum seekers from those living after asylum in the world outside] and offer spiritual refuge, together with emergent and always-fragile forms of community (2012:69).

Most studies focus on the political and societal involvement of the first generation of Africans. However, as their children are now adults, some of them join the already established organisations for African immigrants, but there is also a number of initiates set up by youths. To name a few, most third level institutions have African societies that organise talks, events and often represent Black students. In addition, the African Students Association of Ireland is also a national body of students. Black Pride was established two years ago in Ireland and is an LGBTQIA* organisation by Black queer people.

3.7   Issues of belonging, citizenship and nationalism in the context of migration

In order to understand the specific dynamics of belonging, race and identity in Ireland that the young adults of Nigerian descent are negotiating, a historical contextualisation of Ireland and its place in British colonialism is necessary. There is an often held belief in Ireland that as the country has been colonised, it cannot be racist (McVeigh, 1992). During colonialism, the Irish were subjugated and racialized as primitive and monstrous. To counter these images, the Irish constructed a myth of a monocultural, all-white nation (Fanning, 2002; Garner, 2004). As accounted by Fanning & Mutwarasibo (2007), the process involved creating a religious-ethnic concept of identity, where Irishness equated with being white and Catholic. By doing so, it already excluded minorities living in the country from the vision of Irish nationality, like the Travellers, Jewish Back Irish and other minorities. As Lentin (2003: 308-209) argues:

> while the Irish were naturalized by the British, the Irish state, constitutionally conceived as the space of white, settled men of property, racially historicizes its own racial inferiors.

It is suggested that these historical processes of linking ethnicity with national

identity have consequences for inclusion of ethnic minorities in contemporary Ireland. The current description of non-Irish as non-nationals can be considered a continuation of this narrative (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2007). At the same time, these narratives are challenged by discourses of Ireland as a modern and open European state, which managed to some extent to mitigate exclusionary far-right narratives (Ní Laoire et al., 2011). During the increased inflow of immigration in the early 21st century, immigration never emerged as a political issue and none of the mainstream parties have attempted to gain political capital on scapegoating migrants, as it is the case in other European countries (Messina, 2009). However, Fanning & Michael (2018) note that the absence of far-right organisations does not mean there is no racism in Ireland or violent racist incidents. The Irish Network Against Racism in their report on racist incidents in Ireland recounts 530 such incidents in 2019 (Michael, 2019). Moreover, there is currently an increased presence of the far-right movement in Ireland that is not yet documented in academic research at the time of writing of this thesis (Gallagher, 2020). A far right National Party was established in 2016, though it has no elected representatives. As will be seen below, their discourses have direct consequences on migrants and their children and on the shape of legal frameworks that impact migrants.

The 2004 Citizenship Referendum is also argued to be the outcome of the nationalist independence project (Fanning & Mutwarasibo, 2007). The official rationale for the referendum was the alleged overstretching of maternity services due to asylum seekers arriving in Ireland at a later stage of pregnancy only to take advantage of the country's law which granted citizenship to all people born on the island. In the public debate preceding the citizenship referendum, "immigration debates were literally and figuratively inscribed on African immigrant women's bodies" (Shandy, 2008:805). Both migrant mothers and their children were to be feared as "migrant mothers and their 'Irish- born' children [are] subverting Irish conceptualizations of 'the nation' and the citizenry" (Lentin, 2003:302-303). The reluctance to consider children that do no fit into the stereotype of Irishness can be argued to be a direct consequence of the nation-building project that excluded ethnic minorities from the conception of Irishness. Thus, Fanning (2018) observes that the Irish electorate was voting on their own beliefs on Irishness and belonging, rather than as a part of a rational debate on the best citizenship system. Consequently, the 79 per cent of those who voted in the

Referendum to change the citizenship law bluntly declared to immigrants: "we are Irish, you are not". (Fanning, 2016). The referendum is thus viewed by some scholars as portraying the fears about the place of children from migrant backgrounds in the Irish society (Shandy, 2008), as they were at the centre of this debate. It has been suggested that the debate surrounding the Referendum has been fuelled by the fears of the difference of non-Irish children (Shandy, 2008). Ní Laoire argues that it is children of colour, often African children, including mixed-race Irish, that are believed to "challenge the conflation of racial and national identities in Ireland" (2011:44). In Luibheid's account the controversy partially stemmed from the fact that:

> the pregnant asylum seeker, through birthing a live child on Irish soil, could by- pass the immigration and asylum systems' criteria for deciding who can enter and remain in Ireland. For this reason, her childbearing became represented as a means to erode the governmental apparatus for ensuring national sovereignty (in Shandy, 2008:821)

As Shandy notes, the targeting of African women was a result of anxieties about changing notions of Irishness, as Black children will challenge the historic ideals of Irish citizenship, as discussed above (Shandy, 2008).

3.8   The second generation in Ireland

Most research concerned with minority ethnic youths in Ireland examines the experiences of children who arrived in Ireland at a young age, reflecting the initial migration trends of whole families moving to Ireland (see Devine, 2009; Gilligan et al., 2010; Ní Laoire, 2010; Szlovák & Szewczyk, 2007). The literature thus addresses the emerging needs, like adjustments to increased diversification in schools (Smyth et al., 2009). However, the demographic landscape of Ireland has drastically changed. While in 2009 only an estimated one per cent of children born in the Republic had at least one foreign-born parent (OECD in Röder, 2014), in 2016 almost a quarter of births was to a foreign-born mother (Healthcare Pricing Office, 2018). Furthermore, the experiences of second generation cohorts can be very different from those who moved to Ireland with their parents as children; McGarry (2012) in her study of the Muslim minority in co. Mayo found that 1.25 and 1.5 generation Pakistani men were more likely to be involved in conflict with the

majority population than their 1.75 and second generation peers. Despite that, the literature on Irish-born children with migrant parents is still quite limited and very recent, possibly due to the late emergence of the group (Mahon & McCrea, 2016; Walsh, 2017) and many studies of minority ethnic youth include both cohorts (McGarry. 2012; Ní Laoire et al., 2011).

Complications also often arise in relation to defining second generations, as some studies consider children born in their parents' country of origin. In other instances, when the children moved to Ireland at a very young age, they are still recorded as 'foreign born' and considered first generation migrants. For the purpose of this review, I include both studies investigating second generation and migrant youths, as some of the experiences of migrant youths reflect the reality of all minority ethnic youths. What is essential to mention is that not only is there not one second generation experience, but also that they have a variety of legal statuses and socio economic backgrounds (Ní Laoire et al., 2011).

According to the 2016 Census, 15 per cent of all people in Ireland aged 15-24 are from a minority ethnic background. Of those, 1.7 per cent (9,485) identify as Black or Black Irish. It is worth noting that among the population aged 5-14, the percentage of Black/Black Irish almost doubles to 2,9 per cent. In fact, 39 per cent of those with African ethnicity were Irish-born and among the remaining Africans, 27 per cent were born in Nigeria. Among individuals up to 24 years of age, 5,204 identifies as either Nigerian or Irish Nigerian. At the same time, while the numbers of African youth are rising, the cohort is still relatively small compared to other minority ethnic groups. In comparison, Polish or Irish Polish nationals in the same age group comprise of 37,970 individuals and the second largest group are British youths, with 20,047 youths (Walsh, 2017). Yet, despite these low numbers, Ní Laoire et al (2011) observed that they are often at the centre of debates about migration in Ireland.

3.9   State policies

Ní Laoire et al. (2011) observe that the significant presence of youths with migrant backgrounds is not always reflected in key migration policy documents, such as *Migration Nation* in 2008. However, Ireland's current strategy for immigrant

integration, *Blueprint for the Future,* launched in 2018, recognises the emerging group of second generation young people and young people of minority ethnic background, and considers that it is:

> important for future social cohesion, stability and inclusion that this group grow up to become part of the essential fabric of Irish society and feel fully integrated in every way possible (Department of Justice & Equality, 2018).

Interestingly, the rationale for integrating second generation young people is justified in the policy by the fear of radicalisation:

> The risk of radicalisation leading to terrorist activity is a risk for all societies. The challenge will be to reach out to young people at risk of radicalisation to encourage them to participate constructively in Irish society (Department of Justice & Equality, 2018:8)

This appears to be a continuation of the fears expressed during the Citizenship Referendum. The proposed new state policy mostly relates to education and includes plans to monitor school enrolment policies in relation to migrant student access, language support for students and monitoring of numbers of non-English speaking migrant children in schools. It also includes a commitment to network with schools outside of the established education system, intercultural awareness training for government staff and involvement of more migrants on teaching positions. The number of non-English speaking migrant children is to be monitored and published and schools are to be encouraged to participate in the school life of their children and to facilitate access of young people to youth services. The document also provides measures in relation to youth work, ensuring that people from migrant or ethnic backgrounds have access to appropriate youth services that meet their needs and encourage integration (Department of Justice & Equality, 2018).

Youth policy documents and strategies are also of potential relevance for migrant and second generation young people in Ireland. The most recent ones are *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures,* the national policy framework for people aged 0-24 in the years 2014- 2020 and the *National Youth Strategy* 2015-2020. The aim of the Strategy is to ensure that young people:

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are active and healthy, achieving their full potential in learning and development, safe and protected from harm, have economic security and opportunity, and are connected and contributing to their world (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2015:V).

While these documents recognise that youths from migrant and minority ethnic background are potentially more vulnerable, their specific needs are not considered on their own, but with those of other minority youths. *Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures* recognises the need of policies that "integrate minority ethnic groups into the fabric of society" and highlight the importance of young people to be able to access services without discrimination, with the Government committing to reducing discrimination experiences by all types of marginalised groups, which include also LGBT+ youths, Travellers, those from religious and ethnic minorities and people with disabilities (Department of Children, Equality, Disability, Integration and Youth, 2014:101).

3.10 The Second Generation in Irish Schools

According to data from the 2016-2017 school year in primary schools, 8.7 per cent or 47,973 pupils said neither English nor Irish were their mother tongues, of which 36 per cent had Irish nationality. 1,771 children in that age group had Nigerian nationality (O'Brien, 2017). Much of the research on migrant youths in Ireland focuses on education and schooling (Ní Laoire et al., 2011). There are numerous studies on the Irish education system and its management of diversity. This is important as educational achievement is one of the main markers of labour market success and other post-school outcomes (McGinnity et al., 2015). While children from minority ethnic backgrounds can make friends with children of Irish parents in school, Ní Laoire et al. (2009) found in their research that they also experience racism and exclusion in school. There are still many institutional challenges in education for children of migrant background. The 2016-2017 data shows that 90 per cent of schools had a Catholic ethos and only 3.7 were multi-denominational (O'Brien, 2017). School policies might prioritise children whose siblings are already in the school or Catholic ones, which often leads to de facto discrimination of children from migrant background (Darmody et al., 2014; Smyth et al., 2009 in Ní Laoire, 2011). A UNCRC report reviewing the implementation of children rights in Ireland stressed the lack of availability of non- or multi-denominational schools.

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However, this landscape is slowly changing; while the vast majority of schools is still Catholic, just in enrolments between 2017 and 2018 there was a 4 per cent rise in pupils in multi-denominational schools and between 2008 and 2018 the number of multi-denominational schools at post-primary level increased from 321 to 349, whereby the number at primary level rose from 73 to 119. In the same period, the number of Catholic secondary schools dropped from 361 to 346. The Catholic Church is also no longer applying to be a patron of new schools at primary level (Donnelly, 2018)

Most of the data on the educational achievement in Ireland of migrant children comes from a 2008 study of 8,500 9-year olds, *Growing Up in Ireland*. While the study is dated, the young people who took part in it are now in their early 20's, thus highlighting the experiences of the people who are now young adults and are also the focus of this thesis. In the research the largest group of participating migrant children was from the UK, followed by 19 per cent from Africa and 18 per cent from Eastern Europe. The data shows that most parents from Africa were more likely to speak English to their children at least some of the time. 25 per cent of African children went to school in disadvantaged areas, compared to just 9 per cent of children with Irish parents. At the same time, mothers of African children were highly educated – 54 per cent had higher education in comparison to 32 per cent among Irish mothers. One third of African parents were single mothers. Migrant parents had generally very high expectations of their children, African ones in particular – 92 per cent of African parents aspired for their children to complete third level education (McGinnity et al., 2015).

3.11 Minority identities in Ireland

The disproportionate focus on minority ethnic groups in migration debates can be ascribed to the challenge African children pose to the myth of monolithic white Catholic Irish identity described in the section above As Ní Laoire et al. (2011: 29) observe:

> Monocultural imaginings of Irishness have involved a denial of the historically plural nature of Irish society […] contributing to the dominance of fixed and exclusive constructions of Irishness that are resistant to attempts at hybridization or hyphenisation.

According to another study by Ní Laoire et al. (2009), the processes of exclusion and denial of multiple identities should be contextualised historically, where Traveller children were similarly othered as they did not conform to the monocultural imaginings of Ireland. In line with this argument, Helleiner (1998) suggests that settled Irish children are perceived as the norm, whereby children that are outside of this norm are considered in two contradictory views as dangerous or in need of protection (in Ní Laoire et al., 2009). Consequently, even though one can describe themselves in the census as 'Black Irish' or 'Asian Irish', hyphenated identities are not easily accepted by the majority ethnic population (Walsh, 2017). This is particularly important for the negotiations of identities among the youths as Walsh (2017) found in her study of minority ethnic youth in Ireland that their sense of belonging was dependent on the way in which they are perceived be the majority ethnic population. She thus reports that pride in the heritage culture depends on how this culture is perceived by the majority Irish population.

Multiple studies report that minority ethnic youth in Ireland have in fact developed hybrid identities and feel affinity with more than one culture (Devine, 2009; Ní Laoire, 2009; Walsh, 2017; Yau, 2007). However, in her study of second generation Chinese youths, Yau argues that through their insistence on hyphenated identities, they try to make the category of Irishness less rigid (Yau, 2007). The youths have been questioned about being asked where they are 'really' from, when they are going back or about their origin based on their appearance. They are not perceived as Irish (Walsh, 2017). In these dynamics, accent is often considered a marker of identity, where having an Irish accent is a decisive factor to be accepted by peers. Although intercultural friendships are common, many individuals also report isolation from their majority Irish peers (Walsh, 2017).

What is most alarming is the prevalence of racism in the everyday experience of young people from minority backgrounds in Ireland, reported as a regular feature in their lives. The experiences are well reflected in this testimony from an 18 year- old female of African background:

> Just be realistic here, because this actually does happen, I'm seen as a nigger, negro, seen as the woman who can't do anything because she's a

woman, seen as not Irish, seen as trouble, up to no good, seen as uneducated, seen as the outsider, seen as loud, seen as being alone, seen as a monkey. I don't even know why you guys are laughing because you know racism is real, you know that we get called these names. That even if it's not on a daily basis, at least once a week. I'm just saying like this thing actually does go on and you're not taking it seriously. [Black female, 18+, Ulster in Walsh, 2017:74]

The youth experiences racist incidents in all settings: on the street, in schools or in the airports (Gilligan et al., 2010; Walsh, 2017). Many of the encounters, particularly on the streets, are gendered and often relate to Black female sexuality. Young women in particular often do not feel safe in public spaces and complain about the absence of safe environments (Mahon & McCrea, 2016). Moreover, some young people might self-exclude from white-only spaces or parents might be hesitant to allow children to attend spaces attended only by Irish people, fearing they might experience racism (Gilligan et al., 2010).

While the hegemonic discourses, enacted by the majority of the Irish population, seem to govern the processes of exclusion and belonging and thus impact the interaction between the minority youths and the majority Irish population, it is important to recognise the agency of the youths in negotiating belonging in Irish society. Walsh (2017) observed that in interethnic friendships, differences were overcome through focusing on shared interests. Participation in typical 'Irish' activities, like learning Irish dancing or Irish language or playing Gaelic sports, is considered an important marker of belonging and often encouraged by migrant parents (Devine, 2009).

The literature on children from migrant backgrounds often focuses, not surprisingly, on the formative years. Several studies mention the importance of family and their support (Ní Laoire et al., 2009; Szlovák & Szewczyk, 2007). In a 2007 study of migrant men, the participants listed some difficulties of parenting in Ireland, like the lack of knowledge of services available and challenges in adopting to new cultural norms (Szlovák & Szewczyk, 2007). Children from migrant background balance intergenerational relationships at home with perceived expectations of their peers (Mahon & McCrea, 2016). Devine (2009) reports that on one hand, migrant parents encourage children to be successful in school, on the other, particularly among boys

in working-class areas, being a good student does not fit in well with the dominant vision of masculinity and thus belonging. In the words of Devine (2009: 530):

> While negotiating these dynamics of recognition within the peer group, the children also had to manage inter-generational dynamics, meeting the expectations of their parents for academic success, as well as safe-guarding the acquired social capital of their family within the public space of the school.

Mahon & McCrea (2016) in their study discovered that a similar discrepancy can occur between values and beliefs transmitted in school versus those advocated by religious institutions that migrant families attend, like in the case in the debates on the marriage equality referendum in 2015.

3.12 Gendered experiences of second generation youths in Ireland

The existing studies of migrant and minority ethnic youths, although limited, show that the everyday lives, including relations with parents and peers, but also dynamics of belonging and identity are gendered. This is particularly salient in household relations. In line with research from other countries, multiple Irish studies highlight that young women from migrant backgrounds face greater restrictions of their freedoms than their male peers. While these are often motivated by a parental will to protect their children from racism and discrimination (Mahon & McCrea, 2016), they also limit opportunities for interaction with the majority population. McGarry (2012) in her research of Muslim youths in Co. Mayo found that young women developed strategies to participate in society in alternative ways through, for example, the development of artistic and literary skills. In Gilligan's (2010) study, young people reported their parents becoming more lenient over time.

The role of gender is also clearly observable in the dynamics of belonging. Young Muslim women in McGarry's study (2012) complained that there are less sport activities for women to get involved and that their participation in sports is frowned upon by the community, but for their male counterparts, participation in sport activities became a means of integrating and belonging (Devine, 2009). Young Black men were particularly vulnerable to racist discrimination by their peers in sports, but participation in GAA activities has protected from racist abuse. Male immigrants in

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Szlovák & Szewczyk (2007) study also recognised the different pathways to integration for men and women. Members of minority ethnic groups face gendered challenges to acceptance; men were often perceived as trouble makers and as being more likely to be victims of racial profiling by public officers, whereby women face pressures regarding their look and behaviour. In particular, girls from minority ethnic backgrounds reported facing challenges regarding skin colour and certain types of hairstyle (Devine, 2009).

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the socio-political context in which the second generation is raised in Ireland. Over the past 30 years, Ireland underwent rapid demographic changes. Though Ireland did not experience the same levels of anti-immigration sentiment as other Western European countries, the forging of a cohesive society still remains a challenge. The response to the growing diversification of Irish society is partially shaped by historical narratives of monocultural Ireland, drawing boundaries between who can and who cannot claim themselves as Irish. This became particularly salient with the emergence of diverse second generations in the first two decades of the 21st century. Existing studies of first and second generation youths find that young people from minority ethnic backgrounds negotiate these narratives in the process of their ethnic identity construction. Though still limited, existing studies on second generations in Ireland show that in addition to negotiating their belonging, young people navigate between different expectations from their peers, institutions and families (McGarry, 2012; Walsh, 2017). This thesis addresses some of these matters by focusing specifically on the second generation of Nigerian descent to assess how they balance these dynamic

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the development of the research strategy employed to study relations in Nigerian households in Ireland. The chapter is divided into three sections: methodological considerations, data collection and analysis. The first section outlines the underlying epistemological and methodological framework, grounding this research in a postcolonial feminist approach, and includes a discussion of some of the ethical considerations stemming from the choice of the approach, which mostly relate to the positionality of the researcher. This framework guides the selection of data gathering techniques presented in the second section, in which I also reflect on the process itself and on my position as a researcher. This part argues for the choice of qualitative methods and discusses the utility of particular data collection tools. This section also includes the profile of the participants and the schedule of the data collection. Following on, this chapter focuses on data analysis, discussing both the data gathered throughout the process of transcription and that of the data itself. I highlight the fact that data analysis here extends beyond the process of analysis to all aspects of the research. Throughout this chapter, in line with the feminist approach previously discussed, I reflect on my positionality and on the position of the researcher as well as the potential consequences of this research to the community. The ethical considerations underlying the very foundation of my research guide the manner in which I reflect this dimension in this chapter. It concludes with a discussion of ethics. This includes the steps applied prior to data collection as well as a brief overview of its implications in practice.

The main research question is:

How do second generation youths of Nigerian descent negotiate values, norms and expectations in their households?

This question is answered with the following sub-questions:

- How do young adults of Nigerian descent negotiate and balance intergenerational relationships?
- How are gender norms and behaviours negotiated alongside other expectations?
- How is identity negotiated in this context?
- What is the role of the host society in influencing these negotiations?
- What role do transnational connections play in these negotiations?

4.2   Methodological concerns

4.2.1   Ontological and epistemological considerations

Feminist approach

As gender is one of the central themes in this research, I consider post colonial feminist approach the most suitable to this study. There is no general agreement about what constitutes a feminist approach as it can refer to both epistemology and methodology. Additionally, there are also no specific feminist methods (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). However, one can identify certain features common to most feminist research, which challenges positivist claims that neutral impartial research is possible. Feminist academics argue that the researcher is not detached from the process of the research and the choices made throughout this process are influenced by the researcher's position:

> These choices are informed by the standpoint of the respective researcher informed by collective meanings and shared knowledges that exist within and outside of the academy. Researchers like all subjects who produce history and knowledge, do so under conditions not of our choosing (Moreton-Robinson, 2013:334).

Thus, as all knowledge is socially situated, it is always subjective and true objectivity

is impossible to achieve (Moreton-Robinson, 2013). Feminist research approaches emerged in order to counter the male-centric sexist bias in traditional methodologies which were considered 'neutral' by academia, but tended to ignore the issues and perspectives of women (Harding, 1995).

As discussed in the literature review, this bias was also prevalent in migration studies, where 'migrant' as the research subject was male by default until feminist migration researchers challenged it in early 1970s (Mahler & Pessar, 2006). Thus, as the main underlying principle of feminist approaches is its commitment to challenge existing power structures in knowledge production, the political dimension can be considered its main unifying characteristic (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). This is partially achieved by providing a platform for less privileged voices and experiences. As argued by Campbell and Wasco:

> Feminist research seeks to respect, understand, and empower women. Therefore, feminist epistemologies accept women's stories of their lives as legitimate sources of knowledge, and feminist methodologies embody an ethic of caring through the process of sharing those stories (2000:778).

Here, if empowerment is the goal of the research, it is not delivered top-down through education of the research participants by the researcher and their knowledge, but it is collectively achieved among the participants through self-reflection, mutual learning and development of critical skills. While this process might be initiated by the researcher, it is the exchanges between research participants that are key to emancipatory consciousness raising. (Reid in Vanner, 2015).

According to Fonow & Cook (1986), a set of principles common to all feminist research can be identified. Firstly, gender and gender inequality are to be situated at the centre of all social life, and women's experiences should be considered the primary focus of inquiry so as to challenge 'academic machismo'. Traditional notions of objectivity should also be questioned to include personal experiences as sources of knowledge. Awareness-raising must be a central feature of the study and women empowerment and challenging patriarchal power relations should be prioritised. Ethical concerns, particularly in relation to the exploitation of women as research objects, should be also a key issue. These principles are reflected in this

research, as the paragraphs below will explain in detail. The study incorporates a gendered dimension to household relations and explores how relations in the households and attitudes towards family members are gendered. Here, the experiences of female participants constitute a particular focus. The present study employed qualitative research to place the experiences and accounts of research participants at its centre. Elements of participatory research were incorporated in the research design, which allowed for a more democratic and collaborative process. Through open discussions and focus groups, this research aimed to allow the participants to learn from themselves and reflect on their lives, leading to group awareness raising.

4.3 Postcolonial feminism

The feminist approach to social sciences was further elaborated with postcolonial feminist theory, which is critical of both feminist and postcolonial studies. It challenges postcolonial literature for ignoring how colonialism can impact the 'colonised' differently, depending on their gender. Postcolonial feminists thus see women under colonialism as subjected to a 'double oppression', reflecting that the colonised women in post-colonial spaces must resist not only the patriarchy in their indigenous setting, but also the one instilled by the colonial system (Ajayi-Soinka, 1993; Tyagi, 2014). They have also extensively criticised the tendency in Western academia to homogenise the experiences of women from post-colonial countries through the creation of a monolithic account of 'Third World Woman' (Mohanty, 1984). Chandra Mohanty in her famous essay *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*, offers a critique of Western feminist writers who construct:

> cross-culturally singular, monolithic notion of patriarchy or male dominance [that] leads to the construction of a similarly reductive and homogeneous notion of what I call the "Third World Difference" - that stable, ahistorical something that apparently oppresses most if not all the women in these countries […] It is in this process of homogenization and systemization of the oppression of women in the third world that power is exercised in much of recent Western feminist discourse, and this power needs to be defined and named. (1984:335)

As Mohanty (1984) observes, the portrayal of the 'average third-world woman' is

often based on her biological gender (that is sexually constrained) and on being 'third world' (that is traditional, domesticated and uneducated), in contrast to the image of western women who are educated and have agency and control over their bodies. These academic approaches are seen not only as an outcome of privileged power positions of Western feminists, but also as reproducing the harmful colonial discourse of homogeneous African women (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). Western academics are thus, through these practices, further establishing themselves in positions of privilege that allow them to judge non-Western women with a Western feminist yardstick.

The majority of quantitative research on gender in migrant families (Idema &Phalet, 2007, Spierings, 2015) discussed in the previous chapter can be critiqued from the postcolonial feminist perspective for homogenising the migrant parents' generation as backwards and conservative simply due to their place of origin. Their views are contrasted with the apparently progressive and liberal beliefs held in the West, without contextualising their parenting strategies and decisions in a socio- historical perspective. By ignoring the post-colonial power dynamics, this contributes to the reproduction of the neo-colonial representation of the West as morally superior and progressive, while silencing the colonised. Therefore, a feminist approach that considers the silenced voices and allows them to take central stage in the research rather than expecting them to fit into pre-defined questions and theories is more appropriate. Moreover, it can lead to decolonising this body of literature, while at the same time allowing for a gendered analysis of colonialism by revealing how the (neo)colonial dynamics affect men and women. Vanner (2015) advises Western feminist researchers to pay attention to how racial, colonial and neo-colonial influences impact the different social constructions of gender. Considering the wider political and social contexts in which the research is located is central to the process (Agyeman, 2008).

While the research is set in a Western setting, it concerns a community from a post-colonial context. One can define as post-colonial a nation-state or a unit within a nation- state such as a group of people, area, texts or ideas which have been previously colonized. As the spaces, presumably independent, are in fact still usually subjected to Western neo- imperialism, "the Western researcher represents not only a

postcolonial past but also a neo-colonial present" (Vanner, 2015:1). Consequently, a Western researcher in post-colonial spaces has the ability to either reproduce the power imbalances or challenge them (Vanner, 2015). While, as discussed in the previous chapter, Ireland and Nigeria do not have a historical relationship as coloniser and colonised in the conventional understanding, I argue that the dynamics of migration and the experiences of Nigerian migrants in Ireland are influenced by the postcolonial dynamics of racialization (Garner, 2004). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, the definition of post-colonial extends beyond the geographical space to neo-colonial power relations of Western hegemony and I believe one can apply a postcolonial approach even to countries which have not been colonisers if the processes of racialisation reflect colonial times, as is the case in Ireland.

4.4   Positionality

The harmful consequences of misrepresentation have been discussed by many Black feminists, stressing that 'Others' are denied their expert status on their own lives and experiences and their own accounts are often discredited and de-authorised (Wilkinson & Katzinger, 1996). This tendency is not limited to writings by white researchers, as without contextualisation, much of the writing by Black writers remains "essentially white or Eurocentric discourse by black people" (Asante in Agyeman, 2008:78). In response to this, some feminist authors advocate moving away from the usual practice in social science research to speak 'on behalf' or 'about' the 'other', where the researcher is considered the expert of the lives of the researched. Instead, the expertise is to be reclaimed by the researched 'Other' (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996).

Based on the above, there is an ongoing debate as to whether white feminist academics should research Black women, as doing so reinforces the racialized power dynamics. I have considered these arguments since I shared these concerns about issues of representation with other white feminist researchers. Agyeman (2008) in her study of Black youth expressed concerns about the credibility of her research, since the only characteristic she shared with the research participants was gender and thus their life experiences were very different and potentially impossible for her to understand. At the same time, some feminist authors argue that disengagement with

issues of people from outside of our communities in fact leads to exclusion of the silenced voices and does not allow to challenge oppression (Vanner, 2015). In this way, when we strictly adapt the approach of only 'speaking of ourselves' we are contributing to making experiences and perspectives of people and whole communities invisible (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996).

Agyeman recalls Livia's observation, that the absence of literature on certain groups of women, like Black lesbians, led to a situation where due to the exclusion, even starting a discussion on the topic is difficult (in Agyeman, 2008). The issue here is understood not as whether the researcher shares the same position and life experiences with the participants, like being Black or female, but rather from what perspective they are writin(Ackerly & True, 2008). In this way, while recognising the ethical challenges posed by researching a minority ethnic group of which I am not part, I hope to use my position and my research as a platform for voices that would otherwise not be heard. I have undertaken a number of steps throughout the research process to ensure these voices are heard and have at length considered othering and my positionality as an outsider, as will be discussed below.

Wilkinson & Kitzinger (1996) list multiple ways in which the (re)presentation of Black people can be harmful to the researched community. As mentioned above, while some literature is objectifying Third World women, in order to counter these narratives, some academics fall into the trap of romanticising the community, exaggerating "the exotic, the heroic, or the tragic aspects of the lives of people with little power" (Olson & Shopes in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996:13). Here, feminists are at risk of emphasising or romanticising those aspects of Black women's lives which fit their own vision of feminist and the 'good life' (Wilkinson & Katzinger, 1996). While I recognize that it is impossible to fully overcome power as talking about the 'Other' already in itself reproduces power, in the research I employ the strategies proposed by Wilkinson & Kitzinger (1996) to mitigate power and Othering.

Going back to relations between the researcher and the researched, that is the Self-Other, I follow Michelle Fine's advice to 'work the hyphen'; instead of writing about the Other and thus contributing to othering, my focus is more orientated towards my

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relation with the context of the study and the informants. Based on the 'hyphen' Wilkinson & Kitzinger (1996) developed the following taxonomy for avoiding othering. Firstly, following the idea that the researcher should negotiate representations with those represented, the representation of Other is to be checked with the represented for feedback and comments (Vanner, 2015). To ensure accurate representation in this research, I engaged with community leaders and workers from the earliest stage of the research to consult the research design. After completing the analysis, I have discussed my results with individuals of similar profile to the participants and people actively engaged in the African community. This allowed me to ensure the analysis is accurate and reflects the lived experiences of the second generation in Ireland.

Wilkinson & Kitzinger (1996) also advise to give space to the researched to allow them present their accounts of how they are othered, thus recognising their expertise on the subject of othering. This point is reflected in the research questions, where I ask the respondents to elaborate on how they believe they are seen and expected to behave. Finally, the academics advise to listen to accounts of the members of the privileged group to see ways in which they construct others. This element is integrated mostly in the literature review, where I contextualise the experiences of the young adults in the discourses around race and migration in Ireland. At the same time, I recognise that conducting research on groups that have been historically less privileged and might have less access to self-representation, carries risks of mis-representation and misuse of power by the researcher (Agyeman, 2008). The ethical challenges I face in the research are very well summarised by Wilkinson & Kitzinger (1996:13):

> The problem (…) is how to go on conversing about, theorizing and attempting to challenge structural power, while recognizing the multiple intersecting forms of power and powerlessness; how to thing about our own and/or others' Otherness without fixing it as an essential attribute; how to speak without our words serving to disempower Others; and when to remain silent.

The issues one can extract from this which are most relevant to conducting research are concerns of power and representation, which are central to most kinds of feminism. Vanner (2015) reminds us that power is present at each stage of the

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research: from the selection of research participants, data collection and analysis to representation of research participants and their communities.

Feminist methodology here is useful as it offers tools which can contribute to mitigate power and ensure appropriate representation. Self-reflexivity on one's own position and on the research process is considered one of the main tactics to decrease power differentials between the researcher and the researched (Stacey, 1988). As argued by Lyons & Chipperfield:

> We do not come to an interview as disembodied, objective researchers intent on producing the "truth" of these women's lives, but as women "with legs", with experiences of our own, and with a research agenda, all of which shape the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. For this reason questions of 'Who am I?' and 'How will I 'speak' her?' are equally as important as the question 'Who is she? (2010: 6)

Bhopal (2010) advises researchers to be attentive to the manner in which the research is affected by various power dynamics, which also implies that the researcher challenges their own ideas and perceptions of the research process. Here, Harding's (1995) concept of 'strong objectivity', which requires the researcher to consider their own standpoint at each stage of the research is very useful. To do this, I have reflected on my positionality throughout each stage of the research and kept memos in my research journal. It is however not sufficient to list the social position of the researcher, it is equally important to reflect on how the different aspects of one's position (class, race, assumptions and beliefs) influence the research process and the analysis. In line with this reasoning, Alcoff remarks that a researcher should not simply list their social position as an outsider to the community as a disclaimer against arrogance and errors, but rather critically engage with their biographies and examine how that influences the research (in Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996).

4.5   Research Techniques

4.5.1   Research Design

The previous section listed the epistemological and methodological considerations for feminist research. In this section, I draw on these considerations to develop the specific research techniques employed in this research. The feminist approach does

not consist of any particular methods of data collection, but rather it is focused on paying attention to how these methods are enacted how they can be adjusted to align with the feminist ideology (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Therefore, in making choices about data collection techniques, in the section below I examine the tools I consider best suited for the goals of the research, while at the same time ensuring they are in line with the feminist postcolonial approach.

4.5.2 Qualitative Research

In aligning my epistemological position and methodology with the feminist approach, I contest the concepts of objectivity in research. Citing Ramazanoglou:

> it is more logical to accept our subjectivity, our emotions and our socially grounded positions than to assume some of us can rise above them (1992:211).

Rather than emphasising objectivity, the concern lies more on representing the lived experiences of research participants with validity. The study employs a qualitative approach as it is best suited for exploratory studies of topics not addressed before, or where the population or sample was not studied (Creswell, 2003). The participants' own understanding of household relations is key to this study, and therefore qualitative research is most suitable as it allows the participants to ascribe meaning to the negotiations and interactions occurring within and outside of the household. The approach allows to place research participants at the centre of the study and gives them a platform to express their values, perceptions and experiences. It is argued that qualitative methods give research participants more agency and control in the research process and more opportunity to share their life experiences (Cotterill in Lyons & Chipperfield, 2010).

4.5.3 Participatory methods

In order to mitigate the power relations between the researcher and participants and avoid othering, some elements of participatory approach to the research are employed. Vanner (2015) in her recommendations for a postcolonial feminist research approach advises the use of participatory and collaborative techniques as means to reduce hierarchy and increase the empowerment of participants. As argued

by Cotterill, the participatory model:

> aims to produce non-hierarchical, non-manipulative research relationships which have the potential to overcome the separation between the researcher and researched (1992:594).

Participatory methods emerged as an alternative challenging the presumably objective and neutral, detached quantitative positivist approaches (Bagnoli & Clark, 2010). The model encourages engagement in the research process of the people whose lives are being studied (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). It is not a specific technique, but rather:

> can be regarded as a methodology that argues in favour of the possibility, the significance, and the usefulness of involving research partners in the knowledge- production process" (Bergold in Bergold & Thomas, 2012:192).

Research participants are considered not just 'objects' to be researched, but knowing subjects. This directly addresses the issue discussed in section 4.2, where colonised people or people of colour in mainstream academic discourse are denied expertise on their lives. It is also beneficial to research participants as through the process they have an opportunity to employ their knowledge, experiences, and competencies, while at the same time gaining new perspectives. Bergold & Thomas (2012:192) observe:

> the participatory research process enables co-researchers to step back cognitively from familiar routines, forms of interaction, and power relationships in order to fundamentally question and rethink established interpretations of situations and strategies.

When applying the participatory approach, there are various levels of participant engagement in the process. Biggs (1989) developed a model to classify research depending on the degree of respondents' participation, ranging from contractual (where the participants are contracted to take part in the research), through consultative (where the researchers are consulting with the participants), collaborative (where the participants work with the principal researcher, who is nevertheless still in charge), to finally, collegiate (where the participants and the principal researcher have an equal amount of power over the research) (Martin &

Sherington, 1997). While collegiate research might be considered most appropriate in this case, due to the constraints of time and resources, I applied the consultative approach, by including the community at each stage of the research. Prior to initiating the process and focusing on the research topic, not only did I consult the relevant literature to identify the gaps, but I also had conversations with second generation youths from minority ethnic communities in Ireland (although not Nigerian) to investigate whether the topic resonates with their lived experiences.

I was also attentive to reactions about the research when sending information about it to potential participants. I was met mostly with enthusiastic responses, where the young people signaled that this is an issue they reflect upon and share with their peers. A young woman of African descent was concerned that the experiences of second generation youths are invisible in research, policy and service provision, as the focus tends to lie either on first generation migrants or the majority Irish population, but the needs and experiences of children of migrants are not addressed. This corresponds to the literature on the second generation in Ireland, which is still relatively limited and there is certainly a gap in knowledge around experiences of growing up in migrant families.

I have also consulted with youth workers and professionals working with minority ethnic youth, primarily to discover their perspective and discuss ways in which to ensure that the research responds to their needs and is beneficial to the community. These engagements also resulted in new avenues for investigation, other perspectives or relevant methodologies and techniques. The participatory model is also incorporated in the data collection techniques employed in this research. The aim of focus groups is to identify the issues and experiences most relevant to the youth and these will be further explored in individual interviews. In this way, it is the young people who indirectly guide the focus of the research, a process which I discuss in more detail in the sections below. The questions for individual interviews are thus based on the main themes raised during focus group discussions.

4.5.4 Participant recruitment

The process of engaging with the community and identifying key informants started well in advance of the formal recruitment process. In order to do so, I contacted my

existing networks as I am involved in anti-racist and migrant rights organising, but I also used different opportunities like festivals, seminars and cultural events to establish new connections. At this stage, I was building trust and establishing connections with youth workers, community leaders and representatives. Prior to scheduling formal interviews, I held meetings to get feedback on the research project and interview questions. While many of these encounters did not result in an interview and thus are not included in the analysis, they have been key in the contextualisation of this study. In other cases, some of the informal conversations became fundamental in the development of the research.

Key informants were central to the development of this study. They are often used in community-engaged research to provide expert knowledge, participate in interviews about community needs and priorities and can help contacting other informants. While they might be heavily involved in a community, this does not necessarily mean they are community members (McKenna & Main, 2013). Trembay (in McKenna & Main, 2013) claims that they need to fulfil the following criteria: hold an official position in the community, have knowledge relevant to the study, be open to share knowledge. Among the key informants in this study was Adaku[4] who is based in Dublin and is engaged with the African community with various projects, and with whom I worked on projects related to integration and women's health. Adaku connected me with youth workers, as well as with second generation and parent participants. Youth workers were also important contacts in this study. Caitriona, who works in a Dublin youth club in which I volunteered, connected me with a number of potential participants. Billy Banda was an important contact in Donegal. He is a youth worker and runs a youth group for individuals from minority ethnic backgrounds. African societies in colleges were also an important support in this research. I contacted student societies across Ireland. They shared the call for participants among their membership which resulted in a number of individual interviews. In one case, the college society organised two focus groups.

It is important to highlight that while the research was carried out in multiple locations in Ireland, most of the research participants shared a certain profile. As

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[4] The names of key informers are real, but I have anonymised all the names of research participants, which is further explained in section 4.5.6

there was no single community or locale where the research took place, I only accessed participants who are linked through a youth service or attend third level education. I also, however, heard from both young adults and community workers of a cohort that has a similar profile to the participants in this study, but is often not linked to any services and is often categorised by youth workers as being at risk. The fact that I was not able to include these groups is a limitation of this study and one that shows that there is a need for further studies that can access the groups who are not linked to any services.

4.5.5   Research locale & research schedule

Most research activities were centred in the Dublin area, but I also travelled to Co. Louth, Co. Kilkenny and Co. Donegal for interviews, focus groups and informal conversations with key informants. Some of the respondents live away from their parental home during the academic year when the research was carried out, thus the study includes accounts from individuals living across the country, not only from locations where the research was performed. The respondents were always the ones to decide on the location of the interview, which allowed me to get a better idea about the spaces and environment they surround themselves with. These included community spaces, universities, coffee shops and in a few instances only, private homes. Much of the research activities were carried out in county Fingal in North West Dublin, which is one of the most ethnically diverse areas in Ireland.

The location where second generation youths grew up had a key influence on their experiences of childhood and adolescence. The respondents reported that living in an ethnically diverse area had a positive impact on their experiences when growing up as they could 'be themselves' and they did not feel singled out or othered. On the contrary, in more ethnically homogeneous areas, second generations often felt they were different and needed to 'fit in'. I conducted a number of research activities in a youth centre in Donegal. Donegal Youth Service runs a project called 'World Wide Voices' that "promotes social cohesion by connecting with young people from different ethnic backgrounds via social education initiatives" (Donegal Youth Service, 2020). The group was set up by Billy Banda, a youth worker from South Africa, when he noticed a lack of representation of people from minority

backgrounds in youth services. Besides socialising, the project advocates on their behalf in matters such as legal rights, access to education and finance. Another location where I volunteered and conducted interviews was a youth club in North Dublin. Many of the attendants were of minority ethnic background. While my approach there was not participant observation, the volunteering enabled me to contextualise my research and to see how young people socialise in their free time.

I collected data between November 2018 to September 2019. I first conducted a pilot focus group that is not included in the profile below, as I only collected consent forms and no demographic data was provided by participants. Demographic data was not collected as the focus group served for pilot purpose only. At that stage of the research, I was not sure yet what the exact demographic profile of the participants will be and the pilot group allowed to narrow down the exact demographic criteria for participation.

 I then conducted four focus groups, which included one mixed, two female-only and one male-only. Some of the participants got involved at later stages in individual interviews. In total, 41 young adults participated in this research, of which 30 people took part in focus groups and 13 in individual interviews. In addition, I conducted five tape-recorded interviews with Nigerian parents and ten with community workers and representatives. I conducted the first pilot focus group in November 2018 and after three focus groups, I conducted the first interviews in February 2019.

4.5.6   Profile of participants

In total, out of 26 participants who provided demographic data, 10 were male and 16 female, all aged 18-24. 17 respondents were born in Nigeria, others moved to Ireland in their early childhood, with the oldest one moving to Ireland at the age of 9. 17 respondents were raised in Dublin, others in smaller towns across the Republic. The majority of the participants were Christian, with three being Muslim. All but one respondents were still studying at the time of the research. Some had part-time jobs and for the most their main home was their parents', though some had been away for college. All participants' parents were Nigerian-born. Three participants had lived in countries other than Ireland before moving here. A detailed list of the participants

can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 – List of Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Age when moved to Ireland	Ethnic identity
Tariq	M	20	Netherlands	8	Nigerian
Tyson	M	18	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Nero	M	19	Nigeria	3	Nigerian
Tyrese	M	20	Ireland	0	Black Irish
Shag	M	19	Nigeria	3	Nigerian
Eva	F	19	Nigeria	9	Nigerian
Felicia	F	18	Ireland		Irish Nigerian
Levi	F	19	London	3	Nigerian
Daisy	F	20	Ireland		Nigerian
Anne	F	22	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Dayo	F	24	Nigeria	7	Irish
Sandra	F	21	Nigeria	3	Irish
Ricci	M	18	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Mimi	F	19	Italy	3	Irish Nigerian
Kaf	F	18	Nigeria	4	Nigerian
Tina	F	18	Nigeria	2	Nigerian & Irish
Joyce	F	18	Nigeria		Nigerian
Ingrid	F	18	Ireland		Nigerian
Janet	F	18	Ireland		Nigerian
Peter	M	18	Nigeria	3 months	Nigerian
Bobby	M	21	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Daniel	M	21	Nigeria		Nigerian
Mary	F	21	Nigeria		Nigerian
Gloria	F	20	Nigeria		Nigerian
Amanda	F	19	Nigeria	8	Nigerian
Isaac	M	20	Ireland		Nigerian-Irish

4.5.7 Conversations with youth workers and community leaders

Prior to the data collection, I conducted meetings with other researchers, social workers, youth workers, including two religious youth workers, and community representatives. This was followed by more formal conversations which were tape recorded. As mentioned previously, some of these were central to the recruitment of participants, but they were also essential as they provided me with the necessary social context of the research. As the second generation is not widely researched in Ireland yet, I relied in large measure on the accounts of individuals working in the community to gain a better understanding of the environment in which young people of minority ethnic backgrounds grow up and the challenges that they face.

The interviews helped to a certain extent to guide the research and find areas of relevance not only for young people, but to policy needs of service providers. Through the conversations with service providers I was also able explore the services and institutions young people interact with and the influence they have on the lives of second generation young adults. These included youth clubs, religious youth clubs and schools. In some cases, research participants, apart from providing information on their own experiences, served to a certain extent as community respondents, as they happily shared experiences and voices from the community.

4.5.8   Focus groups

The following research activity comprised of focus groups, which can be defined as "a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher" (Morgan, 1988:6). Thus, data in focus groups is collected through participant interactions and the researcher is usually actively involved as the facilitator of the discussion. An important distinction from interviews is the fact that data is generated from the discussion between participants, rather than between a participant and the researcher. In this way, the technique allows to expose multiple points of view and to raise unexpected issues and perspectives. This makes the approach well suited to exploratory research, as it allows to produce background information and reveals group reactions to particular issues and processes (Bagnoli & Clark, 2010). The technique aligns well with the feminist ideology and participatory model and it empowers participants to take control of the research process by discussing issues that are most relevant to them in a language and

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framework that they find most appropriate, as they are communicating with their peers and not with the researcher. In this way, focus groups can influence the research design. They also give the researcher an opportunity to become familiar with the language, concepts and frameworks preferred by the participants, which can be useful in the following stages of the research (Bagnoli & Clark, 2010).

By being attentive to the way participants tell their experiences, the researcher can avoid assumptions about meanings of particular stories or anecdotes. Focus groups can be also emancipatory for the participants as they allow for group reflection and realisation of shared experiences and issues, which might lead to collective consciousness and action. At the same time, creating a safe 'communicative space' with participants, one where they can feel comfortable to express alternative views or beliefs and engage in a disagreement or discussion with their peers, can also be beneficial as it will encourage the youth to reflect upon and theorise their own beliefs (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). After the initial consultations with the community and relevant stakeholders, I conducted a pilot focus group in a youth club in Donegal. The purpose of this activity was to explore the initial themes emerging and whether the questions were understandable and relevant to the participants. This group's format was different to the remaining ones as with 15 participants it was much bigger, the questions were general and the group was very loosely facilitated. While in this set-up I did not have much control over the group, this allowed for a more natural dynamic. I did not interrupt the conversation even if it was going off topic as in this way I did not interfere with the natural flow of the conversation. Additionally, this allowed me to explore how the respondents connected different themes. Though the following focus groups were more facilitated, I strived to reproduce similar dynamics, through, for example, not interrupting the natural flow of conversation and ensuring that participants faced each other, rather than me, to stimulate conversations between them.

Following the pilot study, I made slight changes to the questionnaire and conducted a further four focus groups; one mixed gender, two female-only and one male-only, each comprising of 3-6 participants and lasting one to two hours. Same-sex groups allowed participants to discuss topics they might not have felt comfortable raising with members of the opposite sex, whereby the mixed group provided an opportunity

for participants to exchange and compare their experiences. I considered different ways to start the focus groups to ensure a flowing conversation. Kitzinger (1994) argues that providing a photo or a game to start a discussion can warm up the participants and get them more open to speak. However, during the pilot focus group, I had found that when the opening question is relevant to the participants, there is no issue with starting the conversation.

Following Kitzinger's (1994) advice, the participants were asked to set up focus groups with their friends and acquaintances, rather than groups where people do not know each other, as familiarity increases the likelihood of open discussion. All focus groups were set up either by a young participant or by a youth worker, and in all cases all members knew each other. This was indeed very helpful for the group dynamics as participants felt more free to discuss issues and were more comfortable themselves, which was visible in the dialogues between them and when the participants followed up on each others' questions.

4.5.9   Interviews

The focus groups were followed by individual interviews. In some cases respondents who were part of a focus group indicated they would like to participate in an interview. Other respondents were not interested in a focus group and instead contributed only to individual interviews. These allowed for a deeper exploration of topics discussed in focus groups, while also providing participants with a safe and confidential setting to discuss the issues which matter most to them. The format of the interviews was semi-structured and the guiding questions were based on the issues prioritised by the participants during focus group discussions. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to one hour and a half. There was also space to discuss topics not mentioned previously and which the participants might not have felt comfortable discussing among their peers. Overall, while the focus groups were instrumental in guiding the research in its early stages, it was the interviews where participants opened up more about their personal experiences.

Most feminist interviewing accounts follow Anne Oakley's interviewing principles (1981). She recommends a power-neutral interview to align it with the feminist

ideology as well as intimacy, self-disclosure and 'believing the interviewee'. Other feminist researchers also advocate establishing a close relation with interviewees, sharing experiences, revealing personal details which all aim to increase trust and lead to a more open conversation and which will consequently generate more fruitful and significant data (Lyons & Chipperfield, 2010). At the same time, some researchers warn that such s close relationship opens the possibility of exploitation if the only objective is to achieve a better rapport, and after fieldwork they might abandon the researched participants as they no longer need this relation (Lyons & Chipperfield, 2010). Balancing these approaches, I decided to follow the 'friendly stranger' strategy, where building a rapport and an equal relationship helps reduce the power differentials and achieve a more relaxed environment for both the interviewer and the interview. I aimed to establish a comfortable and safe environment by outlining the rules of the interview prior to interviewing, which includes being open about the research and its goals and allowing the interviewee to switch off the tape or not answer a question (Lyons & Chipperfield, 2010). The interviewees also had an option to choose their own pseudonyms in order to further balance power relations (Westmarland, 2001).

I tried to diminish the power relations by meeting in a place where the participant chose, where they were the expert on the space and felt most comfortable there. During conversations, I have occasionally shared some of my life experiences with the participants, particularly narratives around migration, as they sometimes emerged naturally during the research. I also strived to ensure the interviews were a pleasurable experience. As the interviews were semi structured, I had a prepared set of questions, but I let the conversations divert from these. During the first interviews I distributed a demographic survey, the same as the one used during focus groups, but I soon found that while in focus groups these were necessary for logistical reasons, in interviews it was much better to let this data emerge, as these were often surrounded by stories and context.

4.5.10 Recording of interviews

The majority of interviews and focus groups were tape recorded. This type of recording allows the researcher to actively listen and be involved in the conversation,

as they do not need to focus on taking notes. At the same time, recording might put listeners under stress and transcriptions can be also time-consuming (Muszel, 2013). Tape recording was particularly challenging in a focus group setting, as I needed to simultaneously facilitate the group and make notes to later identify the speakers. Some conversations were not tape recorded as they were not formally an interview. I discussed the project with community workers, potential participants and individuals at meetings that all shared valuable data. While I could not analyse or directly quote this data, it was immensely useful, especially when some ideas or opinions were expressed by multiple respondents off the record, but also repeated by someone else in an interview. In some cases, I was also asked by the participants not to include particular experiences they shared with me to protect their privacy. I made notes during and immediately after the interviews about the dynamics during the interview and focus group, on the impressions and ideas emerging. Therefore, while tape-recording enabled a more rigorous analysis, at times encounters that could not be recorded or officially analysed were/proved just as important in the development of this study.

4.6   Reflections on data collection and positionality

I believe that my positionality as a researcher is to be considered in two interlinked dimensions; methodologically, by positioning myself in the wider structures of power as discussed in the first section, but also in the context of individual interactions with research participants, as will be discussed in this section. As Wolf argues, employment of egalitarian methods and strategies does "not transform the researcher's positionality and locality" (in Bhopal, 2010:193). Recognising that my research is impacted by my background, I employed a reflexive process in each part of the research to ensure objectivity. I have addressed these considerations primarily through keeping a reflective journal during the process, which allowed me to reflect on the interactions, but also on my approach and analysis throughout the interviewing process. The reflexive process is central to a qualitative research on each stage of research, from data design to analysis. Schwandt has described the process as:

> critically inspecting the entire research process including reflecting on the
> ways in which the fieldworker establishes a social network of informants and

participants in a study; and for examining one's personal and theoretical commitments to see how they serve as resources for generating particular data, for behaving in particular ways vis-à-vis respondents and participants, and for developing particular interpretations' (in Orange, 2016:2177).

The journal served a twofold function; to record events and research steps, and to reflect on the research process. I used it for memos after encounters, like interviews, focus groups and informal conversations. The memos included any remarks I had on the interactions, but I also noted anything that was not captured on audio recording, like interactions between participants. The journal allowed me to reflect on my positionality in the interactions with research participants. I used the journal to describe meetings with participants, but also to note any gaps in data collection and possible solutions. I logged here any research ideas and changing perceptions. As I was documenting my thought process behind some of the research decisions, it allowed me to track the steps taken and reflect on them. Reading it in retrospect was a learning process. It allowed to bridge theory and data and thus it became an inseparable part of the research. The journal was also very informative for the purpose of writing the methodology in retrospect. At the beginning of the process, I believed the journal would be limited to reflections on positionality and to the logging of events, but it influenced to a certain extent some decisions or interactions.

My identity as a migrant not only influenced the research process, but led to the choice of the research topic in the first place. Growing up in a border city in Poland, I went to school in Germany at the age of 15 and then left Poland at the age of 19. I have since lived in multiple countries with various occupations, including being an au pair, internee, student and a professional. This allowed me to see how differently my position as a Polish migrant was perceived and what opportunities and challenges that posed in each of these countries. This certainly inspired my interest in migration studies. I was curious about my own lived experience, but also about how others experience migration. As all my family reminded in Poland, my transnational activities involved visiting home every few months and staying in touch via social media. It was therefore interesting to me how different is the process of family migration. More importantly, I am aware of my position in Ireland as a white EU citizen and the privilege arising from this. I have not experienced much of the racism and exclusion reported by the research participants. Thus, this research project was

also a learning practice about my own position and privilege.

Thus, as a white migrant Polish woman to Ireland, I share only a few traits with research participants. Some researchers argue in favour of 'ethnic matching' as it can lead to more trust and might result in more ethnic sensitivity (Papadopoulos & Lee, 2002). On the other hand, Bhopal (2010) argues that even if some identity aspects are shared, there are other differences like gender, class or status, which can similarly influence the communication between the researcher and participants. Moreover, when the researcher is considered an insider, the participants might not provide certain explanations they assume to be common knowledge in the in-group, thus leaving space for misinterpretations. The participants can also be more open towards researchers from outside of their community as there is less perceived risk of common acquaintances. This was reflected to a certain extent in this research, as participants usually assumed I knew very little about the Nigerian community in Ireland and their experiences and they acted as informants not only on their life experiences, but on the community in general. I also found myself asking for clarification to avoid making any assumptions. Additionally, as an outsider to the community I found that some participants felt more at liberty to disclose some personal experiences, as my social network did not overlap significantly with theirs.

I found that my age, gender and immigrant status occasionally allowed me to build a better rapport with the participants, as some, though few, experiences would be shared. As there was no big age gap between me and the participants, I felt they were quite relaxed during the interviews and in the focus groups. I was certainly perceived as a peer in terms of age, more a student than a researcher. This on one hand sometimes influenced the organisation and facilitation of focus groups, where some of the respondents, for example, made jokes or were diverting the conversation off topic. On the other hand, I believe that age similarity brought the participants at more ease and enabled a better power balance.

The relationships with participants varied significantly. I was able to establish particularly good relationships with women. I believe this is because I tend to share more experiences with them, especially those related to gender inequalities. While it

was often easier for me to build a rapport with women, it is important to keep in mind that even when both interviewer and interviewee are women, there are still many differences between them, like values, class or education that can impact the power dynamics in research. On the other hand, I shared very little common experiences with men, which I think had an impact on the research and relationships during interviews. Though men were talking openly about their relations at home and their experiences of racism, the conversations were never as intimate as with women.

I believe that being introduced to potential new participants through a shared contact helped establishing trust. At the same time, while there were advantages to being an outsider to the community studied, it also posed challenges, particularly relating to trust. In most circumstances, however, it was sufficient to reassure the participant that the interview would remain confidential. The most common concern was personal details from the lives of the participants and discussing discipline approaches of the parents in the fear they will be reported. One of the parents, though she agreed to a tape recorded interview prior to our meeting, became very wary of me using the tape recorder when I arrived. Prior to her signing the consent form, I had to again reassure her that the study is anonymous and that I will not publish any details of her children. In another instance, one of the gatekeepers informed me that when she reached out to her contacts in the community with a call for research, they raised concerns about potential misrepresentation of their families and lives.

4.7 Analysis

4.7.1 Transcription

The process of transcription deserves a reflection as, while it appears straightforward, it required decisions that influenced the analysis that followed. I transcribed the tape recordings from focus groups immediately after they took place. In this process, I had to make decisions as to, for example, what to transcribe from the focus groups and what to omit and how to transcribe non-verbatim clues. Before transcribing I had assumed that the process was very straightforward and technical, but during the transcription itself I realised the number of judgments I had to make in the process. Some of them have been summarised by Bailey (2008) and include: decisions about what details to include, like non-verbal interactions, data

interpretation (like distinguishing between similar phrases such as "I don't, no" from "I don't know" when transcribing audio data). Therefore, the transcription process itself can be considered an interpretative process. As argued by Bailey (2008), transcripts are not neutral accounts of events, but reflect the researcher's interpretations of data.

I took notes immediately after each focus group and interview to help with interpretations later; for example whether an upset strong voice was a way to stress something or an effort to be heard among other voices. I have also strived to ensure the transcription reflects other non-verbal clues. Beside the verbatim transcription, I also included things like pauses and other non-verbal clues (like banging on the table) or, as it often happened, participants agreeing or talking over each other, as those might be important at the analytical stage. I inserted a long dash if a word was not finished. I spelled a word correctly if it was mispronounced but understandable and did not have an impact on the rest of the dialogue.

4.7.2   Data analysis

The research employs elements of grounded theory, particularly its inductive approach and development of theory from data, rather than imposing a tight framework on the data. This approach emphasises the use of direct quotation and encourages employment of the lived experiences of research participants as sources of theory and thus aligns well with the feminist approach. As the process of data collection and analysis involves regular data revisits and checks, the researcher has an opportunity to discuss the analysis with participants and adopt the process to the arising needs (Vanner, 2015), thus allowing for data to 'speak for themselves', rather than approaching it with existing frameworks (Thompson & Barrett, 1997).

I analysed data throughout the research, rather than after completing all data collection. As the initial focus group questions were very general, coding allowed me to see the emerging themes and adjust the interview questions. In this way, I adopted elements of grounded theory approach to research, where data collection and analysis occur simultaneously. In the initial stages of coding, I did so manually, highlighting emerging themes with colour codes. The manual transcription enabled me to connect

more with the data. This coding was not very rigid and I looked more at the general themes which were emerging. As argued by Thompson & Barrett (1997) 'cutting up' the transcripts into small chunks of data before trying to extract meaning actually allows to understand the data in the context, which "facilitates actually 'hearing' what the data have to say rather than splicing them into arbitrary units before searching for topics, themes or meanings" (Thompson & Barrett, 1997).

After the initial pilot focus group, I slightly redrafted the focus group and interview questions. I made minor changes to them throughout the research in response to the data, either when I needed clarification on a particular phenomenon or when I saw a new theme emerging. After completing most of the interviews, I read the transcripts multiple times and then employed the NVivo 12 software to aid my analysis. The use of a coding software can speed up the analysis process, enhance the rigour and allow for more reflection as there are less logistical activities (Bardin in Oliveira et al., 2016). I coded the first three transcripts line by line to establish the main codes and themes occurring. At this stage, the codes were descriptive, not analytical. This generated a large number of codes that often repeated themselves. When the following interviews did not lead to new codes emerging, I reorganised the codes and coded the reminder of the data into these codes. At this stage, I did not code for specific research questions, but rather focused on the themes emerging. I also looked for anomalies and differences, that is accounts that were different, or event contradictory to the majority, as these reflected the variety of experiences among the participants. The process of coding and analysis was, however, not confined to a strict start and finish date. I found that the process extended throughout the research, as I revisited the data and reorganised the codes into more analytical categories. The process of analysis was not limited to the coded transcripts, but extended to memos and notes on informal conversations. I also continued to perform some level of analysis throughout the research, up to the stage of writing up.

4.8   Ethics

In terms of ethics on an individual level, an approval from DCU Research Ethics Committee was granted for this research. At the beginning of each interview or focus group, I explained to the participants the goal of this research, as well as the manner

in which the interview and focus groups would be conducted, and I assured that the data would be confidential. The respondents were also informed that they could terminate their participation in the project at any point in time. All received a Plain Language Statement and signed Informed Consent Form prior to participation in the study. As Muszel (2013) reminds us, interviews can be a 'therapeutic intervention' and indeed in many cases in this research I found that the respondents enjoyed the processes as the interviews allowed for a more in-depth self-exploration and reflection. At the same time, the topic of family relations can concern a private part of participants' lives that they might not always be willing to discuss. Therefore, I had to be conscious of how far I could follow up on certain issues raised by participants. I never prompted sensitive questions and let participants decide how much they were willing to share. Similarly, during focus groups, I never asked a question to any particular individual, giving respondents full freedom to decide the degree to which they want to participate.

In feminist research, ethics are not limited to responsibility to the researched individual, as is the case in social science research, but to the whole community. I have endeavoured to ensure that in this research I implement an ethical approach to the community throughout the study, also by ensuring that I do not misrepresent the African second generation in Ireland.

4.9   Confidentiality

The issue of confidentiality has been paramount in this research. As the community is relatively small and interconnected, confidentiality and protection of identity was important, especially due to the potential sensitivity of the subject. Participants could pick their names and I avoided publishing information that could make the participants identifiable. In a number of cases, participants asked to use their real names. Initially, I was excited to use participants' real identity if they wished so, as this is believed by some anthropologists to have an empowering potential (Grinyer, A., 2012; Saunders et al., 2015). However, I decided to anonymise (as far as possible) the identities of all participants, as the interviews often concerned not only the participants, but also their families, who did not explicitly agreed to take part in this research. Moreover, much of the accounts related to intimate family matters and

thus anonymizing them was the only way to protect the privacy of family members.

4.10   Conclusion

This chapter introduced the reader to the research methods employed in this study and a rationale for the chosen tools. Postcolonial feminist framework significantly informed this project and guided the selection of appropriate research design. As accurate representation of the second generation is a key focus in this study, data collection and analysis methods were selected in order to enable most accurate and ethical research. This was facilitated by qualitative data collection with elements of participatory research design. Data was then analysed with the aid of some grounded theory principles, allowing the data to 'speak for themselves', rather than imposing a tight framework. The following chapters present the research findings.

5   'My little Nigeria'- the making of home and family identities

"I'm here, but I'm there."

(Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997: 248)

5.1   Introduction

In early stages of my fieldwork in October 2017, I attended a multicultural festival in West Dublin, in one of the most ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Ireland. The event, organized by a Nigerian woman, attracted a largely African audience. As part of the programme, a young Nigerian stand-up comedian told an anecdote about being raised in a Nigerian household. Once, his friend insisted they stay out for much longer than allowed by parents. When he hesitated, the friend assured him that as they were in Ireland, his parents could not punish him, as the law does not permit it. When he returned home, his mother was not happy, but he repeated what his friend told him- this is Ireland, so parents cannot discipline their children. Upon hearing this, his mother dragged him to the window and said "You see what's outside? That's Ireland. In this house, it is Nigeria". The story was followed by loud laughter from the audience, apparently resonating with the many youngsters and parents in the room. It was also echoed in the conversations during focus groups and interviews, where the respondents talked at length about 'Nigerian households' and the 'Irish outside'. In these accounts, the households, though located in Ireland, are seen as an extension of Nigeria.

This chapter explores these dynamics by looking at the role of family and household in the processes of identity formation among young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. The first section of the chapter investigates the identity and labels claimed by children of Nigerian migrants and explores how these draw on both their family and household members. This is followed by an exploration of transnational connections and how these shape household lives and activities. This section also looks at how

young adults and their parents both engage with and employ transnational connections in their household relations. In the last part, I look at the meaning of the household among second generation young adults with a particular focus on the role of the household in constructing and enacting their identities. Drawing on the literature on identities, transnationalism and home studies, I explore the understanding of home beyond the 'inside' and 'outside' dichotomy.

5.2   Identity Negotiations

This chapter begins with an examination of identities and labels which young adults or Nigerian descent ascribe to themselves. Throughout the research process, ethnic identity and belonging were discussed by participants in the context of home, family and peers. The identities of the participants in this study are rooted in their families and household, but also in their experiences and perceptions of belonging in the wider society. Identities are "stories which we tell ourselves and others about who we are and who other people are" (Behtoui, 2019:2). They can refer to the labels people use to describe themselves or to the beliefs, attitudes and feelings they attach to their ethnicity (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

I started all focus groups and interviews with a question about self-identification: "*What do you answer when someone asks you 'where are you from'?"* and "*How do you define yourself?"*. As argued by Caitlin O'Neill Gutierrez (2015), self-identification of young people is important as it can influence their integration and educational outcomes. Asking the participants to talk about the identity they assign to themselves also helped me to avoid homogenising the community, which can happen if identities go unquestioned (O'Neill Gutierrez, 2015). The labels claimed by the participants are not randomly chosen, but rather reflect an understanding of social categories with which young people identify. The identities of the second generation are rooted in their parents' stories of the homeland and in their direct and discursive transnational experiences and are intertwined with their experiences in Ireland, including interactions with their peers, schooling and everyday practices.

Some participants in this study consider themselves Nigerian-Irish. Hybridity in this context can be defined as "a making of one of two different things", where the difference is coexisting, rather than conflicting (Young in Bolatagici, 2004:77).

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Bhabha writes that:

> interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a
> cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed
> hierarchy" (1994:4).

As argued by Sakamoto:

> [g]iving up the desire for a pure origin, hybridity retains a sense of
> difference and tension between two cultures, but without assuming
> hierarchy. It is not just new identity but a new form of identity (in
> Bolatagici, 2004:77).

Thus, by claiming hybrid identities, the participants resist the discourse in which the second generation is seen as "caught between two cultures" (Watson in Dwyer, 2002:185) forced to choose between Irish and Nigerian values. Isaac is a 20-year- old raised in West Dublin by a single parent. His mother came to Ireland when she was pregnant with him. Isaac used to visit Nigeria quite regularly as a child, yet he has not been back since then. He identifies as Nigerian-Irish:

Inga:	And how would you describe yourself? As Nigerian-Irish, Irish- Nigerian?
Issac:	I would describe myself as Nigerian-Irish, because I was born here, but I grew up in Nigerian culture first and then I'm out to be Irish.

If respondents claimed hyphenated identities, this was mostly justified by the fact that they were raised and schooled in Ireland. However, the majority of the youths identify as Nigerian, with only two identifying as Irish. Even among those, who, like Isaac, claim hybrid identities, they primarily identify as Nigerian. Only a small number of participants being born in the 'homeland' explain this as the main reason why they identify as Nigerian:

Gloria:	I think it's just for the fact that maybe because I was born there and I stayed there for like five years before I actually came here with my mom so it was a thing of, I was just used to that environment of just being African and being Nigerian. And I don't, I think being Nigerian comes with pride of being Nigerian. There is a lot of ...I'm proud to be.

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Even in the case of Gloria, being born in Nigeria only complements her Nigerian upbringing. What is crucial to her identification is not the place of birth, but growing up in a Nigerian environment. Many of the respondents were born in Ireland and spent very little, if any, time in Nigeria, but they nevertheless claim Nigerian identities despite being born and raised somewhere else. Thus, the role of the place of birth as a source of identity is not as important as that of heritage and family. As argued by Phinney & Ong (2007), the family is the main source of knowledge of one's ethnic background, and this can be crucial to identity formation.

When asked to explain why they identify as Nigerian, being raised in a Nigerian household was often quoted as the main reason. Their upbringing is seen as the main difference between them and their Irish peers. Young people discuss the differences in terms of child rearing, parenting style, culture and the food, thus much of their identities stemmed from the household:

Interviewer:	And how would you describe yourself?
Mary:	I just say I'm Nigerian, I don't really add the Irish parts.
Interviewer:	Why Nigerian?
Mary:	I don't know, my house is Nigerian, it's where I live, so like. Being at home, I'm used to everything being Nigerian, so even when I go out, it's just "oh where're you from?" "I'm from Nigeria".

Similarly, in a female-only focus group, Daisy describes her Nigerian identity based on the differences with her Irish peers:

Daisy:	I would say I'm Nigerian, but I was born in Ireland […] I was born here, lived here my whole life […]. I remember like "but your parents are like, Nigerian?" I'm like, yeah, ok, now I'm just Nigerian... can keep your Irish.
Interviewer:	Why is that important?
Daisy:	I'd say it's important because...

Eva:	They probably expect you to relate, but you have never been, have you?
Daisy:	I have been, I have been twice. I think it's where you spend, where you spend most of your time. it's...whether it's with Nigerian people or at home, you feel like you belong there more, so when you belong there more, you want to identify to that more as opposed to like, when you like, with Irish friends, when we were in secondary school ehm... it was only so far you can relate with them, in terms of ok, we go to the same school, we go to the same shop, but outside of that, like family life was *so* different, so it's just like, I'm just going to stick to what I know if...if... that's basically yeah...

Though Daisy went to Nigeria only twice, that does not prevent her from claiming Nigerian identity. Her identity is instead based on her family home and practices within the household. While the section above indicates that young people of Nigerian descent construct their identities drawing on their household and families, these have not been negotiated in a social vacuum. Peers, experiences at school and within the wider society often feature in these accounts and play a role in these negotiations. Phinney & Ong (2007) remind us that ethnic identities are not static, but develop and change throughout time depending on the contexts of work, school and the community. As Yuval-Davis puts it, the process of identity construction "can be an act of self-identification or identification by others" (in Behtoui, 2011:4).

Another important variable in the process of identification is the fact that they do not feel that their Irish belonging is fully acknowledged by mainstream society. Among the participants in this study, there is a discrepancy between how they identify themselves and how they perceive they are identified by others. Questions such as 'Where are you from?' are followed with 'Where are you really from?' if the answer is 'Ireland'. Even after confirmation that they have been raised in Ireland, they might still receive more questioning about their identity:

Inga:	What do you say when someone asks you where are you from?

Isaac: So I would say, I was born here, like my...Cos I've been asked before and then I'd say "Oh, Ireland", but then they'd ask "ok, where are your parents from?". What do you wanna now, where my background is from, I'd say Nigeria, Africa. But nowadays if anybody asks me where I'm from, I'd say, I was born in Ireland, but I'm from Nigeria.

This experience, shared with other minorities in other parts of the globe (Creese, 2019; Edmundson, 2009; Henry, 2003), is coined 'identity denial' forcing young minorities to become 'perpetual foreigners' (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Janet: I feel like, because, I said the Nigerian first, because...like, if I came into a place, they wouldn't see Irish first, you know what I mean, they will say "Oh you know, she is Black, she is obviously mixed with something".

Janet feels she is racialized as her body does not fit the concept of Irishness, which is by default understood as "both religious and ethnic homogeneity underpinned by a taken-for-granted whiteness" (O'Malley, 2019:93). In this way, Janet and her peers' presence "is always defined in terms of their difference, not their sameness" (Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahoma, 2018:108). As argued by Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahoma (2018), such questions reinforce the distinction between 'us' and 'them', othering those who are believed to not belong through "establishing the skin as a boundary line" (Ahmed, 2000:42).

In addition to the perceived denial of Irish identity, most of the respondents report regularly experiencing racism and discrimination in various forms. This was particularly salient in schools, perhaps because at the time of this research, the respondents spent most of their lives in educational settings. Black students face racism from other students, including slurs, derogatory comments and bullying. Male respondents in particular were profiled; Isaac recalls that he was careful in school not to 'mess fight' with white students, as this could be seen as aggression. Some teachers contributed to the feeling of being othered, through for example derogatory comments or negative depictions of Africa, as will be discussed below. Teachers also policed the behaviour of African students in schools, as they were often seen as too loud and rude. Outside of school settings, the scale and occurrence of exclusion varied, but was present in all parts of theirlives, including sport and casual situations,

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like in taxis or shops. Tina and Daniel both have also faced challenges in finding jobs that they ascribed to their minority background.

Many of the racist incidents experienced by the research participants could be considered *micro inequalities of everyday racism* (Essed in Creese, 2020:127). Seemingly small and harmless, these can be hard to spot unless they are seen in their totality. Though the experience of racism has been universal, the respondents consider certain areas of Ireland more racist than others, such as more demographically homogeneous areas.

 The perceived denial of identity and exclusion experienced regularly can have consequences for how young people choose to identify:

> Mary: […] For me growing up in [county bordering with Dublin] it's kind of like a racist part of Ireland, so even if you say you're Irish, they'll be like "but your skin colour isn't Irish" so how you gonna claim yourself to be Irish. They are really ignorant like that. So for me, I just, I have always claimed myself as being Nigerian, Like I love, I have gone there many, well, I have gone there like twice, but I love the culture, I love everything about it, my parents are Nigerian, I have Nigerian blood in me, so I just claim myself to be Nigerian. I rather claim myself to be Nigerian than Irish to be honest.

Mary is proud of her Nigerian roots, but there is also a level of anger, or resentment in her account of identity denial. Like in the case of Janet, her skin does not fit the imagined conception of Irishness. The perceived othering and denial of Irish identity encouraged Mary to claim the identity of her parental home country. This has been prevalent among other youths in this study, where they claimed Nigerian roots to avoid continuous interrogations about their origin, but also, because they did not feel they are welcome in Ireland, which is largely due to a narrow concept of Irishness that prevents them from asserting Irish, or in most cases even hyphenated identities. Ethnic self labelling can become a "resilient resource or an engulfing master status" for excluded communities (Rumbaut in Behtoui, 2011:4). A similar dynamic of 'inner dislocation' (Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahoma, 2018) is observed in other studies, where minorities forge stronger connections with the culture of their ancestors, if they are excluded and discriminated against in the host country (Louie, 2006; Yau,

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2007). It is therefore possible that the perceived feeling of belonging in the host country influences orientations towards Nigeria and in this case, also towards their households and household practices.

5.3 Transnationalism and the household

The previous section focused on exploring the identities of young people and the remainder of the chapter investigates how these identities are embedded in the household and family unit, by looking at the transnational connections of young adults participating in this study and how these influence their identity. By acknowledging migrants' links with their home country, the transnationalist approach:

> Avoid[s] the assumption of linearity in immigrants' thinking, decision-making, and changes in practices, interjecting a more complex sense of processes that involve multiple, interacting and perhaps conflicting layers (Wolf, 1997: 459).

While transnationalism is mostly researched in the context of the first generation of immigrants (Vertovec, 2003; Robins & Aksoy, 2016), their children can also establish transnational links by visiting their parents' homeland and by participating in other transnational activities. However, the extent to which this is the case is much less significant among the second generation than among the parents as to participate fully in transnational activities, young people require fluency in the language of their parents (Louie, 2006). In line with other research on transnational activities (Lee, 2011), the parents in this study are significantly more involved in transnational activities than their children. They travel more often to Nigeria, which is usually due to financial and logistical reasons. They also stay more regularly in touch with the families in Nigeria and often support their extended families in Nigeria by sending remittances. However, for both the parents and the children's generation, most of the transnational activities happen within the community that Nigerians built in Ireland. As discussed in Chapter Three, African migrants in Ireland set up a number of community initiatives, like African Radio, youth groups and NGOs. The church also plays a significant role in their lives, and many Nigerian immigrants and their children participate actively in the church life. The role of the church can extend beyond religion.

Joyce is raising three children on her own and as a single mother, she relies on the pastor to help her raise her children in giving advice or having talks with them if they misbehave. In Nigeria, children are not raised only by their biological parents, but the responsibility for taking care of children is shared by the wider community in line with the proverb "a single hand cannot nurse a child" (Mawusi Amos, 2013:69). With the loss of extended kin networks through migration, African migrants usually cannot rely on community support in the host country (Creese, 2011). Parents in this study also complained about the loss of such a crucial resource. However, African immigrants are often congregated in particular geographical areas, which makes intradiasporic transnational activities easier to facilitate. This can impact the second generation, as in those circumstances they can be, to a certain extent, raised by other community members:

> Tyson: [...] That's like Tallaght and Blanch, two predominantly Black areas. It's like, it wouldn't happen as much, there will be like a lot of parents that they know each other. It's like, everyone being raised like, from young, they would have known each other, grown up with each other. They are like, like...I'm able to walk into his house and be like, say hello to his mom literally. So like, in that sense as well, it's not as, it's not as much as it was in Nigeria, but like, you can still kind of be raised by the community, do you get me?

In these cases, being raised by the community looks different from what it would look like in Nigeria and is usually limited to community members reporting to parents if they see their children misbehaving. It is nonetheless a form of continuation of practices from the home country. The nature and frequency of connections with parental homeland varied among the participants and often changed during their lifetime. Among those who came to Ireland as young children, in some circumstances it was either both or one of their parents that travelled first, with the child following later, after the parents secured legal status or employment in Ireland. In these cases, children who remained in Nigeria and were in touch with their families via telephone and were receiving remittances engaged in transnational family life prior to their arrival in Ireland. Another mode of transnationalism is contact with their parents that remained in Nigeria. Once living in Ireland, around half of interviewed participants were raised in a single-parent household. Some of the parents separated in Ireland and

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live in two distinct households. For others, fathers either remained in or returned to Nigeria. The intensity of their contact with their parents in Nigeria varies; Sandra visited her father in Nigeria only once, while Ingrid's father comes to Ireland regularly.

The majority of the participants do not travel back to Nigeria on a regular basis, apart from two who do so every summer. Others visit every few years and some visited only once or twice. The forms of mobility also vary; some go back to visit their parents or relatives during holidays, whereas others are involuntarily sent for an extended period as a discipline measure, engaging in what Lee (2011) describes as *forced transnationalism.* Those, who went to Nigeria only once or twice might feel disconnected from the country of their parents. Sandra describes her first visit to Nigeria to meet her father:

> Sandra: I went home, what was it, last, home I'm talking about Nigeria, to go visit my dad and I just felt really out of place there, like so out of place, like I just didn't know what was going on, like I had my mom beside me all the time because it was frightening. It just didn't feel like 'oh this is where I was born'. It didn't resonate with me like. You know when you finally get home after a long day in college and you just sit back and you relax and you're like "yeah I'm home" and you just feel like, calm. Like, I didn't feel like that when I was there, I was completely anxious, I was 'oh, this is where I'm born like'.

Sandra, having spent her whole life in Ireland, feels 'out of place' in Nigeria. Yet she still considers Nigeria 'home', possibly because of her parents' efforts to ensure cultural continuity and awareness in her household.

The transnational connections young people engage with usually do not involve mobility; transnational activities go beyond visits and direct contact with the country and many of them occur locally in Ireland. Young people participate in activities in Ireland that bridge them with their parental homeland through engagement in religious and social events, either because of their parents or on their own initiative. They also reproduce cultural practices, like fashion styles, learning the language, cuisine, dance and cultural events. As was demonstrated in the previous section,

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young adults identify and engage with their Nigerian identities and heritage. Levitt writes that second generation youths are surrounded by references to their ancestral home "ideologically, materially and affectively, each day" (2009:1231). Lee (2011) argues that intradiasporic connections can be easier to maintain for the second generation, as they usually have more in common with children of migrants in the country they live in than with their peers in their parental home country.

Here, it is important to highlight that this chapter on identities is not exhaustive; its complex dynamics could be a subject on its own, but for the purpose of this thesis I limit it to the dynamics relevant to household. Beside the household, mass media and communication technologies of communication also play an important role in the construction and maintenance of transnational identities. The participants mentioned a number of identity markers, including music, clearly differentiating between 'white' and 'black' people music. In a female-only focus group, participants highlighted the role the Internet plays in the lives of their younger siblings, allowing them to connect with their peers around the globe and maintain a global Nigerian identity. Similar findings are reported in Alakija's (2016) study of Nigerian first- and second generation in London. In her study, the second-generation youths partially constructed their identities through engagement with Afrobeat music and Nollywood films, but also used mass media to keep up to date on social and cultural developments in Nigeria. As this was not within the scope of the research, it is not extensively explored during interviews and provides an opportunity for further exploration.

Their connection with Nigeria is often not based on their direct experience of the country, rather is "mediated by the relationship to parents and grandparents, thus based on borrowed memories and imagination" (Falicov, 2005:401). Here, the family is a key facilitator of the transnational connections, since it is "where children first get a sense of who they are and where they are from" (Louie, 2006:368). Homeland ties are likely to be an integral part of immigrant households and parents are the main link with the ancestral home country for their children:

> Parents' engagements with the homeland and the people still living there are
> likely to influence their children as they serve as examples within the family

context, providing a critical pathway by which the native-born second generation acquires the competencies and loyalties that both motivate and enable homeland engagement (Soehl & Waldinger, 2012:784).

Wolf (1997), researching the children of Filipino migrants, discovered that while they do not actively participate in maintaining the transnational ties to the same level as their parents, the ties are maintained "at the level of emotions, ideologies and conflicting cultural codes" (Wolf, 1997:459). Through this process, Wolf believes the second generation engages in *emotional transnationalism*. According to Espiritu and Tran (2002:391), the homeland exists for the second generation more "through the stories told to them by their parents" than through any personal contact (in Louie, 2006). *Emotional transnationalism* is also a mode of engagement for the participants in this study. They talk about Nigeria at length, often basing their knowledge about the country on the stories of their parents and other relatives:

> Peter: When I'm with my family they tell me stories about like how, times were tough in Nigeria, you know, there is a lot of things, like ehm, what you call it, money issues you know, with the economy and all that and how the roads are bad and it was kind of difficult, because a lot of the times they didn't have money.

Like in Peter's account above, many of the parental stories about the homeland relate to the hardships and challenges of life in Nigeria. These stories can also influence child-parent relationships, as they provide "insights into the struggles and sacrifices of their parents" (Papayiannis, 2011:81). Here, parental 'memory talk' (Wang in Falicov, 2005) is central to the construction of young people's ideas about their parents' country of origin. As I am an outsider to the community, many participants took on the role of experts on the country and during interviews, explained in detail life in Nigeria, despite sometimes never having been there. Falicov (2003) argues that migrant parents can encourage and build their children's attachment to their home country. I suggest that in this case, parents have partially nurtured that connection through telling their children about Nigeria. For children of immigrants, stories of the homeland can become key resources for the construction of ethnic identity (Mallman, 2019). In the words of D'Alisera:

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Children become the sites upon which collective cultural memories, informed by competing master narratives about the past, are produced, reproduced, and made manifest. Through children the remembered and forgotten past becomes an "active practice" in which parents struggle to re-enact an imagined homeland while at the same time resisting the essentializing and popular discourses prevalent in American society, in which Africa is constructed as the Heart of Darkness (2009:115).

In Ireland, the respondents are also confronted with postcolonial constructions of Africa that still puts forward images of "primitive tribes, burning heat, fever-laden swamps, swarming insects, and miles of trackless jungle" (Curtin in D'Alisera, 2009:115). As argued by D'Alisera (2009), these images influence the perception of Africans in the West. Young people of African descent in Ireland have to confront various discourses about Africa among their peers and in school. They actively defend Nigeria in situations when their teachers or other students voice misconceptions about the country. The excerpt from a focus group portrays well these dynamics:

Janet: And in school as well, there was a lot of...I think when they think of Nigerians, they think of like, because Nigerian, the poor side. So they always used to make some jokes.

Joyce: I remember when we were doing a project in fourth class and I don't know why the teacher asked this question, this is what I mean. Keep in mind there is only two black Nigerians in the class and she asked, because the project was on Nigeria and she is like "What kind of country do you guys think Nigeria is" and then like, three people put up their hand and went like 'a poor country' and they said 'no offence' and how is that no offence?! I was like "you guys don't know". But then she showed pictures and then they were like 'oh, is this actually how it look' because they just…

Janet :   Even in my college like when we were talking, we were talking about health and they went like "I'm sure they don't have it in Nigeria". Like they make a few comments like, do you know what I mean like, like in other countries.

Similar experiences were mentioned in another group. Stories and knowledge, mostly from their parents, are helping the respondents to counter some of the

negative stereotypes, thus shielding them from racism:

> Daisy: Like life is real and comfortable
>
> Eva: We were doing shanty towns, was geography, and she was trying her nice she was trying to say in a nice way, she didn't wanna say "is this where you guys live?", but she was trying to say "is this where you guys live?". And me and [Name] were just like [laugh]. We were not living in a shed. Obviously, what we said was, if we had... we wouldn't have the opportunity to come to this country the way we did, if we were living in shanty towns, that's all we could say to her, cos like, if you deep it, how am I gonna get a passport? How am I going to get a Nigerian passport if I live in a shanty towns?

The discourses on Nigeria and Africa which the respondents encounter portray the country as poor, with these descriptions likely based on colonial imaginaries. The Irish Catholic Church is argued to play a significant role in constructing current images of Africa and Black people that the respondents in this study are also subjected to. Historically, these Catholic agencies employed images of poverty, powerlessness and misery to encourage more donations from the Irish public for 'Black babies' (McVeigh, 1992). Unfortunately, the imaging led to homogenizations and negative portrayal of the whole continent and of Black people. McVeigh (1992:37) argues that these images:

> encouraged Irish Catholic people to regard Black people in a particular way-as passive and helpless, to be saved by the proselytizing ambitions of the Church.

That messaging has since changed and the increased presence of African migrants in Ireland could also lead to challenging to some of the stereotypes. However, the above accounts show that some of these portrayals persist till nowadays. Despite the fact that the respondents have never been to Nigeria, or visit occasionally, they have developed a strong emotional connection with the country that makes them defend their ancestral homeland. In D'Alisera (2009) study of Sierra Leonean families in the U.S., parents struggled to portray Sierra Leone positively and to challenge the negative Western imaginaries their children learned about their homeland from school and peers. Yet, in this study, young people criticise some aspects of life in Nigeria and disapprove of some of the traditional values, but they still resist and

challenge the negative portrayals of their parental homeland.

This research suggests that the strong connection with the homeland is largely due to parents engaging in transnational activities and encouraging their children to do so, in order to ensure cultural continuity. As Falicov observed in her research:

> Parents who have lost language and culture and who are fearful of losing their children to a new culture and language may induct them into a cultural revival that recreates the past in the present. Telling stories to share the past, to create bridges with the present, and to caution against excessive Americanization become part of the rituals of immigrant family life that lend a sense of narrative coherence and family continuity (2005: 402).

Immigrant parents strive to transfer their culture in many aspects of the family life. Visits to Nigeria are not only for the purpose of leisure; they are often a form of 'root tourism' (Kalra & McLoughlin, 1999) as they serve to instill a sense of cultural identity in second generation youths. While parents want their children to integrate well into the host country, they also want to ensure young people retain what they consider traits of being African:

Interviewer: You talked about something "remember who you are". Why is it so important to your parents?

Sam: It's just the culture and the…It's just...don't forget what you stand for, what you are, because it's very easy to as any kind of person coming to a different environment that you were born in, it's very easy to forget where you came from and who you were. And for example, if I was to go back to Nigeria now and speak like this, I will be looked at sideways.

Both young people and their parents are aware that as they are raised in another country, there are additional challenges in ensuring cultural continuity. Parents are therefore believed to be the guardians of culture and identity, responsible for ensuring that the next generation knows "where you came from and who you were". In Creese's (2014) research, parents feared that their children might embrace values of their external environment in Canada, like peers and schools, which might be in contradiction to those represented by the parents. In this study, both generations

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believe that by being raised in Europe, children might "get influence" and become "too Westernised". Apart from dissociation from their ancestral culture, parents are afraid that raising children abroad will lead to loss of key values and customs, like respect towards elders. These fears can lead to increased parental efforts to endorse Nigerian culture and customs:

Interviewer: What do you think were the most important things your parents tried to pass on to you?

Janet: I think it's the culture, because I feel like if it was Nigeria, I would know the Nigerian way, everything would be the Nigerian way, but I feel like because we are in Ireland, they don't want me to lose that culture, that to remember that I'm still Nigerian and there're still things that we do that, like the Nigerian way, if you get me. Ehm...because I feel like, growing up in the European world is kind of like, you grow as like an Irish person. you're living the Irish life style, you live in Ireland. They feel like, you know, you wouldn't carry on the culture if you can't understand what it means, so, it will be just the small things even, like I said the housework, the cooking, they want you to carry that on.

In Janet's view, continuation of the culture is embedded even in casual everyday activities, like doing housework and cooking. Therefore, parents play a key role in transmitting culture to their children, as they are usually the ones solely responsible for cultural continuation. If the children were raised in Nigeria, they would learn the norms and values through school, peers and family. In this case, they only learn it from their parents and cultural and religious institutions in Ireland. Beside transnational connections, this can be done, as Janet suggests, through 'small things' in the household. The importance of household rituals for the transmission of culture is discussed in the following section.

5.4   Homemaking and family identities

Households can play a key role in the integration trajectories of migrants and their children. The 'home' as the domestic space is often considered a haven or refuge in direct opposition to the threatening or dangerous outside. The household is therefore believed to be a safe space for establishing close and nurturing relationships (Mallett, 2004). It is important to recognize the variations in the meaning of home and family

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across different socio-cultural contexts. In certain countries, like the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, in line with capitalist thought, the state authorities embrace the idea of equalizing house, home and family, in this way moving the responsibility for social support from the state to the nuclear family (Mallett, 2004). Of importance is also the distinction between home and family; while in the Western thought home is often equated with family, these concepts can have little relevance in other contexts as in the case of extended family where the meaning of home might extend beyond the physical space (Mallett, 2004). In academic research of 'home' and the second generation, 'home' usually relates to 'homeland'. 'Home' in this chapter does not necessarily mean a symbolic home, or return to the motherland, but a more pragmatic home and its reproduction in the host country. As Walsh (2011) reminds us, home for migrants often does not refer to the place where they live their everyday lives. As people migrate, they experience many losses, like support of their families and community, familiarity with their environment, regular use of their native language, cultural rituals and cuisine (Falicov, 2003). To fill that void, migrants engage in practices which aim to recreate the home:

> For migrants, 'home' is not just a house, a geographical position, a suburb, a nation or a cultural, spiritual or imaginative refuge. It entwines with experiences of place, space and structure and is also about memory and emotions (Chawla and Holman Jones, 2015, p. xi).

Nowicka argues that "home should be seen as something that individuals can take along as they move through time and space" (in Arnold, 2016:4). Thus, as observed by Boccagni (2017:53), migrants' reproduction of home does not only involve finding a new dwelling, but engaging in a cultural and emotional retention of the past through everyday practices, like using the language of the country of origin, cuisine and fashion, and decoration of the new space. In this way, the home allows first generation migrants to "re-assert their collective identities and cultural backgrounds". This was very clear when I was visiting some family homes of research participants. Nigerian TV was playing in some instances, Nigerian food was cooking and pictures of family members from Nigeria were hanging on the walls. During community events and holidays, the families cook Nigerian dishes and wear traditional clothing. It is within the household that parents want to reassert their collective identities, but it is also a site where the ethnic identities of their children are confirmed. At the same

time, though research confirms that the family plays a key role in ethnic identity formation among the second generation (Scabini & Manzi, 2011; Thai,1999), less is known about the role of homemaking activities in the construction of identities.

Both parents and their children in this study often referred to how things are done 'back in Nigeria' as a justification for parenting decisions. Naomi came to Dublin in 2005 with her husband and both of her teenage children were born in Ireland:

> Interviewer: Do you think your household would be different to what it would be in Nigeria?
>
> Naomi: No, it's not different, it's just the environment is different, but the way we manage the house is similar to what we do at home in Nigeria, so kind of imitating our parents, kind of putting into practice what we learned from our parents, kind of similar. So that's more or less how the house functions. So kind of a lot of traditional ways. We speak our language to them, we want them to learn our language and they all understand our language, Igbo language. Yeah, they learn, they understand. And we try to tell them 'this is the way we do it at home. this is our own home stuff' and then sometimes they say 'mommy but we are in Ireland'. So by and large, more or less, all we are trying to do is to kind of invite our culture, our way of life, but at the same time, we are notdismissing the culture where we are, because they go to school, they learn another one, they bring it back home, sometimes it conflicts.

Here, Naomi strives to ensure a continuity of the Nigerian household, despite living in another country and cultural context. In this way, she sees her home in Ireland as an extension of a Nigerian household. Like other parents, she tries to ensure cultural continuity through home rituals, teaching their ancestral language and showing the Nigerian 'way of life'. She does not however dismiss the values and traditions of the host country; she accepts that her children are also influenced by their environment. Other parents also justify some of their household practices based on their knowledge of what is appropriate in Nigeria.

In doing so, parents engage with their memories of home and try to recreate it based on those and sometimes on their own parents' parenting. Silva writes that parents

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often have idealised memories of their home, and in their efforts to replicate it they engage in:

> ethnic performances and cultural artifacts [that] become nostalgic extensions of the mythologized homeland (2009:700).

It can therefore be argued that parenting based on rules that exist in Nigeria is an element of 'homing' - through recreating parenting practices, parents are recreating their home and reasserting their culture and identity. Young people conceptualise the household and thus the homemaking practices as 'Nigerian', and the outside as 'Irish':

Tyrese:	Yeah, we always say, I always say like this, like, ok, the moment you step out of your house, you are in Ireland, but the moment you are in your house, you are in Nigeria, period. That's how it always going to be like.

Many participants described the differences in behaviour and expectations, both on the part of their parents and those outside of their households. Sandra describes being 'torn' between the values in her household and outside:

Interviewer:	And then, so you mentioned something about the house, what was it like to grow up in a Nigerian household in Ireland?
Sandra:	It was very, very conflicting, because like, I always, me and my sisters always used to talk about this, like we are here in Ireland, should we not adopt some of the culture, in the household, but my mom kept it strictly a Nigerian household like.

A similar phenomenon was visible during a focus group in Donegal. The participant highlighted the robustness of Nigerian culture in the household, where it is independent from the surrounding:

Anna:	Just take it, that this is Nigeria, in Ireland. The way we carry ourselves is totes the way we'd carry ourselves in Nigeria, do you know what I mean?
Participants:	Mhm, yeah

Anna: It doesn't change, the culture, the whole idea of not doing stuff so that other people won't see you is still... is carried here, whether you live in an all-white neighbourhood or whether your neighbourhood is all Black. It's still gonna be the same. Where they treat you if you live in Nigeria. Obviously it's less intense, because you are not in Nigeria, but it's still the same.

The household is a source of identity for the children of Nigerian migrants. For second generation young adults, the household and the practices within are one of the important elements that mark them as different from their Irish peers. In a female focus group, when discussing food, differences in the households were also mentioned:

Daisy: I even remember one time. I… invited like my Irish friend over. I was like "ok, lets, I'm different, let me show you I'm different". So I invited her to my house, like it's cool and then...in my house I'll be...apart from my fridge, I have a huge freezer, where you keep your meat [Participants: Yeah, of course]. My friend was like: "whoa, like why is your freezer so big, what's in your freezer?". I opened the freezer and she is like "is your mom a butcher, like you can keep a dead body in here" "so you not coming back" [laugh]. We went to school the next day, she was like "Daisy has a huge freezer" […] [laugh]

Daisy draws attention to the differences between Irish and Nigerian households, where the household becomes a marker of difference between her and her non-Nigerian friends. Despite only visiting Nigeria sporadically, young people have a good idea of what a Nigerian household is supposed to look and be like. On the other hand, even though they never lived in an 'Irish' household, they construct a discursive Irish household based on the stories of their friends. They compare their households and those of their peers to an idealised vision of what 'Nigerian' and 'Irish' homes are and evaluate their own households on that basis. Nigerian households are juxtaposed with Irish ones and seen as binary opposites in many aspects, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Despite the challenges and issues with their families discussed in the next chapters, their ethnic identities are constructed in the context of their families and the

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households. In this set-up, parents, as the guardians of culture, might have unquestionable authority to decide whether they and their behaviour are, or not, 'truly Nigerian'. Espiritu found in her research of second generation Filipino women in the US found that parents have an authority over their daughters' ethnic identity and can employ it to control them:

> Largely unacquainted with the "home" country, […] children depend on their parents' tutelage to craft and affirm their ethnic self and thus are particularly vulnerable to charges of cultural ignorance and/or betrayal (2002: 434).

The household is not only a space where the identity is constructed and supported. It is often where young people feel most comfortable:

Interviewer: Why would most of your friends be black or African?

Mary: Because my house was so Nigerian dominated, everything around me was Nigerian, I was only comfortable and able to express myself fully with my own kind of people, because we had the same jokes. I can relate with them, because if something is wrong at home, I can relate to them because it's probably happening in my home too. So I'm only comfortable around my own people and it just felt like my own little Nigeria. It's like I was back home but not actually home.

Here, Mary expresses that she is only comfortable around Nigerian people and she can relate with them as they also have Nigerian parents and live in Nigerian households. On one hand, the Nigerian household is therefore a marker of difference against Irish peers, yet it is also a source of ethnic unity with other Nigerians. As they do not visit Nigeria frequently, it is, at least partially, the practices in the household that link her to other Nigerian youths in Ireland.

 I suggest that while for parents the household is a site of re-enactment of their identities, for young adults with Nigerian parents it is in fact their 'little Nigeria'. It is a 'home' not only in the sense of the household, but also in the sense of 'homeland', or at least an extension of it. The second generation learn about their home country not only through parental stories and transnational activities. Many of the tasks, restrictions and provisions reported by young people in this study are believed to be Nigerian: cooking Nigerian food, not having sleepovers, staying at home, are all

categorised by the respondents as traits of Nigerian households.

To maintain a truly Nigerian household, family members need to continue practices believed to be traditional that serve here as building blocks of the culture. By performing these activities, not only are the parents re-enacting Nigeria, but following some of these rules and replicating the practices enable young adults to have a connection with their ancestral home. Accordingly, one's ethnic identity and belonging rely to certain extent on whether their behaviour and activities in the household are aligned with the unwritten rules of how a Nigerian should behave in the house. Here again, parents might also exercise authority to decide whether one is or is not 'truly Nigerian' if they do not follow the rules. Performing household tasks and activities can therefore be considered tools of cultural continuity in migrant households, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

When creating a dichotomy between what is Nigerian and what is Irish, the participants also draw a line between the private and the public among cultural lines, that is the 'Nigerian' home and the 'Irish' outside. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the perceived defining features of a Nigerian upbringing are strict discipline, rules and restrictions, with young people facing measures that they believe their Irish counterparts do not experience.

These lines highlighting the difference between 'our' and 'their' households can also be conceptualized as *social boundaries* that serve to define a group identity (Jacobson in Ketner et al., 2004). As argued by Cornell & Hartmann:

> To claim an ethnic identity is to distinguish ourselves from others; it is to draw a boundary between "us" and "them" on the basis of claims we make about ourselves and them, that "we" share something that "they" do not (in Ketner et al., 2004: 151)

Here, for young Nigerians in Ireland, the boundaries were partially established through differentiations in households. Parenting styles and household hierarchies are part of the *thnic markers,* uniting the second generation and differentiating them from others, thuscontributing in this way to creation of ethnic identities.

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5.5   Conclusion

This chapter explored the role of parents and the household in the construction and maintenance of the identities of second generation Nigerians. When Irish identity is often denied for second generation youths, young people define their households as the sources of identity and 'home'. Practices within the household are not only rituals, but become a source of identity, pride and knowledge about one's ancestral home country. It is important to highlight that the Nigerian identity of people in this study is based on their parents' stories and thus it greatly relies "on borrowed memories and imagination" (Falicov, 2005:401). Yet, parental stories themselves might be based on idealised memories. Consequently, what it means to be Nigerian might not be the same for the parents and for the children, as the latter do not have a direct experience of Nigeria. At the same time, one cannot deny the importance of this identity source for young people.

This chapter also stressed that ethnic identities are not formed solely in the household, but are sum of various dynamics both within and outside the household, highlighting that:

> migrants and their children combine transnational and assimilative practices inside and outside their homes at different stages of their lives, and they use these various combinations to construct their flexible hyphenated identities (Falicov, 2005: 400).

This chapter challenges studies that see the household as a site solely of conflict or a barrier to integration (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Spierings, 2015). It is indeed a space where conflicts and tensions take place, which sometimes have different sources than in non- migrant households. However, it is also a safe space for young people to be themselves, a place to create and support their identities and cultural upbringing. Knowledge learnedin the household allows the young people in this study to connect with other Nigerians when facing rejection from the wider community. The following chapters, where conflict and tensions are discussed in more detail, should therefore be viewed through the lens of the meaning the household has assigned by the people in this study and the role of the household in maintaining their identities.

6   The household as a site of conflict, understanding and changes

6.1   Introduction

The previous chapter explored the meaning of household for second generation young adults, with a particular focus on the role of immigrant parents in sustaining ethnic identities among their children. This chapter partially draws on those findings by looking at intergenerational relations in the household and the meaning assigned to them by family members. Scholars of kinship relations highlight that intergenerational relations are characterised by solidarity as much as conflict, yet the dominant narrative on family relations tends to focus on intergenerational conflict, particularly between adolescent children and their parents (Szydlik, 2008). Due to the differences between generations, conflict may arise when parents try to transmit values that do not resonate with other values encountered by children. This process might be intensified in migrant families as values transmitted by parents might be significantly different from those transmitted through peers and society at large. Portes and Rumbaut have coined this process *generational dissonance* (in Foner & Dreby, 2011).

The struggles of migrant parents not being able to transmit values that are important to them was documented by Handlin in 1951, who researched migration journeys of European immigrants to the US:

> In the end, all was tinged with vanity, with success as cruel as failure. Whatever lot their sons had drawn in this contentious world, the family's oneness would not survive it. It was a sad satisfaction from generation to generation to watch the young advance, knowing that every step forward was a step away from home (Handlin, 1951 in Attias-Donfut & Waite, 2012:43-44).

The *generational dissonance* can be a source of tensions within the family, as immigrant parents and their children are exposed to adult role models, such as educators and public figures, who might promote different values than those of the country of origin. As they might be more keen to adapt them rather than their parents' values, this can result in conflict (Phinney et al., 2000; Phalet and Schönpflug 2001a, Phalet and Schönpflug 2001b;). On the other hand, a number of

studies on intergenerational relations also emphasise solidarity in the child-parent dyad. Solidarity can refer to both emotional connection or specific behaviour. It can be further divided into three distinctive categories: functional, which refers to provision and reception of support, like giving and taking money, time and space; affectual, which describes emotions; and associational, encompassing common activities (Szydlik, 2008).

Though family relations can be characterised by either solidarity or conflict, these are usually not mutually exclusive. Through the reflections of young people and their parents on family life, this chapter shows that while conflict exists, so do mutual understanding and cooperation. The themes discussed below directly reflect those which arose in conversations with young adults in the course of this research. These centred generally around discipline, safety and expectations. The narratives of conflict seem to dominate the accounts of research participants, they are however intertwined with stories of love, solidarity and understanding. The chapter then focuses on the participants' reflections on their relations with their parents. The concluding section links to the previous chapter by exploring the influence of the outside environment on household relations and vice versa; it looks at how the relations in the house influence the interactions with wider society.

6.2   Parenting styles

Among the many sources of conflict in Nigerian families in Ireland, discipline and respect for authority are some of the most widely discussed. Parents have strict expectations of their children relating to obedience, respect for authority and discipline. Young people in this study describe their parents' child-rearing methods in reference to idealised 'African' parenting, referring to their households and their parents' approach as either 'typical African' or 'not typical African' when, in their opinion, their parents do not follow the parenting pattern they conceptualise as traditional. In these accounts, typical African upbringing methods involve strict rules, lack of negotiations, unquestionable authority of the parents and harsh discipline measures. Young people believe that parents in Nigerian households are strict and there is no space for negotiations, as elders deserve respect which they feel is one of the main values their parents aim to pass on to them. The respondents recall respect

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as one of the fundamental values in their households strictly enforced by their parents. Naomi, a mother of two, believes that in Nigerian households children should behave and talk respectfully to their parents and elders. She struggles to instill this in her children, who, to her dismay, always attempt to negotiate with her:

> Naomi: Sometimes, when you try to tell them something, they're trying to tell you back, then I'm like "will you shut up, when I was your age I never talked back". You know that kind of? Because I never did that. And if I did that, I would get beaten for my life. And they say "no, I don't have to shut up, I don't have to shut up". And for me, I know where I came from, this is horrible, this is disrespectful, do you not love your mom, do you don't know how to talk. But they don't see anything wrong with [it]. When you try to let them know that it's wrong, to them that is wrong 'but I didn't do anything. I say "no, you don't talk back to your mom or your dad". You know that kind of? You have to listen, you have to listen […] But this are not the things we grew up with, we grew up with our parents being in charge, our parents calling the shots.

Naomi complains of her children's behaviour believing that the lack of respect shown by her children is a result of the Irish influence. Similar dynamic is observed by Tafadzwa Mugadza et al. (2020) in their study of African families in Australia. Children in African communities have a defined place in relation to the community and their position below their parents is never challenged. However, in Australia, similarly like Ireland, the nuclear family model with low level of hierarchy is most prevalent. Obedience and respect towards parents have been identified as some of the key differences between Irish and Nigerian households. Here, the less hierarchical relationships in Irish households are seen by the participants as reflecting lack of respect toward parents, which is seen in, for example, in the way Irish youths address their parents by their first name.

Naomi compares her parenting experiences in Ireland to the dynamics between parents and children in Nigeria. Based on her own memories from the motherland, she strives to continue the parenting style and dynamics of the household she recalls from her own childhood. Thus, the parenting style can be seen to a certain extent as a mechanism for parents to hold on to the past, as was described in the previous

chapter.

The style of parenting and the relationship with the parent described by Naomi is considered in the literature to be authoritarian, and is one of three styles in Baumrind's (1971) classification: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. The authoritarian style is characterised by high control over children and a demand for obedience. Authoritative parents emphasize obedience and set rules, but also allow for flexibility and emotional closeness. The permissive parenting style is the most lenient, with very low control and lack of demands. Akinsola (2013) observes that the most common parenting style in Nigeria emphasizes obedience to authority and compliance with parental instructions. This stems from the traditional respect for elders and authority, which includes parents. It is essential to mention here that an authoritative parenting style does not exclude love, caring and affection. While the young people in this study see authoritarian parenting as the one considered truly "Nigerian', in Akinsola's (2013) research of parenting styles, Nigerian parents adopted either authoritarian or authoritative parenting styles.

6.3   Irish vs Nigerian households

Most of the youths differentiate their households from those of their peers. The respondents discussed their parents' childrearing style not only in reference to the idealised norms of parenting in Nigeria, but also in contrast to Irish parenting, which is believed to be much more lenient. Irish children are thought to have much more freedom and households are perceived as less hierarchical. In this way, the young people established a dichotomy between these two childrearing styles, equating the Nigerian one with harsh and rigorous methods and juxtaposing it with much more permissive approaches in Ireland. While this is often envied by the participants, for Janet, Irish households are less organised and with no clearly defined hierarchies, they lack control and respect:

> Janet: Sometimes is good, because you do get the respect you know, from the Irish people, it's so weird, because I go to some Irish friends I have, I go to their house and the way they talk to their sibling, oh you know "you fuck off", you know what I mean? It's just kind of like, it's a bit mad in the house, they just have no

respect for each other whatsoever, they just...everyone wants to do their own thing and it's just like, no one wants to be at each others toes, no one wants to be in each other's way, but inside that, like, in a Nigerian household, there will be like 'you respect me or you have to go through mom and dad' which is...would be worse than me, you know, so it's them ones where, like, they listen to you and you know, it's nice sometimes, when you know, you have that respect and you know, yeah.

The idea of a cultural clash between Ireland and Nigeria in the way the children were raised among social workers and community leaders of Nigerian and African descent in Ireland. During my field work, I visited the Donegal Youth Service twice where I met Billy Banda. Billy is a youth worker, originally from South Africa, who is in charge of a weekly multicultural youth group called World Wide Voices, which he set up when he noticed that young people from migrant background do not engage with mainstream services. As Billy is South African, young people respect him and he acts as a mentor, sometimes as a link between parents and teenagers. Billy also recognises the challenges for African parents raising their children in Ireland. Both in his experience and throughout my conversations, Nigerian parents complained about not being able to raise their children more strictly. The following paragraphs discuss in more detail how the perceived difference between Nigerian and Irish households is played out in the experiences of the young people, their parents, but also youth workers and community leaders.

6.4   'Spoil the rod, spare the child': the use of corporal punishment

Among the perceived differences between Irish and Nigerian households, discipline is one of the most prevalent themes discussed during focus groups and interviews. Cross-cultural studies show that parental attitudes towards physical punishment are different across cultural groups (Akinsola, 2013). The means of discipline in Nigerian households are considered stricter than the ones found in Irish families and include physical punishment, often described by the participants as 'beatings'. The parents who participated in the study do not view it as violence, but as a parenting strategy. One of the mothers with whom I spoke rationalised physical punishment as a parenting tactic using a deviation from a popular proverb: "you spoil the rod, spare

the child. So if you spoil the rod, the child will be spared"[5].

While most of the parents in this study denied they used physical punishment towards their children, they all referred to 'beatings' as a 'Nigerian' childrearing method. It is believed that using physical discipline is the only way to raise a child properly in order to prevent issues in the future. In Nigeria, physical punishment is a regular practice, as the law permits parents to 'correct' children through corporal punishment. However, while in Ireland up to the 1980s there were no regulations at all for the use of physical punishment neither in schools nor at home, in 1982 school corporal punishment was banned. Since 2015 the Irish law bans all physical punishment, including spanking (Maguire & Ó Cinneide, 2005). As mentioned in Chapter Three, despite the legal ban of corporal punishment, a quarter of parents in Ireland report smacking or hitting a child and the majority of parents believe that occasional smacking is not harmful (Halpenny et al., 2010). At the same time, the rules in Ireland are strictly enforced, with all forms of corporal punishment recognised as physical abuse. There is a legal responsibility to report concerns physical abuse and individuals working with children are trained to take all concerns seriously.

Parents complain that due to the differences in childrearing approach in Ireland, their ability to raise and discipline their children appropriately is challenged. Naomi, a mother of two, finds that though she understands that restrictions are necessary for parents to not abuse children, there is lack of trust in parents to know what level of physical punishment is appropriate. She feels that the government is interfering significantly in parenting, something migrant parents have also complained about in other contexts (McGregor, 2008; Waters & Sykes, 2009).

Parents also feel that the ban of corporal punishment interferes with parental authority in the household. They are frustrated that children threaten them to call the police or contact social workers if parents will use corporal punishment. Consequently, they feel that not only they do not have control over their children's behaviour, but that the hierarchy in the household is disturbed, with children having

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[5] The mother is referring here to the Bible. The original phrase is in Proverbs 13:24: "He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him is careful to discipline him." The mother customised the saying.

control over parental actions. Jim, a father of three from Dublin, also believes that the law prevents community child rearing. Whereby in Nigeria non-biological parents can physically punish another child in the community, this is impossible in Ireland due to the serious legal consequences that would carry. Community members are therefore constrained to only report any misbehaving child to their biological parents. In Jim's view, this leads to regular occurrences of anti-social behaviour among Black youths in the community.

Most of the respondents report being disciplined in their childhood by means of physical punishment, which is viewed by them as a non-Western way of raising a child. The discipline measures adopted by their parents were discussed in the context of what they believed are discipline measures commonly used by Irish parents. They believed that Irish parents' only talk and negotiate with their children and no physical means of discipline are used. The method was seen as something their parents imported from Nigeria:

> Anne: Ehm...so yeah, there were times...we were brought up with like belt as well and stuff like that, just more kind of, you wouldn't say it's a Western thing perhaps. Ehm... a non-western way of raising up a kid, basically. So yeah, that leaves you with the area to know that yeah, your family, your guy...is definitely not Irish or you're definitely like...the way you were brought up was not...you know, was different, was like, the way they would bring up kids back home, you know. Yeah...

D believes that "being brought up with a belt" is also a marker of difference with their Irish peers and one of the key features of a Nigerian household, as that was the way "they would bring up kids back home". Views and opinions on the effectiveness and appropriateness of physical punishment vary significantly among the participants. While some appreciate it, others see it as harmful and unnecessary. A significant group of the young people interviewed is not planning to use corporal punishment with their children, but nonetheless they understand the motives of their parents. Those respondents who understand the use of physical discipline view it as a way to raise children or even as an expression of love[6]. As such, parents who 'beat'

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[6] It is important to note that the purpose of the above section is not to rationalise or excuse the use of physical punishment, but rather to portray the seemingly contradictory dynamics in the household

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their children are seen as using it a means to improve their behaviour, rather than to harm them.

When the subject of physical punishment was brought up during a male-only focus group, all respondents viewed it as more effective than other means of disciplining children, like talking through issues:

Tyson: I have two young brothers, they are twins so I came from Nigeria when I was six, but they were born here, so like, immediately like, let's say they did something bad, I'll tell my mom, "oh, they did this" or whatever, she will be like "oh, I talk to them, I talk to them". Whether in my case, I get beat straight away [flicks fingers]. So now, now in time, they got sent back to Nigeria they are in Nigeria now.

Sending children to Nigeria is believed to be a corrective measure and children return to Ireland after a period of time. This has been mentioned by multiple participants, where, once all other means of disciplining children are exhausted, misbehaving children are sent to stay with their extended families in Nigeria. This phenomenon is not unique to Nigerian parents in Ireland; Bledsoe & Sow (2011) find that it is prevalent among West African migrants in Europe and North Africa. In their study, parents send their children away as they believe they cannot take adequate disciplinary measures in Western societies in order to correct their children's behaviour, whereas in Nigeria they can be disciplined appropriately. In the above quote, Tyson criticizes his parents for becoming more lenient in raising the children and considers verbal negotiations ineffective, leading to his brothers' behaviour deteriorating so much that his parents had no choice but to send him to Nigeria. Just like Tyson, young men in this focus group believe children who have been disciplined physically are more respectful. They appreciate their parents for the way they were raised and consider similar discipline measures in the future.

However, many other respondents criticise physical punishment and plan to abstain from using it in the future, preferring to discipline their children through other means, like enhanced communication. This group found physical punishment not

only ineffective, but harmful for children and the child-parent relationship. During a separate individual interview Bobby, a young male attending college in Dublin, recalls having issues with anger and aggression when he was younger and ascribes this to the fact that his father used physical discipline as a child-rearing method, when Bobby was younger:

> Bobby: Like if you get hit by your parents, it's gonna, it's gonna affect you mentally, because like, it annoys you, you get annoyed, you go out to the world and do something stupid. Because obviously, if your dad hits you, you're not hitting back, so you gotta keep going, it's a circle so. If you were to get hit, bang, you go out and then. Basically, you're going out to release all the anger out on someone else.

Sandra also crtiticises physical violence. Her mother changed overtime and resorted to other means of discipline, she believes that physical discipline did not benefit her in any way, but only instilled fear and put a barrier between her and her mother. She strongly opposes physical punishment:

> Sandra: Our parents aren't supposed to hit you for no reason, not supposed to lash on you and ehm...They're supposed to tell you that they love you. They're supposed to be there for you. You are supposed to be able to confine in them confidently. You know what I mean?

These respondents did not see any benefit to physical punishment and Sandra insisted on her clear commitment to never use it as she believes there is no benefit to it. Some respondents are, however, planning to mix both the 'Nigerian' way of raising children with some practices more common in Ireland, like in the case of Isaac, who observes communication styles between his friends and their parents and tries to adapt them in his relationship with his mother. His feelings towards the discipline measures are quite ambivalent, as on one hand he did not like his mother's discipline measures, but on the other hand, he appreciates that she 'beat sense' into him. He also plans to continue the use of physical punishment to a limited extent:

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Isaac: I didn't really like to get beat, but now that I look back at my childhood, I appreciate how she, like how she handled things, because it kind of like beat senses into me. Because obviously at times I'll be crying feeling pain and that, but obviously she never really went overboard, she wasn't really like mad throwing pans at me or like, she wasn't like abusing me. Sometimes I could be like, kneeling down for like 30 minutes with my hands up, or I'd get a few slaps, or I could get a few whoops with the belt, but she knew, she knew her limit, like I could say that she knew her limit and so... I think I would continue that with my kids, but I would talk more and like reason with them, like I'd be like "Why did you do this?", like, I'd get them to understand, like, without force that, I'll get them to understand the right way to do things, without force. That's probably what I would change.

In the case of Isaac, criticism of parental discipline measures does not mean they are completely rejected. Similarly, a number of respondents are still understanding of their parents' motivations, even though they do not necessarily plan to use corporal punishment against their children and might not agree with it. In the case of Tina, a young Muslim woman from West Dublin, her attitude towards her parents' discipline measures is also ambiguous. Tina was very critical of her parents' use of corporal punishment and strongly disagreed with it. Yet, her family also had issues with social workers due to the use of corporal punishment and she was very defensive of her family:

Tina: I know that the discipline measures are strict, are really like harsh and stuff like that, but for teachers, it seems like, yeah it can be extreme. It's just seen like their parents don't take care about their kids and stuff like that like. When a kid is getting beaten, that means that the parents doesn't take care about them and that's not really in Nigerian household, because in Nigerian household it's a way to say that they love their kids. I know it's really contradictory, but it's a way that they say that they love their kids and stuff. I'm not gonna say it's affection, but it's just that they want their kid to be better, to be good, rather than to go bad or something.

The fear of social workers and the lack of understanding of the culture is a prevalent

theme across the research, but more so with parents. Tina is the only one among the second generation participants to discuss it. Disapproval of a particular child-rearing technique can be assumed to be created by cultural dissonance and indeed lead to conflict between generations, but it does not automatically rule out solidarity and understanding. Tina is clearly opposed to physical punishment, but she also understands her parents' motives and criticises the involvement of social services in her family. Just like Tina, other young people in this study were able to both criticize their parents' approach and, with time, to understand their parents. These examples show that relations in family can be ambiguous and disapproval of parental behaviour cannot automatically be assumed to mean prolonged conflict in the household.

6.5 'Why didn't you ever let us go on sleepovers?': negotiating freedoms

Another frequently mentioned difference between Nigerian and Irish households relates to restrictions on freedom in childhood and adolescence, in some cases extending into early adulthood. Most young people report restrictions on going out to play and socialise with friends during childhood. Some were not allowed to go out at all, while others were supposed to be home 'before the lights are orange' (Mary). Parents are also very restrictive regarding sleepovers, which while popular among Irish peers, are not permitted in Nigerian households for both genders. During adolescence, similar restrictions were reported by youths on going out to socialise in pubs and clubs. Just like with discipline, these restrictions are often viewed as a trait of a Nigerian household and upbringing, which include many rules and strict parenting:

> Sandra: My mom kept it strictly a Nigerian household like. Not allowed go out, face the books, no TV, no interaction with like, like white people, she didn't like us going outside and talking to white people either

In Sandra' case, her mother's strictness is also linked with maintaining a 'Nigerian household'. Apart from focus on study and restrictions on mobility, this included reluctance to make friends with white children. As mentioned in literature review, a study by Gilligan (2010) found that migrant parents want to avoid children attending

white only spaces to shield them from racism. Another possible explanation is the efforts of parents to ensure cultural continuity and identity. As discussed, migrant parents face additional challenges in ensuring cultural continuity and restricting their children to a Nigerian environment might be one of the ways they aim to preserve some of the key values and behaviours in their children.

The strictness of the Nigerian household is also juxtaposed with the perceived freedom in Irish families. Children in those households were believed to be allowed to stay out longer, go out to clubs at an early age and be allowed to have sleepovers.

> Mary: For instance, if you wanna go out in the Irish world is normal for anyone's age, you're like kind of free and able to like go out and have fun, but in the Nigerian household, you're under your parents' roof, you have no say.

This comparison becomes a source of frustration for the young people and what they see as a clash of cultures, with different attitudes for going out between their home and Irish households. The respondents did not understand the different standards regarding spending time outside of the house within the household vis a vis their peers:

> Ann: Because, you coming in, you coming in to the known of just like,this is how, this is how, my parents would say Irish people, this is how Irish people do this, this is how Irish people bring up their kids, why can't I do that, you don't you guys let me do this, you know, why don't you guys let me sleep over, why don't you guys let me stay out late, you know.

These restrictions are a result of parental concerns for safety. The respondents believe these are usually based on alarming news from the media. A similar rationale was heard from the stories of the parents, who describe the dangers faced by their children outside. Creese (2011) reports that African parents in Canada tried to supervise their children at all times in order to protect them from the dangers they could encounter outside. This also included danger of losing children to the Canadian culture. In this way, families construct the home as a refuge or safe space and the

outside as threatening (Hyams, 2003).

While upset at their parents, some of the respondents understand their rationale for the restrictions. Some linked the fear back to their parents being raised in Nigeria and bringing up their children in accordance with the beliefs and fears from their house country. Many talked at length about the risks to safety in Nigeria, either from their own experience or from stories of their parents. While knowing the rationale, young people like Anne still disapprove of their parents and often consider their fears for safety as misplaced, linking it back to Nigeria:

> Anne: I was like 'mom, I didn't get to do this'. Well, you know. I was even asking her the other day, I was like 'why didn't you ever let us go on sleepovers', 'why did you never let us go to house party or something' anything like that, and she was like 'well, it's all about safety'. That's the thing what she said. That's...that is what my parents were mostly concerned about. Until this day, they are still concerned about it. And going to Nigeria, I realised *why* they have this strong, this really strong ehm...connection to safety like. Because over there, I went to do shopping one of the days. I couldn't just walk out to do shopping.

At the same time, for Anne it took a visit back to Nigeria to understand her parents' concerns. Anne shares this experience with other informants, for whom stories told by family members or their own visit to Nigeria allowed them to acquire a better understanding of their parents' rationale. During a focus group, the participants discussed with amusement the fact that they could never go trick or treating. Even though this was seemingly odd for them, they also could easily justify it with their own experiences from Nigeria or the stories told them by their family members:

> Nero: Yeah but also, credit to them, because Nigeria is more dangerous. Like, you don't just let your kid wonder and go to someone else's house, you don't let anybody touch your kid but like obviously, like here you can...Like, my mom, it's actually something, my mom wouldn't let us trick or treat. Do you know the way white kids are going trick or treat? Cos she is fully convinced, that someone will inject poison into the sweets.[…] if anything is open like, cos in Nigeria is like dangerous, someone would tamper with that, so that's why like, our parents like, credit to them to even

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letus go out now, because if this was Nigeria like…

These examples show that transnational links, either in the form of stories from parents about the homeland or visits, can contribute to fostering understanding and harmony between generations. Children who either visited the homeland of their parents or become familiar with it otherwise, might have a better understanding of their parents' past and consequently, of the rationale behind their actions. Transnational connections can therefore ease conflict in migrant families and support harmonious household relations.

6.6 '*You have to strive harder than others*': academic expectations and experiences

As mentioned in the literature review, African migrants in Ireland have very high academic expectations from their children. This is a common pattern in research on migrant families. In Bhattarcharya's study (2000) Asian parents in the US prioritised education for their children, despite limited contact with schools. Lopez et al. (2003) found that Mexican immigrant parents in the US held education in high esteem as means to improve economic status. Children of immigrants often feel responsible for realising their parents dreams (Louie, 2012). Dolapo Adeniji-Neill (2012) observes that the lives of Nigerian immigrants in the United States and their second generation children are shaped by narratives of educational success. The emphasis on educational achievement in Nigerian families was very clear in this study and was the topic most frequently mentioned when asked about parental expectations. Both parents and the second generation stressed its importance. Self-improvement was as important an objective for parents themselves, as most of the ones I came in contact with had completed either first or additional degrees since arriving in Ireland. The majority of the young people are required by their parents to study extensively and bring home good results. This requirement is strictly enforced and education is prioritised over socialising or extracurricular activities. Youth workers reported that particularly African girls rarely participated in youth clubs and other community initiatives, as their parents expect them to dedicate all their free time to education. Some of the respondents felt overwhelmed with the expectations:

Anne: But, think about it now, it's, it's like...it's like, damn, they

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> put so much demands, but like, our dad will always be strict with the studying and stuff and in school....

Many parents also have preferences for particular professions for their children. This can become a source of disagreements and conflicts in households, particularly when young people need to decide their choice of university degree. Anne studies something she was interested in and this was not appreciated by her parents:

> Anne: My parents […] wanted us to be doc, to study medicine as well. Studying arts and stuff is not really favourite to be honest, so, yeah.

Similarly, Bobby's parents insisted on him becoming a doctor or a nurse. He did not feel comfortable with a medical degree and instead enrolled in a business degree. The respondents seem to be more inclined to study subjects they enjoy and need to confront parents who would prefer more economically secure professions. As most participants in this study were enrolled in third level education at the time of our interviews, it became apparent that despite parental pressures, many of them were able to study a degree of their choice. Some are studying politics, sociology and art. The expectation to choose a specific degree is also not universal, some parents did not exert any pressure on their children in this regard. It is important to stress that parental involvement in education is also not limited to having expectations and putting pressure. Mary recalls that she was never pushed to complete a particular degree, but what her parents instilled in her instead was curiosity and love for books. Similarly, Daisy, although she is studying a degree in law, said that her mom never pressured her to choose any specific subject.

Many respondents believe that for their parents, the prospect of better academic and professional opportunities for their children is one of the main reasons why they moved to Ireland. Education is considered by both generations a fundament for a better lifestyle and being educated in Ireland is seen to be of high value. In these narratives, parents are believed to make sacrifices for the betterment of their children's lives. Consequently, the expectation is being understood and appreciated by the young people interviewed:

> Janet: I think they would want me to be successful. I feel like the

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reason why Nigerians come to Europe is because they believe that they, the suffering in Nigeria, the striving and the struggling, they believe that they don't want to raise their kids to be raised in that country to be, they just want a better life for their kids. The reason why my mom moved here was because she knew 'I don't want my child to do what I had to do'.

Nigerian parents seem to follow the narrative of the *immigrant bargain*, where working- class immigrant parents' sacrifice and losses experienced with moving to a new country will be rewarded with the achievements of their children (Louie, 2006). Additionally, their own parents' stories of struggling and hardship serve as motivation to the second generation. They evaluate their own opportunities in reference to those of their parents and view them "as an example of how not to be" (Pasztor, 2009:64), hoping for a better future than theirs.

Stories from the homeland are also used regularly to serve as a motivation for young people to excel, when parents draw comparisons between them and their peers in Nigeria. Not only are their peers in Nigeria believed to have to struggle more, but there is also a belief that they are their education is progressing faster, which is used as an excuse to justify asking children to put more effort into their education. Young adults of Nigerian descent are therefore not only comparing themselves against their peers in school, they are also asked to evaluate themselves transnationally, against other young people in their parents' country of origin. Similarly, in other areas of their lives, young people develop a *dual frame of reference* (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), evaluating their life experiences against both their peers in Nigeria and their peers in Ireland. Parents are therefore not only influencing their children through direct encouragement; parental stories and transnational links also influence the outlook of children on education and motivate them to perform better. While young people might disagree with their parents regarding education, the potential profession and time dedicated to learning, this does not mean that they disregard parental efforts.

In addition to education being considered as means to economic advancement, for

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some it is also a strategy to overcome discrimination and racism, where the parents understand that in order to address structural challenges, additional effort is needed:

> Anne: Because your parents are here and you weren't born here, you know, so you can't just have been given to you, so you have to, you have to strive harder than others, well you feel like you have to.

Thus, the majority of the young people are required not to bring home not just good results, but excellent, top of the class achievements. Whenever they come home with a good, but average grade, their parents asked them to perform better. For Nero's mother, education also helps children to adjust to life in Ireland. In his family, good grades in Irish language class are highly valued, as they indicate acculturation into the host country. Adeiji-Neill (2012) in her study of Nigerian parents in the US found that much of the parental expectations are rooted in cultural reasons, like Nigerian concept of 'omuluabi', that places emphasis on earning the right to personhood through education. This study shows that these expectations can be sometimes more context- than culture- dependent. Lauglo believes that this 'extra-drive' leads migrants and their children to overcome challenges of disadvantaged backgrounds (in Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011). Similarly, Louie (2006) found in her research of Chinese parents in the US that their emphasis on education was not solely due to cultural standards that value education, but was also based on the belief that educational success can help overcome some of the discrimination and racism experienced in society.

6.7   Gendered academic expectations

The parental expectation to be successful in school applies to both girls and boys, and both the parents and young people discussed educational expectations and pressure to the same degree. However, the findings indicate that there might be potential differences in the motivation for success in education. While there is no data on educational attainment in Ireland between minority men and women, qualitative research from other countries indicates that there are gendered differences in the way young men and women experience their time in school. In Lopez (2003) study, Latina boys in the US have been less successful than girls in schools due to racialized and gendered expectations. They were seen by their teachers as potential

problems and often placed in special education classes. The boys were aware that little was expected of them. In Creese's (2015) study, young Black women in Canada are more involved in education to counter racialized and gendered discrimination in school. In this research, some female respondents view their educational opportunities through a transnational lens, comparing their experiences to those of their peers in Nigeria:

> Mary: The whole onus of like, being educated is really important and understanding the value of education in the young women's life is really important, because not a lot of women are educated back at home and it was like you have to have love for it, because where we come from, not every woman was educated, most of the women that my mom grew up with, didn't go to college or didn't have the opportunity to go to school.

Here, Mary recounts her mother's experiences of education, where the challenges faced by her mothers' peers give more value to education in Ireland. Consequently, these accounts of the lived realities and challenges of young women in Nigeria serve as additional motivation for young females. While men, when discussing their academic life, focus solely on education, women link that with other expectations for their future. In addition to education, they are required to follow a pattern in their lives where they are supposed to get married after completing education. As already mentioned, Mary experiences more control over her education because her mother is a pastor. This is coupled with other expectations:

> Mary: You have to do everything in a sequence, you go to college, find somebody in college, you graduate and then when you graduate you get a boyfriend, after you graduate and get a boyfriend, you get a job, when you get a job you get married, when you get married, you have a kid. That sequence is the same sequence for every single person, but as a pastor's kid it's like, it's top priority, so there was a big expectation from my community to do really, really well.

In Mary's case, it is not only the expectations of her parents that she needs to meet; she is also the subject of higher than other's scrutiny than the other participants due to her mother's role in the community. Zhoe and Bankston (1994:34) in their observation of community monitoring of youths in the US coined the phenomenon

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where the community contributes to norm enforcement among the second generation 'Vietnamese microscope'. This referred to another cohort in a different context, at the same time, both this and other studies found that similar ethnic *microscope* can be found in other contexts, where the community contributes to norm enforcement among the second generation (Fekjær & Leirvik, 2011). Tina sees similar expectations as Mary in her family, though without the external pressures, but for her in this case education serves as a path to more independence.

> Tina: I wanna focus like, women getting a full education. Like, I remember when I was younger, I wanted to marry a lot younger, but right now, I just wanna marry after I'm 25, because I wanna make a name for myself rather than someone to be call this husband or that husband or her husband did this or the wife of the husband did that or something like that. I don't want to become someone else's property, that's why I 'm more with the women's side, being her own leader, rather than the man.

On one hand, Tina's family expects her to get married at some point and she does not oppose it, on the other hand she is also modifying these expectations in a way that suits her personal goals and aspirations for the future, where she aims to be married on her own terms. The belief in education is an important element of independence is also present among other parents in this study. Young women of Nigerian descent are thus faced with ambivalent expectations: on one hand, they are expected to be independent and on the other, they face restrictions in the household and have prescribed future roles as mothers and wives.

6.8 Changes in parenting practices

The conceptualisation of the household as an extension of Nigeria is frequent among the children of migrants; even though they believe their parents changed some aspects of their parenting, they see their households predominantly as 'Nigerian'. At the same time, many young people recognize that it is most likely that their households are different to what they would be in Nigeria:

> Tyrese: Yeah, we always say, I always say like this, like, ok, the

> moment you step out of your house, you are in Ireland, but the moment you are in your house, you are in Nigeria, period. That's how it always going to be like.

> Shag: Actually on the other side it might be a little bit more lenient, because the white people are around.

In most cases, participants believed that their parents are not 'typically Nigerian'. All discussed 'Nigerian parenting' and its features, but many young people, reflecting on their own households, often said that their parents are different and do not conform to the stereotype. When describing relations with their parents, including discipline measures or restrictions on going out, many respondents claim that their parents are not 'completely Nigerian'. Oftentimes, to showcase the strictness of a 'Nigerian household' they recalled stories of their friends who were subject to harsh rules from their parents, rather than their own. Janet is an 18-year old woman from Dublin, who lives with her mother and stepfather. As Janet's parents are divorced, she spent some of her childhood only with her mother and believes it brought them closer together:

> Janet: I feel like my mom would probably be a bit more lenient than other Nigerian women, so it's them ones where, like my ma she doesn't beat, she doesn't, you know what I mean, she, like ok maybe she can scream and all like that, but, like, I don't even know how to explain it, but I do feel like, just the way I was raised would be different from the way other African Nigerian would be raised.

Janet's mother is firm on certain aspects, like dress code, housework and going out, but at the same time she does not resort to violence and is also open to some negotiations and compromises. The parenting style Janet is describing seems thus more authoritative than the authoritarian one described by the participants as 'typically Nigerian'. Both Janet and Amanda's use of African' and 'Nigerian' in the quote above are not just empty adjectives- they encompass a set of parenting approaches. What is interesting is that despite observing changes in the households and parents being flexible, this does not lead to a redefinition of what 'Nigerian' or 'African' means. Instead, like in the case of Amanda, the respondents believe that their households changed and shifted away from being 'Nigerian'.

The majority of interviewees reported parents changing the child-rearing approach

over time. Some saw their parents' approach towards them change, others observed the differences between them and their younger siblings. Usually 'first borns' are considered to have the strictest upbringing and their parents place most expectations on them. The changes observed in their parents related to all areas, including discipline, restrictions and expectations. The respondents gave various reasons for the changes. Some ascribed that to their parents building up trust in them:

Peter: You know clubs start at like 10 o'clock or something like that and then we come back like 3 o'clock the next morning, so [mom] was always like worried, like up on her bed you know, like she wouldn't fall asleep until I come home the next day, you know. But eventually, she knew, eventually, she got used to this, cos I don't drink or nothing. Again, because of you know, I just have that. I don't drink like that or smoke or anything like that, so like, it's normal, so...I never really have a problem getting home or anything like that, so eventually, after maybe like the fifth time or something like that, she was used to the whole idea of me going out and coming back, so yeah, it's pretty ok.

In most interviews however, young people reported assimilation as the main cause of parents changing their child-rearing tactics, where parents learn some parenting approaches of the host country through observation. For example, Tina said that when she was growing up she feared her father, as her father would resort to physical punishment as a means of discipline, but her siblings growing up did not experience this, as they are raised and disciplined in different ways, like parents talking to them.

Inga: Why do you think they have changed?

Tina: I don't...I can't specifically say why they've changed. I just think it's because they were involved more with the school and they have been living in Ireland for a long time and have been working here in Ireland. So obviously the Irish influence obviously gets to their heads since they've been living here for really long time and I'd say that really changed them and stuff like that. My siblings, they don't get the same discipline measures that I do. I'd say they get laid off a lot more now, like *a lot.* Yeah.

In the accounts of the people partaking in this study, parents abandoned physical

discipline and switched the child-rearing methods to talking and reasoning. This change was appreciated by most of the participants and in some cases this led to improved relations in the house. Tina reports that now she feels much more comfortable talking to her father about any issues she might have. Similarly, all parents participating in this study said that the ways they raise their children changed since they came to Ireland. Some mentioned the legislation as the main reason for altering parenting tactics, others had different motivations, like seeing benefits of other parenting approaches. Jim, who moved to Ireland over a decade ago, does not oppose corporal punishment, though he reports changes in his parenting since migrating. He believes it was his studies in psychology that made him more aware of child development principles and the benefits of non-violent childrearing methods. Though his wife still prefers physical punishment towards their children, there are significant changes in their household in that regard. Similar changes were observed by some participants in relation to going out. Amanda talks about her mother using reasoning and discussion and some flexibility, also typical of more authoritative parenting:

> Amanda: But my parents are more...they have changed the way they think. So it's kind of like, I'm basically like everybody's kid. I'm not really in a Nigerian or an African, like household anymore. I'm kind of like every other person, because they were able to change the way they think, if that makes sense.

> Inga: Can you give me examples?

> Amanda: You know the way some parents are very strict for their kids, in the sense of 'oh, when you go out, oh, you have to come back by this time, or you have to tell me where you are'. Or some parents don't trust their kids at all, to go out at all. My parents would be kind of like, especially my mom, she will be like 'ok, you can go, but come back at this time, make sure you tell me where you are, make sure you tell me like, who you're with' instead of just plain out saying 'no, you're not allowed', kind of thing. They kind of explained more things and made us understand why they were saying no instead of just saying no.

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Amanda says that her parents' childrearing methods changed from authoritarian to more lenient approaches, moving away from 'a Nigerian or an African' approach to one where discussion and negotiation are possible. These young people's accounts show that despite the habitual discourses and representation of African parenting style as harsh, as indicated by previous research (Akinsola, 2013) and by respondents in this study, this has not been a universal experience and individuals have readjusted their parenting styles in a number of cases. The above section shows that relationships in migrant households continue to change over time and while indeed the younger generation adjusts more quickly, parents also adapt and change their parenting styles. This correlates with other studies that show that migrant parents' child-rearing methods change with time. In Cook & Waite's (2016) study of African migrant families in the UK, parents did not just try to transmit to their children cultural elements from their home country, they were continuously reassessing the values they intend to transmit, based on the cultural system in the host country.

6.9   Stories of home, migration and appreciation of parental sacrifices

Across most interviews and discussions, participants recalled the hardships through which their parents went in order to settle in Ireland. If the participants were born in Nigeria, they shared some of these experiences with their parents. Otherwise, they learned about them over time. Many of the parents moved to Ireland on their own while children remained in the care of family members in Nigeria, arriving in Ireland once the parents had settled. The respondents recalled many stories of the challenges and efforts made by their parents. They appreciate parental efforts and understand the challenges of migrating to a different country and raising their children there. Though some parents came to Ireland on work visas, many arrived via the asylum route.

Most Direct Provision centres are not purpose built to accommodate asylum seekers and they have often limited living space and essential facilities, including access to kitchen. Apart from provision of food and accommodation, asylum seekers receive only a small allowance for themselves and their children. The UN Human Rights Council among other international bodies expressed concern about the wellbeing and health of adult and children asylum seekers in these conditions (Murphy et al., 2019).

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Some children, if they moved to Ireland with their parents, recall the challenges of applying for asylum and associated hardships, including living in Direct Provision centres:

Interviewer: How was it like to grow up in Ireland?

Mary: For me growing up was, it was quite hard at the start, cause when we first came we stayed in, we were in [Direct Provision]. So we were there for a bit and it was quite hard because like, my mom was just given bit, well, she was pregnant with my brother when we were there, and I was going to school, so it was hard and then we moved and started living with family members and then went like from house to house until we finally got our own, when my mom gave birth.

After securing a permanent residency status, parents faced further challenges. They had to get new driving licenses, re-qualify, find accommodation, employment and settle in. There is a common belief that their parents moved to Ireland solely for the opportunities that this opened up for the children.

Daisy: They brought you here, like, do you know how much stress it took, stress. And it's their first time, they're in a whole new country, like their brothers...do you know how sad that is, right. Their brothers and sisters, they are all together back home or wherever they are, you know. Their parents are, either passed away or they're back in Nigeria, you know. They're just here with their wives and their little shit kids [laugh] so their kids are shouting at them saying "I wanna go out and go to a disco". We have to give it to them as well, they're like, doing a good job.

Here, Daisy not only recognises the sacrifices her parents made, but also the struggles they face in their daily lives. A similar gratitude for moving to Ireland and for the sacrifices made is expressed by Peter, who talked at length about the challenges faced by his mother in Ireland. He feels it is his duty to reward his parents for their efforts:

Peter: Yeah, yeah, because...it does have an impact. Ehm, maybe not physically, but like kind of like mentally, because, there is like, because sometimes you just don't wanna mess it up and also kind of like you want to work hard so you can

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treat your family for helping you. Like to treat your mom for bringing us here to you know, have a better life and kind of like getting everything she was never able to get. and sometimes it's a…, not everything, but like the serious decisions, that ehm, I'm faced to make, I kind of think like, would this, would my mom be ok with this.

On one hand, the respondents recall challenges to living in Nigeria, like safety, bad political and economic situations. On the other, they also recognise the emotional connections their parents have with their home country. Some of them believe that their parents came to Ireland only for their children to have more opportunities. Such narratives of parental sacrifices can shape intergenerational relations after migration. Turjanmaa & Jasinskaja–Lahti (2019) argue that feelings of indebtedness and gratitude can positively influence relationships between generations and prevent conflict.

While most of the respondents are still financially dependent on their parents, some of them have become autonomous working part-time or living away from home in student accommodation. This situation and their age allowed for a more distanced perception of their parents and upbringing methods. They also had the time to reflect on their household and upbringing. In Mallman's (2019) study, as children of immigrants matured, shifts in their perspective allowed them to empathise with their parents. This enabled them to reassess some of their childhood experiences and see them in a more positive light, which also led to improvements in the relationships with their parents, as:

empathy can be the binding agent in a relationship and the recognition of past experiences - the rupture and fragmentation of immigration – can pave the way towards relational connectedness (Mallman, 2019:12).

Even though most youths in this research criticised aspects of their parents' methods and expressed their intention to run their own household differently at least to a certain extent, there was a similar focus on the appreciation of parental efforts. Some of it developed over time; while many respondents recall not understanding parental decisions earlier or being frustrated by them, they came to understand them over time and in some cases, declared their intention to implement some similar measures in

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their future households. Some participants stressed that the restrictions in the household and threat of physical punishment prevented them from engaging in anti-social behaviour.

> Isaac: Like between me and one of my friends that has all the freedom, I'd like emotionally I'll be more stronger than him, because he can do whatever he wants, so he is like, I'd say, you know what I'm trying to say, like emotionally I'll be stronger, because I've been told 'no' and I've accepted it and I've learned to ehm... live with that disappointment.

Isaac appreciates the long-term effects of these restrictions as he believes they shaped his personality and prepared him for challenges of adult life. While critical of 'Nigerian' strict parenting style, he believes it is more likely to have positive outcomes than what are perceived as permissive childrearing methods adopted by Irish parents.

Traditionally, family studies have used the concepts of solidarity and conflict to describe the relationship between ageing parents and their children. What seems however to be more suitable in this case is the concept of intergenerational ambivalence proposed by Luescher & Pillemer (1998), which moves beyond the love-hate dichotomy to describe the contradictions in child-parent relationships. Though it was initially developed to conceptualise relations between independent adult children and their ageing parents, I suggest it is very suitable to describe intergenerational relationships in this research. In families where solidarity exists, including dependency for help and emotional proximity, it is more likely that conflict will also exist. This concept is useful here for evaluating young people's conflicting emotions regarding some issues, like physical punishment.

6.10 Relationships with parents

The disagreements presented throughout this chapter had consequences for intergenerational relationships in the households. When participants report on the relationship with their parents during their childhood, they mostly focus on the frustrations experienced due to the restrictions and rigorous upbringing. The position of parental authority and in most cases, the inability to negotiate with parents were perceived negatively. Many respondents highlighted in particular the lack of

communication that was due to the household hierarchy, where children were not allowed to voice their opinion or to have any negotiating power. What they found lacking is their parents' participation in their lives. Daniel plays basketball and feels sorry his parents have never seen him play or taken any interest in this activity. However, just as the parents have been changing, so have the relationship with their children over time. Many participants say these relationships were challenging and parents were not open for negotiations, nonetheless they also underwent many changes over the years. In many cases, parents tended to be stricter with little room for discussion when their children were young, but became more open with time.

In addition to observing parents being more lenient towards their younger siblings, relationships between parents and their children altered as they grew up. Young adults reported having 'earned' more freedom and trust through good behaviour or negotiations. A number of participants discussed mental health and lack of mental health awareness in the Nigerian community and among their parents. This had a direct impact on their relationships, but some parents changed their attitudes over time. Peter recalls struggling in school, which made him reluctant to attend and this consequently impacted his educational performance. With school support, he was diagnosed with anxiety, which his mother did not take seriously at first, but she took her time to understand it and then became very supportive.

Isaac recalls that the relationship with his mother was not warm and supportive. After observing what he believed was a more open child-parent relationship in his friend's house, he started engaging his mother more in conversations and the dynamics with his mother improved. For some, like Daisy or Janet, mothers particularly become good friends as their daughters grew older:

> Janet: Some of them they do hide a lot of things from their parents, but I feel like I have created that because it was just me and my mom, we have created that bond where, ok, I do hide some stuff from her but it wouldn't be, like I would be, like I would be able to sit with my mom down and be able to tell her like 'this is what happened today, this is this, this is that'. Whether other Nigerian kids will be afraid to say that to their mom if that makes sense.

This was, however, not the case for all participants. For some, the relationship with their parents never improved. Often parents are very preoccupied with work and other commitments, which prevents them from having leisure time with their children. This varied between households and their socio-economic situation. In many cases, parents have to work more than they would in their home country, as they cannot rely on the community and family network to support them. On the other hand, one single mother is very appreciative of the social supports in Ireland that allow her to not work and consequently spend more time with her children. Some, like Sandra, ascribed her cold relationship with her mother to Nigerian culture. She believes that as both of her parents grew up in households where emotions and feelings were not discussed, they established the dynamics with their children in a similar way:

> Sandra: Like, not telling your child like, you love them or like, you're doing good. That's a problem [laugh] And I think if I lived in Nigeria, I will be very much accustomed to like 'ok, yeah, this is how, this is how it normally is like. Parents don't tell you they love you, it's grand'. But here, I think I'm just like 'Oh' you know, you know like? Your parents aren't supposed to hit you for no reason, not supposed to lash on you and ehm... They're supposed to tell you that they love you. They're supposed to be there for you. You are supposed to be able to confide in them confidently.

At the same time, Sandra was grateful to her mother for the upbringing she received. Similarly, Daniel also considers his family as loving, despite conflicts in the household:

> Daniel: We always felt loved, […] we always know that our parents love us and want the best for us, so like that's something I would like to take from their parenting and be able to bring it to myself and pass on to my kids also, definitely.

The relationships between the participants and their parents in their household are thus characterised by significant levels of both gratitude and conflict. While the participants are critical of their parents' approach and some parenting techniques, they were also thankful for their parents raising them.

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6.11 "Little by little you just move to what you know": Discovering ethnic pride

Besides the conflict at home, many respondents felt that they were 'not fitting in' during childhood and adolescence. This was also intensified by some incidents of racism and exclusion described in the previous chapter. As the Black population of Ireland is relatively small, respondents felt they always stand out or are seen as different. This was particularly challenging for youths in ethnically homogeneous areas; those living in more diverse neighbourhoods had more positive experiences, since "everyone pretty much was like you" (Tina). Some of the feeling of not fitting in was based on differences in the household, like different rituals, but also different food or restrictions on leaving the house.

> Daisy: like your communion and your confirmation, they are things that, because religion is so important to our Nigerian parents, they were things they were not willing to compromise. So when it came to our confirmation or communion, unless you are Nigerian and Catholic, you weren't doing it and then when... Obviously we were kids and young, we didn't understand like, why can't I just make it because...how old are you when you make a confirmation? I mean, maybe ten. When you are ten you are not like, understanding the difference between doctrines or religions or anything. You just wanna do what your friends are doing and your parents won't allow. That's where the difference begins to show, if that makes sense. So then...little by little you just move to what, to what you know.

Particularly during childhood and adolescence, respondents found that the division between Irish and Nigerian households was confusing, leading to conflicts of values. As children and teenagers, they did not understand why they were expected to carry out household tasks, eat different food or behave differently in various contexts. Parental rules, like restrictions of mobility and pressure to dedicate all their free time to education were seen as barriers to participate in social life and further contributed to feelings of alienation, that was intensified by the racialized exclusion as discussed in the previous chapter. Youth workers and some of the respondents described cases of youths of African descent that left their households and quit education as a way to

rebel against parental restrictions. Some respondents recall trying to fit in with their peers, hiding aspects of their lives, including family rituals. Some of this however changed over the years with many young people developing pride in their Nigerian roots. Aspects of the culture that previously marked them as different, like their food and upbringing, are now a source of pride:

> Nero: You didn't want to tell your white friends that you can't go out on Sunday morning because you have to go to church. But then when you are older, you want to go to church and I feel like because we brought pride back into it and we got older and we copped on, it became something that's not just accepted but sought after.

Nero, just like Daisy above, was embarrassed telling friends about going to the church. He then discovered appreciation of the culture. This shift shows how attitudes towards one's ethnicity and values from parental countries change over the years. They have increasingly drawn back attached to the ethnicity of their ancestral home country. As described in Chapter 5, parents played a key role in this process, as they facilitated the maintenance of transnational ties among their children that enabled them to construct ethnic identities, thus providing the second generation "helpful roadmaps […] in their journeys toward a symbolic homeland" (Papayiannis, 2011:81). The attachment to their home country can in turn have a beneficial influence on intergenerational relationships. According to Louie (2006) positive attitudes to the ancestral home culture can improve relations with parents. Young adults, despite their limited contacts with Nigeria, also plan to ensure cultural continuity with the next generation:

> Tina: What I would continue is...is probably, like, I'd probably enforce my culture to my kids. Like, since I, I don't really like some Nigerian foods, but I'm gonna make my kids eat it because I want that to always be like, to always be there. Like when my kids have their own kids and stuff like that, that Nigerian culture should be kept alive.

Even though Tina was reluctant to embrace elements of Nigerian culture during her childhood, she has since discovered pride in her heritage. Her emphasis on the role of

practices in the household highlights the importance of household rituals which are considered central to the identity of the participants. The fact that the respondents in this study do not agree with some traditional values does not mean they necessarily disregard them. As argued by Ketner et al. (2004:24), second generation individuals might not intend to disregard traditional values:

> Many individuals may not feel inclined to challenge certain of the social definitions maintained by others. They may believe that it is highly important that they belong to a social collectivity, such as an ethnic group or a religious community, which they quite specifically perceive to be fixed and long-lasting, and of value, precisely because they believe this is its defining characteristic, its very nature.

Just like young Muslim women in Ketner's study, the participants in this research might choose their identity. Their identity as a migrant is assigned to them, but their identity as Nigerian is an *asserted* identity; something they choose themselves, which can give a feeling of control and belonging. As was illustrated in the previous chapter, this has been the case for most participants, who identified as Nigerian as the time of the interview and expressed pride in their Nigerian roots.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to the relations in Nigerian families in Ireland. Focusing on issues such as parenting styles, rules and expectations, it analysed stories of conflict and solidarity coming from these conversations. It shows that parents strive to transmit to their children elements of it to ensure cultural continuity of the Nigerian household. At the same time, parents are also revaluating some of their childrearing techniques and values they transfer. This chapter does not portray one narrative in family relations, but rather shows the complexities of these relationships, with both conflict and cooperation present. This has been previously noticed in other studies, mostly in the U.S. Foner and Dreby (2011:547) in their review of literature on the second generation, write:

> The common image of children of immigrants engaged in pitched battles against tradition bound parents from the old country is a partial, and often misleading, view. A more nuanced approach requires analyzing the sources of strife and strain, as well as cooperation, caring, and

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accommodation, and taking taking into account how intergenerational relations change over time.

This was very clear in this research, with both the parents and the young adults expressing fluidity and flexibility in their behaviour and approach. As the participants were over 18, this allowed to discuss changes occurring in the households over the years. It also led to more mature and distanced reflections on the different aspects in their childhood and adolescence. Telling stories of past experiences allows to see them in a different perspective and assign them new meanings, thus allowing people to 'reauthor their lives' through the act of storytelling (White & Epston in Mallman, 2019:8). This shows the importance of studies either with adult participants or ideally, longitudinal studies, as these can capture best the changes in parental behaviour and relationships. These evaluations are, however, often contradictory, where young people feel simultaneously resentment and appreciation.

The appreciation and solidarity expressed by young adults seem to be sometimes very robust and motivated by factors different than those among non-migrant youth. Visits to the homeland and stories of Nigeria told by their parents also allowed the second generation youths to have a better understanding of their parents' lives and motives. Thus, both direct and 'emotional' transnational activities not only enhance attachment to their ancestral homeland as discussed in the previous chapter, but they can also facilitate more harmonious relationships between generations. Though young people claimed they have been subject to strict rules and regulations, many of them successfully negotiated more freedoms as they were growing up. These dynamics might not be unique to a migrant household and are likely to occur in other families, as the relationship with parents is likely to change in all families. However, the nature of the changes and factors influencing them might be different in migrant families, especially relating to assimilation. The changes occurred also outside of the household; the respondents developed pride in their Nigerian roots over time. Disapproval with some Nigerian values and norms does not lead to rejection of their identity, instead young people claim their identities on their own terms and aim to instill pride in the next generation.

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7   The household as a site of gender negotiations

7.1   Introduction

This chapter looks at the gendered aspect of household relations, as this dimension was frequently mentioned in this context. However, the topic was discussed only by women as men did not share similar experiences or did not pay attention to gendered dynamics in the household. Women on the other hand report more control of their behaviour by their parents and are assigned more tasks than their male counterparts. It is important to highlight that the differential role and treatment of adolescent women is not exclusive to migrant communities or to a particular geographical area; young women across the world are subject to gendered control of their behaviour and sexuality (Chmielewski et al., 2017; Ericsson & Jon, 2006; Fischer et al., 2016). At the same time, certain dynamics are particularly salient in migrant families. As the 'keepers of culture' (Bilson in Espiritu, 2001), not only are women believed to be the ones in whom the morality of the community is allegedly reflected, they are also expected to be the ones most responsible for upholding the traditions and values in the family, as was discussed in the literature review (Espiritu, 2001). These dynamics are reflected in this research; female participants complained about the control of their behaviour and the roles prescribed to them. They are also the ones responsible for most of the duties in the household, usually in the form of housework. Household labour can be defined as "the set of unpaid tasks performed to satisfy the needs of family members or to maintain the home and the family's possessions" (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010: 769). These tasks include cleaning, foodwork, caring for family members, transporting family members and maintenance of the house (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

In addition to discussing the tasks assigned to men and women in the household, this chapter examines the role of young people in the household and what meaning is assigned to their reproductive labour. Reproductive work can be defined as unpaid labour consisting of care for oneself and others (healthcare, childcare), maintaining physical spaces and organising resources for the purpose of care (shopping, repairing) (Hester & Srnicek, 2018). Particular attention is paid to the meaning of this in relation to their ethnic identity. The chapter also explores gendered

restrictions in the household, as women's behaviour and mobility is controlled in a manner which their male counterparts do not experience. This section concludes with an exploration of how young women evaluate gender in the household and their strategies to counter it. By doing so, the chapter recognises the agency of young people in this study and highlights their strategies they use in this regard, showing how, just like in the previous chapter, they can turn seemingly oppressive practices to their advantage. Gendered dynamics outside the household are also briefly considered, as they are closely connected with the dynamics in the household.

7.2   'Doing gender' in Nigerian households

As discussed above, the domestic space is undergoing democratization and household tasks are often shared more equally between men and women, yet across the globe it is still women who are responsible for most reproductive labour. Bernhardt et al. (2003) found in their research that despite many milestones in Sweden and Norway, including improved women's labour force participation, smaller wage gap and lower economic dependency rates, the progress is not fully reflected in the households, where many women are still responsible for housework. Similarly, while the 'breadwinner - homemaker' model has been on the decline in Europe and the US and gender inequalities in employment and other areas are slowly diminishing, in the household one can still observe "simultaneity of egalitarian values and inegalitarian practices" (Buehlmann et al., 2010:49). These findings undermine the theoretical assumption made in some scholarship that considers the household gender relations in the global North as universally more democratic than in the global South, as discussed in the literature review. Additionally, household dynamics are undergoing democratisation across the globe, including Nigeria. Geist (2005) documents that the differences in the characteristics of welfare regimes have an impact on the domestic division of labour, however this study does not automatically assume that more gender equality on the institutional level is universally reflected in more equal relations on the household level.

As many of the young people of Nigerian descent have either never been to Nigeria or only visit the country sporadically, their knowledge of gender relations and expectations is mostly based on their own experiences of living in a Nigerian

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household, but also on stories told by family members and the African community in Ireland. There is an agreement among all participants that gender relations in Nigeria are unequal. Gender inequality has been highlighted particularly by female respondents; women recall stories of men being put on a pedestal and privileged from a young age. For Mary, a 21 year old woman, her own family story provides a good example of how male preference and privilege operate in Nigeria. Mary's parents, one Yoruba, one Igbo, married against cultural beliefs:

> Mary: [My parents] still got married. and it's now an expectation of you have to have a boy, because he is gonna carry the legacy, the name of the family. Because when you're a girl, you get married and you changing to your husband's name, so the name is gone, if you have lots of girls. So for you to have a boy, it's like an achievement. You have actually like, done it in life, you've made it as a man in African culture, once you have a boy. That's why, they like, fight, to have a boy in their family. So when I was born, it was just like 'yeah, you got a girl, whatever'. But then when my brother was born […] for my mom it was like, this child is practically the access[…] into my dad's family, they now accepted her, because she is now giving him a boy. So for them it's like, they hold the boys so high, because it's like 'ok, that was my ticket, I made it as a mother, the name can carry on'.

In Mary's account, mothers continue to look after their sons as their 'pride and joy'. Thus, the fact that male newborns are held in higher regard leads to more favourable treatment later in their life and consequently, to gender inequality in Nigerian society.

Most female participants agree that male privilege extends to all domains of social and domestic life. Men are seen as breadwinners and heads of households, whereby women's main role is reproductive labour within the household with little say in family decisions, where, in Anne's words "the dad runs the family and the mom is just 'nod, nod, yes, yes'". Consequently, women are believed to be tasked with domestic duties and are meant to submit to their husbands:

> Levi: They were raised in Nigeria like the whole 'your woman needs to know how to clean the house, cook for your husband, wait for your husband, submit to your husband' and everything just

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'your husband, your husband'.

These accounts are to a certain degree reflected in the limited literature on gender relations in Nigerian families. Women's role in the household and society were drastically downgraded during colonialism. Ejumudo (2013) observes that since Nigeria became a Republic in 1963, most of the policies and state approach has been gender blind, which has further perpetuated gender inequality. However, since the adoption of Millennium Development Goals by the UN in 2000, more attention has been paid to the application of gender sensitive policies. On the household level, Labeodan (2005) observes that the belief that men are the ones who perpetuate family lineage and are therefore superior to women is held across the different religious and ethnic communities. Nigerian households operate on clearly prescribed roles for men and women, whereby the male is considered the head of the family and is responsible for managing the financial, productive and reproductive aspects of the household (Asinyabola, 2005). Yet, a study of domestic division of labour in Ibadan found that while most participants agreed that their culture and tradition do not support men carrying out domestic duties, men have engaged in household chores and their contribution to housework were perceived positively by women (Akanele et al., 2012).

Among the young people in this study, Nigerian gender relations has been juxtaposed with what was believed a more liberal and more equal Ireland. During a female-only focus group in Donegal, the participants, discussing the restrictions on females in Nigerian households, highlight the differences with their white peers, who they perceive as having much more freedoms in the house. The division of labour in Irish households is believed to be more equal. Young women in Irish households are thought to have less responsibilities and restrictions on their mobility and behaviour. According to Tina, women in Ireland are not only more independent from men, they the expectations of them are also different:

> Tina: […] in Irish society it's like the women supposed to be hard working, she is supposed to be working full time, get a full education, that she shouldn't be raised as a man's possession unlike Nigerian […]

Nigerian parents shared similar views about gender equality in Ireland. They

believed that the Irish social welfare system in which the mother is the recipient of welfare supports leads to women having more control in the household, which restructures gender relations in migrant households. There is a belief in the Nigerian community that the exposure to different gender norms in Ireland coupled with the autonomy gained by African women through the welfare system encourages them to separate from their husbands. There is indeed a significant body of literature showing that increased access of women to employment, exposure to more egalitarian gender norms and better awareness of rights in the host society have a potential to increase women's autonomy and weaken male dominance in migrant households and communities (Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Rouse, 1992).

Even though there have been significant changes for women in the Irish society over the past number of years, there is a long tradition of inequality. The role of women was prescribed in the 1937 Constitution, highlighting women's contribution to Irish society "within the home". Up to 1973, women, once married, had to leave work if employed in the public sector and divorce was only made constitutional in 1997 (Leonard, 2004). Women have since made great progress in overcoming the ideology of the Irish gender regime (Collins & Wickham in Leonard, 2004:75). In 2019, Ireland ranked 7th in the EU Gender Equality Index. Since 2005, Ireland has not regressed in any domain of the Index and has made progress in most areas, such as decreasing pay gap, employment participation, improvement in financial situation. Women in Ireland are also more likely to complete higher education, with over 55 per cent having a third level qualification compared to 42.9 per cent of men in 2016 (Central Statistics Office, 2016). Yet, women are significantly underrepresented in the government, with only 22.5 per cent of TDs in the Dáil in 2020 (*The Irish Times*, 2020). In 2016, 98 per cent of those looking after the home were women (Central Statistics Office, 2016) and in 2019, 89 per cent of them spent at least one hour a day doing cooking and household labour, compared to only 48 per cent of men (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2019). The progress in gender equality varies across different domains in Ireland and Nigeria and the starkly different social contexts leave little space for comparisons. Yet, the countries were contrasted as two extremes in the accounts of the respondents. Nigeria serves as a point of reference to describe and evaluate gender relations in their families and in their lives. For Tina, gender relations in Nigeria and Ireland are binary opposites:

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Interviewer: Is being Irish and Nigerian ever in opposition?

Tina: Like, what do you mean?

Interviewer: Like, the way you say you have Irish opinions but your culture is Nigerian, do you ever find they clash?

Tina: Oh, it clashes a lot. Like, the women's position in Nigerian households is like mainly forgotten a bit, like a woman is just supposed to be a housewife. Well...in Nigerian society, I know they're moving out of that, but like I can see like, my grandparents and my parents that that's the kind of focus they want women. Like my mom is a full-time mom, she worked really hard, things like that, but I can hear that it would be better if you just married a rich man and stuff like that, but like in Irish society it's like the women supposed to be hard working, she is supposed to be working full time, get a full education, that she shouldn't be raised as a man's possession unlike Nigerian, a woman is like a prize, like, a prize basically.

In Tina's account, concepts of Nigerian femininities and masculinities have often been closely linked with the family and household. Throughout interviews, young people stressed that the main responsibility of Nigerian women is to care and look after the household while men are responsible for providing for it. This has direct consequences on the experiences of young people growing up in Nigerian households in Ireland, which can be seen in the household division of labour and other aspects, as discussed below. Both male and female respondents speak about household duties as a significant part of their experience of growing up, but these are also gendered and have implications for their understanding of what it means to be Nigerian. This is also visible in Tina's account above, as her first association with 'Nigerianness' and 'Irishness' is gendered. Thus, the homes of the participants in this study, by being Nigerian, are also gendered in a specific way. Consequently, some gendered activities in the household are considered 'Nigerian' as they are performed in a specific way.

7.3   Gendered Restrictions

Though male respondents are vocal about the restrictions and going out, the women stress double standards in this regard. They reported that they faced more restrictions on their mobility due to their gender. None of the men observed a gendered dimension and when they mentioned differences with their siblings, these were usually ascribed to a difference in age and to parents becoming more lenient over time. Reflecting on their youth, female participants in particular talked of feeling 'boxed in', secluded and segregated. Women were mostly expected to stay indoors and not spend much time outside. Sandra linked these limitations with other challenges of growing up in Ireland and claimed that they further prevent integration with other peers:

> Sandra: like growing up in a like, strict household, you weren't allowed like, go sleepovers or you weren't allowed going to the birthdays or anything like that, so that's another form of like segregation from the class. So it was very hard. Very hard, I can remember, it was so hard growing up here.

For Sandra, the restrictions on going out and socialising add to the feeling of not fitting in, described in Chapter Six. In her account, some of their parents' decisions intensified these feelings. Women evaluate their degree of freedom not only against that of their white friends as discussed above, but also of their brothers. They are upset about the double standards. During a female-only focus group, the restrictions were ascribed to gendered safety concerns and women being more at risk of sexual assault. However, young women challenge these 'bodily discourses of fragility' (O'Neill Gutierrez, 2015:194) that see women as more vulnerable:

> Jo: My mom always says boys can't get raped. Boys can get raped, I'm sorry. I can date, we can all run. Like, many boys are faster, but like, we are black, we are all fast.

Thus, Nigerian women have been conceptualised as vulnerable to sexual assault by men and, in line with the safe home-dangerous outside dichotomy, they are only safe in the house (Hyams, 2003). Yet here, Jo employs stereotypes of Black people to her own advantage as a tool to challenge a sexist presumption. Strength is argued to be one of the key features of Black women's identities. On one hand, it was a tool of

oppression; under slavery, the strength of Black women was used to justify exploitation of their labour. However, it was also used by Black women to shield their families from abuse. Nelson et al. (2016) find that Black women can employ the perceptions of the strong Black woman to their advantage, just like Jo in this study.

Dating is similarly looked upon unfavourably. Parents preferred young women not to have romantic or sexual relationships. Mary, like other respondents, notes a double standard in this regard:

> Mary: Yeah, I would say that's the only part, that she is much more chilled about. Like my brother is 15 and he has a girlfriend and my mom is calm about it. When I was 15, I wasn't allowed near boys. Like that was seen as no, you are doing something wrong.

This double standard extends well beyond dating. Women are not supposed to even have male friends and are subject to community policing if they do. Beside the community reputation, parents are also afraid of women getting pregnant as this could negatively determine the future of the woman, a phenomenon O'Neill Guitierrez (2015) coined 'gendered future fixing'. Beside the individual responsibility and perceived threat to women, the requirement to stay at home is also motivated by community reputation:

> Janet: They believe also that a lot of things happen during the night so even for your safety you could go on and on and they just believe that it's not right for especially a girl. The guys, it doesn't really look that bad, I don't know, the boys it doesn't really look that bad, but the girl, as a girl, because they believe a lot happens in the world, you know like, it could be rape or it could be anything, because you are a girl and you're a person that grows up in a very respectful family, so they believe you should come home at a responsible time.

Thus, Janet sees going out as dangerous for a young woman, but also as a matter of family reputation:

> Janet: They feel like, when you're going out, you're taking the family name out, so you have to dress appropriately. So you know, so

you can't like, Nigerians have a lot of pride, so going out and if you dress kind of like in their eyes in the way in a not appropriate way, ehm, they believe word goes around, so another Nigerian parent would have seen me, like it goes around and then they start saying that I rumble around the streets half naked or something like that, but really it was just an actual top that just slips, yeah. So they believe that when you're going out, you dress sensibly. So but, little...you can cover up, that the Irish people may see your ass, in a Nigerian household it's like 'no, you are not going out in that'.

This goes thus beyond safety, to policing of women's chastity and reputation. Women's behaviour here supposedly reflects on the family name. This is perhaps exaggerated by an *ethnic microscope;* there is a tendency to believe that migrant women and their daughters have more rights and become more equal, yet in tightly knit communities they are subject to more restrictions and policing. Additionally, as Ketner at al. (2004), remind us, when migrants experience socioeconomic downward mobility, they can claim moral superiority to boost their self-esteem. This can be projected on women in the community, as noted by Espin:

> Gender becomes the site to claim the power denied to immigrants by racism. The control of women becomes the means of asserting moral superiority in a racist society. As a consequence, women of all ages in immigrant families face restrictions on their behavior (2013:7).

In reality, parents are not always able to control their children. Not all the young people in this study are able to negotiate their freedoms with their parents, in which cases they sometimes disobey them. Mary describes feeling, on the one hand, the pressure from the parents to stay at home, and on the other the pressure from her friends to 'go to town', so she went without her parents' knowledge. As many of the parents are in paid employment, they are not able to fully control the movements of their children. Daniel recalls that as he lives now only with his father, who often works night shifts, his father allows his girlfriend to stay overnight, as he knew she would come over anyway when he is at work, so any potential ban on her visits would not have worked.

7.4 Household tasks

Studies looking at housework within the household usually examine the division of labour among adults, examining the gendered differences of contribution between women and men, whereby the contribution of children to housework is often ignored. If children are included in the research at all, they are often viewed as an additional burden, requiring additional expenditures and care (in Bonke, 2010). Studies that do investigate children's participation in household labour mostly focus on parental reasons for engaging children in domestic work. The research puts forward two theories for the rationale of assigning household tasks to children. According to the time availability thesis, children need to contribute to household labour when parents lack time for all household tasks (Cordero-Coma & Esping-Andersen, 2018). In general, the more the parents work outside of the house, the more work is done by children at home (in Berridge & Romich, 2011). Children are likely to do more housework if mothers are in full-time employment (Bonke, 2010). The second thesis, that of socialization, argues that parents engage children in housework to teach them a sense of responsibility and prepare them for their own households in the future (Cordero-Coma & Esping-Andersen, 2018). Studies measuring the contribution of children to the household provide different figures in regards to the proportion of tasks performed by children. Young children in the United States on average 12-15 per cent of the household tasks (Goldscheider & Waite in Berridge & Romich, 2011), with girls doing more housework (Bonke, 2010).

7.4.1 Household tasks in Nigerian households

Children's duties and responsibilities in the household are one of the most common themes discussed during interviews and focus groups. All participants in this study were engaged in household labour as children, though the workload varied depending on gender. These tasks include cooking, cleaning and looking after siblings. Like with other aspects of being raised in a Nigerian family in Ireland, young people often compared their experiences to those of their Irish peers. When visiting their friends' houses, they often observed that their peers were not tasked with similar duties. Isaac, a 19-year-old man, also from Dublin, who lives with his family, believes that much less work is required of children in Irish families:

> Isaac: I'll have to do a lot more than some of my white friends at home. Like I had to do a lot of chores, like I do a lot more chores than my white friend would. Like sweeping, cleaning. I wouldn't cook, my mom cooks, but I just, like mom, like she brings home the money and then I take care of the house. What I'd say like, in a white family, they, maybe the mom could clean, cook, clean and ehm...like, anytime I go to my mate's gaff he's always chillin', so it doesn't look like he does much chores, in my opinion.

The household dynamic where children are required to contribute to household duties have been described by the respondents as 'Nigerian', 'African' or 'Black' households, clearly differentiating them from white ones. While most of the individuals interviewed mention household duties, the topic was stressed to different degrees, depending on gender, age and family composition.

There is a general agreement that first-born children have more responsibilities within the household than their younger siblings, as they are also required to look after and discipline their brothers and sisters:

> Mary: There is a lot of onus on like the older child to like basically raise the rest of the kids coming up and the whole Irish mentality is different, because they don't think that way, they think each child is an individual of their own, so the parent is kind of like nurture their each, it's the other way where we are the ones, it's not our duty to make sure our siblings are straight. Like they know the rules from what we've been thought.

In Mary's understanding, the role of the first born goes beyond simply being a role model or an older sibling, it consists of replacing the parent; the oldest sibling has sole responsibility to ensure the correct values are passed on to the youngest siblings. In this way, young adults are supporting their parents. Multiple participants have referred to the oldest siblings as 'second moms'.

7.4.2 Gender socialisation through housework

Though men mention their household duties and often also focus on this as one of

the most important experiences of growing up, women discussing the subject are more emotional, possibly because of wider connotations with womanhood and their future households, as will be discussed further in this section. Women report that their share of household tasks is much higher than that of their brothers. Even tough they often describe the unequal division of labour between them and their brothers as a trait of a Nigerian household, it is in fact a prevalent set-up in the majority of households in the Western hemisphere, including Ireland; Leonard (2004) in her study in Irish households found that Irish teenage girls are expected to and contribute more to housework than their male counterparts. Speaking of household chores was not as prominent among men as it was among women. However, men have discussed performing household tasks, although in their case they never gendered it, and never considered it as something useful for the future in the way women would. Rather, taking on household tasks was seen as a necessity of to divide tasks in the house:

Interviewer: What do you think of the housework?

Isaac: I don't think much of that, because it is what it is. I think it's, like I'm the only one living with my mom so I'm the only one to be doing, I'm the only one that does mess up the house and I'm the only one to be doing the housework, so I think it's fair, cos she is going into work, so I don't mind doing the housework.

Moreover, men rarely or never noticed that their sisters might have more duties and responsibilities in the household. Only Peter said that his mother and sister do more work, but he attributed that to them having more time throughout the day:

Peter: I was always going to college and stressing out, so because of that, I was always either at home doing my homework or staying in college after, I was doing assignment, so because of that I never actually did the majority of the cooking, it was mostly my sister and my mom, whenever I came and left. So, I wouldn't be really doing the majority of the cooking, but like, whenever they are not here, or they're going out and I'm home, I'm cooking.

Particularly in relation to women, performing the household tasks is seen as part of

socialisation. In line with this, the main reason for engaging children in household labour is to prepare them for their tasks in adulthood.

> Interviewer: And was there something...you said something about being a girl, you have to learn how to clean. You said you have a younger brother, was he raised differently?
>
> Janet: I don't think he would be raised the same way as I was, because one I'm the first child as well and also because he is a boy. Ehm, I feel like boys have less duties than a girl when they're young age, because you know boys, when they think of men it's just more like, you go, you work hard and you bring money into your family, that's what it's kind of like. So, growing up they don't really have to train to wash the plates or you know what I mean, or to be sweeping, because it's not really their role, if you kind of understand what I mean. It's mostly the woman's role to take care of the household, as in, to take care of the kids, you know what I mean, to make sure everything is complete in the family. But the men kind of like, they bring the income and they just, I don't even know how to explain it properly, but the women would be more of the like, cleaning and making sure there is food in the house and feeding and making sure...like you know, like the husband comes back, be able to make food for them and just like, the kids come back from school, you make food for them, just more that stuff. Even if the woman is working or not, but the food is more her job, if you know what I mean, when the husband comes back from work, he brings in the money.

Here, Janet links the household division of labour among children to femininity and masculinity and the appropriate behaviour associated with each. In her account, household duties seem to be linked and correspond to the appropriate gender roles in the future. This gendered socialisation is supposed to prepare young girls for adulthood. Hyams found similar dynamics among Latina women in Los Angeles:

> the dominant discourses and practices of domesticity mutually constitutive of embodied femininity and the 'parental home' are also constitutive of the future 'married home' (Hyams, 2003:550).

While still children, young women in this study were already expected to aspire to be

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Nigerian wives:

> Gloria: I think that's the biggest insult you can say to my mom is that I don't know how to do certain things, that's the biggest offense in an African house, is not knowing how to take care of people as a girl, as a female, by the way, I don't know about boys.

Gendered socialisation is not limited to teaching girls how to look after the house, including cooking, cleaning and providing care, but it extends to training to be a housewife with specific qualities, thus 'making a woman' or, in the words of Levi, throughout childhood and adolescence, young women are 'groomed to be housewives'. The emphasis on women being socialised in a particular way is linked with their role as the 'keepers of culture'; becoming 'proper' Nigerian housewives, they ensure cultural continuity in their future households.

At the same time, the data suggests that young women are not only preparing to 'do gender' in their future households, but through performing household labour in a gendered manner, they are already 'doing gender':

> Gloria: As a girl, you need to wake up in the morning, you need to shower, you need to brush your teeth, you have to go downstairs, you need to clean, sweep the floor, mop the floor, make sure the house is tidy up. If you leave a spec of dust anywhere, you get flocked. No matter what the case is, you're getting flocked. You have to cook, you have to say good morning to your parents, you have to ask them 'what would you like to eat?', you have to go downstairs, cook the food, it was like, you were mini little free housekeeper. That was one strong expectation.

In Gloria's account, she is not only learning for the future, but through her household involvement and through the reproduction of household labour, she is already 'doing gender'. Gloria associates her daily routine with the fact that she is a woman. Moreover, the tasks performed by her are not merely socialisation, but significantly contribute to the labour in the household. Yet, children and young people's

contribution to reproductive labour is often omitted from the research and when it is considered, it is usually conceptualised as socialisation (in Hyams, 2003). An important exception is a study by Hyams (2003), looking at the reproductive labour of second generation Latina women in Los Angeles. In Hyam's view, young women not only help men, but support their mothers, thus other women. This is echoed by Robson (1995) who in her study of children in West Africa and the labour they carry out concludes that their contribution should not be characterised as merely 'socialising' and 'helping' but as actual work having an impact on the economy. Robson (2004) argues that the invisibility of children's reproductive work is based on similar reasons to those of the invisibility of women's work in the household; both are considered of lesser value and not worthy of attention. Additionally, much of the research on childhood and adolescence takes a narrow, Western-centred perspective of childhood as a carefree period of leisure and play. However, Robson argues that tasks in childhood extend beyond socialisation:

> Historically and geographically children have always and will continue to work and their work is more than simply part of growing up and socialisation, or training, to become adults, which needs recognition for its contribution to many areas of the socio-economy (Robson, 2004: 241).

This featured very clear in this study, where young women and men were responsible for what seems like a significant share of household tasks, in addition to looking after their younger siblings. The nature of the contributions of young people to household labour depend largely on the composition and circumstances of the family. In households with single parents, not only can children be socialised differently, but they might also be assigned different tasks. For example, when Daniel's mother moved abroad with his siblings, Daniel stayed in Dublin with his father because of his education. His father worked long hours, so the main responsibility to look after the house fell on Daniel. He was in charge of all the cooking, cleaning and laundry, which he believed made him more mature.

7.5 Kitchen as a site of power

Many of the tasks discussed by the participants centre around the kitchen and meal preparation. Cooking was listed among the tasks performed by young people along with cleaning and looking after the siblings. The extent of cooking duties, as will be

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shown below, varies in each household. Men discuss their cooking tasks to a different extent than women. While the respondents have described many domestic duties as listed above, cooking had a special dimension and has been talked about more. Most studies focused on cooking view primarily adult women as 'homemakers'. In fact, there is very little written on young adults' attitudes to cooking, as children are again considered to be on the receiving end. Most of this work is done in the Western/North European context.

This section employs the existing literature on foodwork and gender to analyse reflections of young women on their tasks. Foodwork relates to all tasks associated with food planning, storing and preparations, washing up and cleaning. As it is not regarded as contributing to the productive economy in the household, it has been seen as lacking in value and socially devalued as oppressive (Meah, 2014). In line with these approaches, the kitchen is viewed as a space of reproduction of patriarchal gender norms, associated with routine and ritual, one which both inscribes and reinforces particular gendered roles and subjectivities, where Floyd suggests "status is confirmed and exclusion practiced" (in Meah, 2014: 675).

At the same time, a growing body of literature focuses on other experiences and perspectives of foodwork. Meah (2014) argues that housework cannot be viewed exclusively through the perspective of the Global North and instead advocates to look for perspectives where foodwork allows women to exercise agency and resistance. For Black and other ethnic minority women in the U.S., the kitchen can represent a haven from oppression, and a private space in which racial, cultural and feminine identities are affirmed and a sense of belonging and freedom achieved. (Meah, 2014). Similarly, for migrant women across the world, the cooking space can be a source of positive experiences and empowerment. Avakian (2005) found in their study that for Armenian-American women cooking has been central to their ethnic identities and foodwork has been a tool to overcome patriarchy and ethnic invisibility (in Meah, 2014: 676). Supski's (2006) study of migrant women in Australia revealed that women strived to reconstruct a home in the kitchen which became for them a space of comfort and belonging.

While, as mentioned, research on foodwork in the global South in quite limited,

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Robson (2006) provides an account of the Muslim Hausa women in Nigeria. The study found that foodwork is an important element of women's activity and it is passed from generation to generation: young women learn how to cook from their mothers and other women in the community. They are also expected to assist adults in food preparation from a young age. Thus, "the kitchen is the locus of women's knowledge and therefore also a site of power" (Robson, 2006:671). Robson argues that foodwork provides women with the opportunity to exercise power over what is cooked and when, how and to whom it is distributed. Foodwork also allows to display resistance to any form of domestic oppression, that women can exercise through serving bad meals, at wrong times, or by distributing it unfairly.

Learning to cook is considered an essential part of being raised in a Nigerian house. This expectation is also gendered; women in particular are meant to know how to cook, a skill which they are believed to need in their future households. The process involves both observing how their parents make food, like in the case of Levi, who recalls that when her mom is cooking, she asks all children to participate in this activity to make sure they all learn. In some cases, mothers assigned to their children most cooking duties. This has been considered an essential part of growing up African and seen as an essential trait of a Nigerian woman:

> Gloria: I think the expectation for education is everywhere, it's for everyone, it's ok if you're going to your husband's house, you don't want your husband's family to now go to your parents to say "what kind of stupid child did you raise?! She can't even cook, she can't even clean, she can't even take care of her husband." It's just a no.

Here again, cooking is seen as something a woman is supposed to learn in the household, with the mother being tasked with transmitting this skill. In these accounts, cooking is considered an essential skill every Nigerian woman should have and learning how to cook for a young woman is necessary and thus interwoven in her identity. Lack of cooking skills could mean shame for the family, particularly on the mother. Janet's account shows that cooking has also another meaning in the times of migration; it allows for the transfer of essential cultural traits:

Janet: I feel like because we are in Ireland, they don't want me to lose that culture that, to remember that I'm still Nigerian and there are still things that we do that, like the Nigerian way, if you get me. Ehm...because I feel like, growing up in the European world is kind of like, you grow as like an Irish person. you're living the Irish lifestyle, you live in Ireland. They feel like, you know, you wouldn't carry on the culture if you can't understand what it means, so, it will be just the small things even, like I said the housework, the cooking, they want you to carry that on, because they love ehm...things made with the hands, they feel like you can carry it wherever you go, so like, they would like, like a girl for example to know to cook, to know how to clean, to know how to make different type of foods, because no matter how old you get, you'll always be able to do that, you get me?

In this way, women again become 'keepers of culture'; they are tasked with continuing cultural rituals, in this case centred around food. With the kitchen seen as 'the heart of the sacred geography of home' (Ray in Meah, 2014:8), traditional cuisine is considered an essential part of cultural continuity. Even though women criticised the fact that they are tasked with most household duties, including cooking, they also appreciated the skills learned:

Tina: Yeah, I'm grateful for the way I was brought, I'm not gonna lie, cos like, compared to other people, other Irish people, they are a lot more lazier in their attitudes and stuff like that and instead I grew up with the sort of mentality to clean, cook, like to do everything for myself. There is some kind of pride in that, like even though I was younger I didn't understand it, I disliked it, but I greatly appreciate it now, cos like, times if I don't have money for take away or whatever, I can just cook up something and stuff like that and it's grand like that, I like it.

Similarly, Gloria realises the power of cooking and just like women in Robson's study who utilise cooking to show their approval or disapproval, she uses it to solve conflicts with her mother and explores similar opportunities in her own household:

Gloria: Like, obviously, for cooking it's how you show your love to someone. Ok, if I piss her off, like, all I have to do is cook her food

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and she is cool again [laugh]. I feel like cooking is a way to show love, so it's taking care of people, and cleaning is just basic hygiene. You need that, you don't want to live in a mess, in a dirty house.

At the same time, the cooking skills are appreciated as general life skills and useful to save money and, as mentioned by Janet, to sustain ethnic identity and rituals. Women have thus employed what they have learned for their own goals, rather than completely accepting or rejecting the values they were taught. Just like in Robson's (2006) study, where kitchens were identified as sites of women's power among Hausa women in Nigeria, young women in this study are gaining pride from their cooking skills.

7.6 'My household is not typical'

At the same time, just like in other aspects of living in a Nigerian household, the participants confirmed that these dynamics did not necessarily apply to their families. Many times in our conversations young people mentioned that their parents are not 'typically Nigerian' and do not follow what are considered traditional Nigerian gender roles. It is also important to state that while there was a general perception of Nigerian parents strictly reinforcing gender norms in the household, many of the participants reported that in their household these were not very strictly enforced. As Tina's mother is also in full-time employment, she does not expect her daughter to fully conform to the concept of the traditional Nigerian housewife, but rather to acquire 'housewife traits'; skills within the household.

In some households, young women are not forced to do the housework, it is more a suggestion and they are only invited to contribute to household tasks. Additionally, some women in the study believe that the expectation to do housework is not gendered in their household and all children were expected to learn cooking in equal measure. In several households, boys were asked to do similar work as their female siblings. In other cases, there were no strict expectations regarding learning housekeeping skills or cooking:

> Daisy: Like, in my house, my mom taught me how to cook first, but then she did teach my brother as well. But...I'm...she just let us

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be who we like, who we were. Like, at a time I was like really into baking, then I was like "fuck that baking shit" [laugh]. And then my brothers went in the kitchen, they were always cooking, I'm the one who is always out here, painting the house, like, cutting the grass, do you know what I mean.

Levi: It was so different for me, like my mom would drag me, my brother and my sister. But I..I.. probably wouldn't experience the whole like, when I went to like, family members' houses, my mom wasn't...she wasn't too crazy and all that "you're a girl", it was just like, in general, come and learn how to cook, if you get me, cos, you, as she believes, as a Nigerian person, you wanna cook Nigerian. And then like, my brother and sister, they are not really, like they don't really, they are not really on it, like, they don't really like cooking at all. But I took an interest into it, so it deferred but it's definitely a very prominent thing, the whole 'you're a woman, you need to be in the kitchen, you need to be cooking'. It's very prominent thing in the Nigerian...

In other accounts, fathers are also the ones doing the cooking. In Levi's house, this was shared by the parents in the same amount by mother and father, whereby in Mary's household, it was her father that taught her and her siblings how to cook. At the same time, among the male respondents, cooking is not considered important and is listed among other tasks performed in the house. In fact, in the male-only focus group, cooking was not mentioned even once, whereas among females it was discussed in every interview. The rationale for learning cooking skills was different for men. In the few cases when it was brought up, it was not discussed in terms of learning for the future.

7.7 'My brother should learn how to cook, too': critique of gendered expectations

On one hand, many of female respondents were very emotional when talking about doing housework in childhood and adolescence; on the other, the source of frustration was not so much being attributed to housework in general as with the unequal division of labour between the respondents and their brothers, who were perceived to have less household duties.

Mary: I don't think there is actually anything wrong with these expectations, I feel like it's only a problem when, they don't enforce it on boys as well. Because it's not everything a female should learn how to do. Like my brother should learn how to cook too. Or to clean. Or to be clean. He is really messy. Like I can walk into his room and be disgusted. But it's not as strict as it was on my if my room was messy, was a problem, but his room can be a mess and no one will pay attention to it till probably like two or three weeks later that ok, no, enough is enough. But I feel like it should go both ways. Which I always say that I'm not gonna raise my kids that kind of way, if I have a boy and a girl, I'm gonna teach them the exactly same thing that I'm teaching the girls, because everyone should be equal in the house, to be honest, that's the only issue I'd say.

This came up relatively frequently among the participants and usually 'Nigerian culture' was blamed for it. Women talked about how young men are socialised and about the consequences of this socialisation for their adult lives. The trope of the Nigerian man was visible and discussed not only abstractly in the concept of the 'Nigerian culture', but often in everyday examples in the way differences were enacted in the household between family members. Here in fact we can see that the unequal division of labour between them and their brothers takes on a wider dimension than fairness between siblings; the frustration relates more to unequal gender division of labour in the household, which the women did not appreciate. This is in line with the other claims made by women in this study. They are more vocal about their critique of traditional household roles and express their wish to share tasks equally with their partners and actively instill different values in their children. They are critical of the double standards in relation to household duties, of gendered expectations towards them and of the control of their behaviour.

Their disapproval often stems from observing relations between their parents. Anne, like most female participants, is critical of the traditional division of roles within the household, where the mother is in charge of housework and the father is responsible for paying the bills. She also recalls her mother not leaving the house for extended

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periods of time. She questioned her mother about this setup and believes that this division of tasks in the household led to inequality within the family.

> Anne: I feel like the split between my family at the moment, like my parents wanting a divorce and stuff is like, it's due to this idea of...of...of...one parent feeling better or higher than the other, you know. And it's also due to this idea of Nigerian mentality, that the dad runs the family and the mom is just 'nod, nod, yes, yes' doesn't have much of her opinion and my dad, he really, really believes in that, you know? So that's the reason he wants to divorce my mom.

The dynamics between her parents influenced Anne's perceptions on her future household:

> Anne: Yeah, my family would be [half-half]. Everything would be shared, everything would be done together. There won't be a feeling of someone being higher than the other in the family, but obviously, the kids are lower, that's it [laugh]. Ehm...but, between, between the...between the parents there won't be any division in sense of like, hierarchy.

Anne expresses strong commitment to gender equality in her future home. Similar voices were also echoed in other conversations. Tina aims to have an equal relationship with her future partner:

> Tina: Like, they [parents] don't find anything wrong with being a housewife or being an independent woman. The only thing is that the woman should always be there for the man, kind of thing, that they expect...Like I don't have anything wrong with that, but I feel like it should be equally said for both genders, that a man should take care of a women and a woman should take care of a man, kind of thing. Like, I don't mind the dominant, actually I do mind the dominant role that the man has, because I don't like to be controlled or stuff like that. So I'm not...I don't like that, I don't want to be checked on so many times and things like that.

While Tina wants to follow some of the expectations in the future, like having a family and children, this is not because she is forced to, but because she chooses to,

but on her own terms. Tina discussed her stand with her parents and challenged some of their expectations they had towards her. Even though women appreciate learning household tasks, they have also shown different forms of resistance to what they have been taught and tried to take agency in their future lives. For some, gender inequality is so deeply rooted in the Nigerian culture that they do not envisage getting married to a Nigerian man. Tina, for example, is happy to marry someone from Nigeria, but raised in Europe, as she believes the European environment will positively influence him. Sandra is less optimistic:

Interviewer: If you had a partner, what kind of qualities would you look for?

Sandra: Yeah, he wouldn't be Nigerian, he wouldn't be Black […] But like, he wouldn't be, he wouldn't be, he probably would be European, but he wouldn't be Nigerian, he wouldn't be black. And I'm only saying that because of my father. I don't want, I don't want a Nigerian...it's like I don't want a Nigerian man who has the same qualities, I don't want a Nigerian man who qualities of a Nigerian man, basically. I just don't like the lack of affection that they have, the entitlement that they have. I know I'm pretty much generalising, but, like, those kind of attributes that come with a Nigerian man, I don't, I don't want.

Sandra believes that all black men, even her peers raised in Ireland, see women as being unequal. She grounds her outlook on Nigerian men in the experiences from her household, but also based on the perceptions she and some other women in this study have towards Nigerian men. The participants were however still relatively young and none of them were planning marriage at the time of interviews. The statement from Sandra regarding nationality of preferred partner was rather an exception, as most participants did not specify the nationality of the future partner, but rather focused on qualities of character to describe their ideal partner.

7.8   Negotiating gender and ethnicity outside the household

As this chapter so far suggests, second generation women are subject to gendered

controls and inequalities in their household. They seem to envy their white peers, as they believe they have more freedoms and are to do less tasks in the household. In one female-only focus group participants jokingly discussed how they "wish they were white" during adolescence to be able to go out without restrictions. Their apparent preference for the type of parenting experienced by their white peers does not necessarily mean they are fully comfortable in the environment of their white peers. During adolescence, women struggled to feel confident, feeling particularly insecure about their bodies and their hair:

Interviewer: What was it like to grow up in Ireland as a woman?

Anne: […] Ehm...I feel like, loving myself was always an issue to be honest. Yeah, loving myself was always an issue. Ehm...I don't know if this is to do with me being Nigerian, but I always felt like I didn't even, I didn't fit in that much to my class peers or to... fitting in technically, I didn't really fit in that much. And ehm....ehm...I feel like there were stereotypes that's associated with how you look. Like, I have big lips. Guys would always comment on my lips or they will always comment on this or that and I always felt kind of like, objectified I suppose.

Interviewer: White guys or black guys?

Anne: Yeah, white guys. Not Black guys, black guys wouldn't even do it, I swear.

Young women in this study were confronted with sexualised stereotypes since early adolescence. Similarly to Anne, Janet recalls feeling uncomfortable growing up about her body shape and also in her case, the feeling of being racialized was also intersecting with being gendered as a Black woman, where she felt othered as she:

always had big lips and you know, our skin was obviously like a different colour, so I feel like they always looked at us like very different (Janet).

This had consequences for their self esteem, and confidence as they could not meet the standard white beauty standards. This correlates with Creese's (2020) study where she found that young Black women's self-esteem in Vancouver is impacted by

standards of white beauty, which they could never meet. Female respondents have been sexualised on one hand, but also seen as asexual.

A group of women recalled that they were treated in derogatory way by their white male peers, not taken seriously, or objectified. Daisy had an experience where "Another guy used to hit me up because he wanted to become a rapper". Tina found that, as she was growing up in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood, she did not stand out in school until she started wearing a hijab. As the only one wearing the hijab in school, she was subject to stereotyping, where, in her words "wearing the scarf brings a lot of stigma to you as well as the colour of my skin brings a lot of stigma". In addition, women in particular were perceived as being loud and disruptive:

> Mary: For me I think, we're kind of seen as loud and as destructive and that we're trouble makers and that, for some reason, not educated [laugh]. That's a huge one, that we're not educated and that we're just out to get everybody. That's the way that people I feel look at you.

While on one hand women face social controls in the households, their bodies are controlled outside the home by gendered discourses of racialisation. Even though Ireland itself was colonised, it occupied a privileged position and colonial images of Black inferiority were imported to Ireland and persist to this day (Garner, 2004). They are reflected in the experiences of the women in this study. Women in society faced additional challenges, where as racialized black bodies, they have been racialized and othered. These conceptions can, and do have in this study real life consequences for young black females:

> These stereotypes underlie the implicit bias that shapes many [adult's] view of Black females [as] … sexually promiscuous, hedonistic, and in need of socialization.". For example, "teachers may subconsciously use stereotypical images of Black females … to interpret Black girls' behaviors and respond more harshly to Black girls who display behaviors that do not align with traditional standards of femininity in which girls are expected to be docile, diffident, and selfless (Blake et al., 2011: 93).

During a female only focus group, women discussed the challenges of growing up in Ireland as a black woman and their strategies to counter them. Over time, they developed their own safe network of friends, where they could be themselves:

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Interviewer:	So you were talking about your experiences as teenagers... Is it still the same now?
Levi:	I think now we just don't care.
Participants:	Yeah
Daisy:	I feel like we found a little community within ourselves that the external factors don't even bother us. And like...
Felicia:	I think it bothered us a lot when we were younger, because we weren't even getting attention from the black guys either, so it was just like 'I'm just not desirable at all'.
Levi:	I think our interest in wanting to belong has just...ehm...it's over. We found a community that we do belong with, so it's not as important for us to belong with the...Yeah, and I still do have like my... Irish friends from back home, but, like, it wouldn't be doing the most as you would be doing when you were younger, trying to fit in, by force.

This links well with the emergence of ethnic pride, as described in the previous chapter. As can be seen, women not only do not try to 'fit in', or belong, but rather they find comfort and understanding in their own ethnic circles. They reported keeping with other girls not only because they can relate better to each other, but also because they can be themselves and not control their behaviour. In my conversations with youth workers, they highlighted that while Black boys spend time with other peers, Black girls tend to stay in their own groups. Participants in this study have mostly African friends as they can resonate most with their African peers and believe they can truly be themselves only within their ethnic circle. With time, they were increasingly drawn towards their networks, intentionally choosing to surround themselves in their own ethnic environment. This again supports the fact that transnational networks, often facilitated by their parents, rather than hindering integration, can have a positive impact on the wellbeing of the second generation.

7.9   Conclusion

This chapter focused on gendered aspects of life in a Nigerian household in Ireland. As was demonstrated, young adults are expected to contribute to household labour, fulfilling such tasks as looking after their younger siblings, cooking and cleaning. Many young people believe that the fulfilment of these tasks was related to socialisation and was meant to prepare them for their future roles. Usually females were responsible for carrying out most of these duties. These tasks are gendered not only because women had to perform the vast majority of them, but also because the connotations of performing them are different for women and men.

While male participants understood housework as socialisation, for women it embodied their role in their future household. At the same time, it is important to mention that these tasks are not limited to socialisation, but through doing them young people significantly help their parents. The role of young women in the household is also ethnicised; women are supposed to learn how to be 'proper' Nigerian housewives and observance of the household rituals ensures cultural continuity. In this way, household activities are interwoven with ethnic identities twofold; as described in chapter one, through performing activities in the household that are deemed to perpetuate the culture. In the case of women, these activities additionally allow one to become proper 'Nigerian woman'.

Just like other aspects of living in a Nigerian household, these expectations do not apply in the same way to all women. Many have a voice in these negotiations or try to exercise control. Most of them are critical of the gendered nature of these expectations and oppose them, looking for a different division of power in their future households. At the same time, the rejection of certain norms and values does not mean rejection of the community. Young women, racialized and othered, are drawn back to their ethnic circles where they feel more freedoms to be themselves than among white Irish peers. While these networks are certainly different from what they would be in Nigeria, they are the symbolic 'home' for the women in this study.

8   Conclusion

8.1   Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore intergenerational relations in Nigerian households in Ireland. It contributes mainly to the emerging scholarship on second generation youths in the Republic. The thesis provides unique knowledge about the experiences of second generation Nigerians growing up in Ireland, their relations with their families and peers and how they experience public discourses of identity and inclusion. It explores their experiences, investigating how they negotiate values, norms and expectations in the household, but also those of their peers and society. It shows the impact of racialisation and the outside dynamics on the household and the manner in which outside dynamics influence relations within the household.

The aim of this concluding chapter is to consider the thesis as a whole and its implications for research on the second generation, but also policy and practice. The chapter also provides an opportunity to discuss limitations of this study and recommendations for further research.

8.2 Methodological implications

To explore the meaning young people assign to their families and household dynamics, qualitative research employing elements of participatory research was used, including focus groups and semi-structured interviews which were deemed to be most suitable. The participatory element and flexible research design facilitated adjustments during the process and allowed the respondents to bring to the fore the issues that most matter to them. The semi-structured format of the study prioritised the views of young people, making it possible to explore what belonging and integration means to them. This made for a more comprehensive understanding of the role of home and family and, more particularly, of the household beyond the conflict-solidarity dichotomy.

I recognise that as a white Polish female researcher, my experiences are very

different from those whom the study concerns. Through the employment of the selected research tools and methodology, I aimed to bring their voices to the fore as much as possible. The qualitative methods employed allowed for an in-depth exploration of the meanings assigned by second generation Nigerian youth to their households and relations within them. The thesis also does not counter quantitative studies, but rather provides a different perspective and shows the multidimensional nature of relations in the household and identities.

8.2   Discussion of findings

The literature review highlighted the prevalence of 'deficit theories' to study second generation youths in Europe. This body of research is often based on the assimilationist approach, encouraging the incorporation of the second generation into mainstream society. The critical analysis of this approach highlighted its weaknesses, including western-centrism and exaggeration of conflict between generations by assuming that youths are 'caught between two cultures'; the progressive culture of the host country and the backward culture of their parents. The literature review also recognised that there is a growing scholarship focusing on intergenerational relations and more heterogeneous understandings of the family. Previous studies highlighted the diversity of experiences and emotions in migrant families, where ambivalence is common and seemingly conflicting emotions and values can co-occur (Cook & Waite, 2016).

This research draws on these studies and theories of transnationalism to look at the role of the household in the lives of the second generation in Ireland. As Ireland's second generation is only emerging now, studies looking at their integration are very limited, and most focus on migrant children who moved to the country with their parents (Ní Laoire, 2011). Qualitative research, though mostly conducted outside of Europe, addressed some of the gaps, such as relationships between parents and children, gendered identities (Creese, 2011), and identity of the second generation, including, to a certain extent, the role of the family in identity maintenance (Dwyer, 2002; Falicov, 2005; Louise, 2006). Research on home and homemaking is largely limited to first generation migrants (e.g. Boccagni, 2017). Similarly, while the second generation's gendered experiences have been studied in relation to identities

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and, to a certain extent, intergenerational relations (Creese, 2014; Espiritu, 2011; Lopez, 2003), research on gender labour division of the second generation within the household is limited (Hyams, 2003). This thesis aimed to address this gap by answering the main research question below:

- **How do second generation young adults of Nigerian descent negotiate values, norms and expectations in their households and the wider society?**

This was answered with the following sub-questions:

- How do young adults of Nigerian descent negotiate and balance intergenerational relationships?
- How are gender norms and behaviours negotiated alongside other expectations?
- How is identity negotiated in this context?
- What is the role of the host society in influencing these negotiations?
- What role do transnational connections play in these negotiations?

The analysis of the data was organised as follows: Chapter 5 looked at the general meaning of the household for the second generation, Chapter 6 explored how values are negotiated in these households, and Chapter 7 focused on gendered aspects of these negotiations. Collectively, these chapters paint a comprehensive picture on the role of households in the lives of second generation youths in Ireland. The multidimensional role of the household is visually represented in Fig 1.
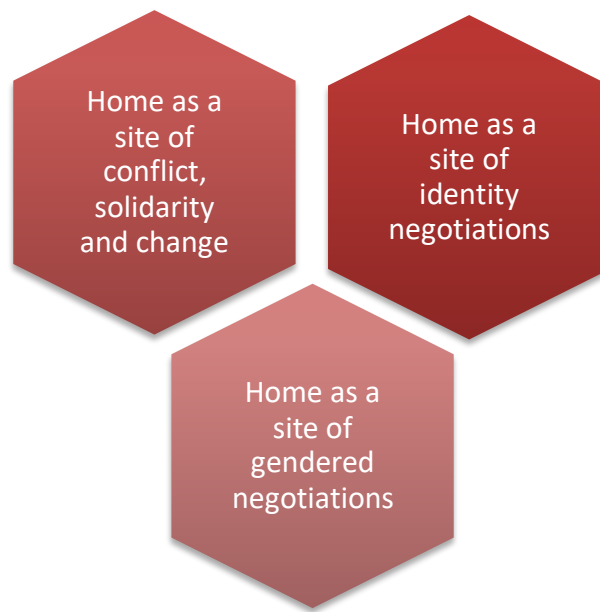
Fig. 1: The multidimensional role of the household

The section below summarises the main findings of the thesis, specifying how they answer the research question and the gap identified in literature. Chapter 5 focused on the meaning of the household for second generation youths. I suggested that the role of the family and home for second generation youths influences the majority of the dynamics in the household and thus it provides a lens through which family negotiations discussed in the following chapters can be viewed. As the household is the key source of knowledge about what is 'Nigerian', it has a special meaning for the second generation. The household becomes in fact one of the main transnational connections they have, where activities within the house are helping maintain their ethnic identities. It is the household where young people learn their heritage culture and rituals. Even if they do recognize that the household in Ireland is different to what it would be in Nigeria, it is still seen as an extension of their ancestral home country. Consequently, the line between the 'home' as the homeland and their household in Ireland is blurred. While the latter is often a source of identity, it can also lead to confusion or anger among the second generation, for whom the values in the household and in the environment in which they live do not align. This correlates with the experiences of Filipino second generation in the US, where the youths:

> Constantly juxtaposes what they do at home against what is done at Home. It can create issues as the son who is told, 'Just because you live here in America, don't be influenced by everything you see, because you are Filipino and should know who you are and where you come from,' is being told to differentiate between home and Home (Wolf, 1997:285).

A similar dynamic was observed in this study in the households of the respondents. Much of the tensions with their parents stemmed from what the participants perceived to be different rules in their household in comparison to those of their Irish peers. The respondents believe that their parents' childrearing methods are Nigerian and they are a continuation of the practices they learned in the home country. Thus, they distinguish between 'Nigerian' and 'Irish' households, based on the activities and dynamics within the house.

At the same time, this research highlights the coexistence of solidarity and conflict in migrant households. On one hand, young people vocally criticise some of the values and norms they consider as typically Nigerian. On the other, they appreciate their parents and their efforts to raise them. Despite significant tensions between generations, they are often supportive and defensive of their parents. Young adults understand that most parental decisions were based on genuine concern and best interest of the child. This thesis thus contributes to previous studies that identified the coexistence of solidarity and conflict (Cook & Waite, 2016; Foner & Dreby, 2011). This implies that similar dynamics between migrant parents and their offspring occur in various contexts, regardless of the country of origin and destination country.

This research further contributes to the existing body of scholarship by highlighting the role of transnational activities in intergenerational relationships. In this study, understanding and solidarity between generations has been largely facilitated by transnational connections. Visits to Nigeria and stories of the homeland told by their parents enabled the second generation to have a better understanding of their parents' lives and motives and consequently led to more harmonious relationships between migrants and their offspring. The role of stories is displayed in Figure 2 below.
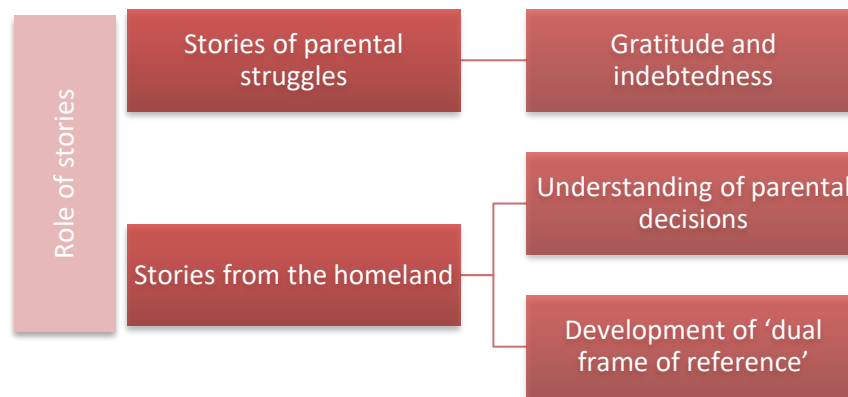
Fig. 2: Role of parental stories

The majority of studies of the second generation focus on a single point in time, which can lead to "missing significant ebbs and flows in involvement" (Levitt, 2002:124). By interviewing young adults, this research allowed to capture how both the relationships of the second generation with their parents and their perspectives on the household dynamics changed over time. Reflecting on their past, they re-evaluated some of the negative experiences from childhood and see them now in a different light. As Mallman (2019:9) writes:

> When experiences are re-storied, they are given new meaning and when these stories are told, they shape the lives and relationships of all involved.

Although the respondents sometimes quite vocally disagree with their parents and reject some of their values and norms, this does not lead to rejection of their ancestral home. To ensure cultural continuity, they are planning to maintain some of the practices from their parental households in their own families in the future, including those that they did appreciate when they were younger.

This thesis shows that the wider society influences household relations which in turn result in families interacting with the host societies in particular ways. Young people evaluate their own household and their parental childrearing methods against those of their Irish friends. Here, childrearing methods are one of the markers of a Nigerian household. The thesis also shows that the household plays a pivotal role in identity negotiations of the second generation. The youths often feel that Irish identity is

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denied to them, as their bodies do not conform to the imagined notions of Irishness. The participants reported feelings of not belonging and fitting in, especially during childhood and early adolescence. This was compounded by rules in the household, such as restrictions on going out or sleepovers. Those living in ethnically homogeneous areas in particular strived to fit in during childhood and early adolescence, adjusting their behaviour to what they believed made them blend with their peers. However, over time, youths developed their own ethnic identities and most of them claim Nigerian identities. They grew increasingly proud of their parental home country, embracing elements of culture that they enjoyed most. This on one hand further demonstrates that in spite of disagreeing with aspects of the culture, they are still eager to claim ethnic identities, which are largely drawn on their households. As many of the respondents have only sporadically visited their parental homeland, they draw on the stories of their parents and other family members to claim identities beyond Ireland.

The families also enable them to establish discursively transnational connections with their homeland. Though parents are more engaged in transnational activities, their children are maintaining ties "at the level of emotions, ideologies and conflicting cultural codes" (Wolf, 1997: 458). This attachment to the homeland can in turn "preserve family cooherence amongst the fragmentation and disconnection characteristic of immigrant families" (Mallman, 2019:5). Thus, as observed by Falicov (2005), family relationships and ethnic identities are not separate experiences, they interact and influence each other. The household emerged as the key site where ethnic connections are encouraged. Even if the second generation challenges some of the practices in the household, they also find that the home is a safe site and they can be themselves with their friends from their own ethnic circle, when faced with outside exclusion. Figure 3 provides a visual representation of the modes of transnational connections in the lives of second generation youths of Nigerian descent.
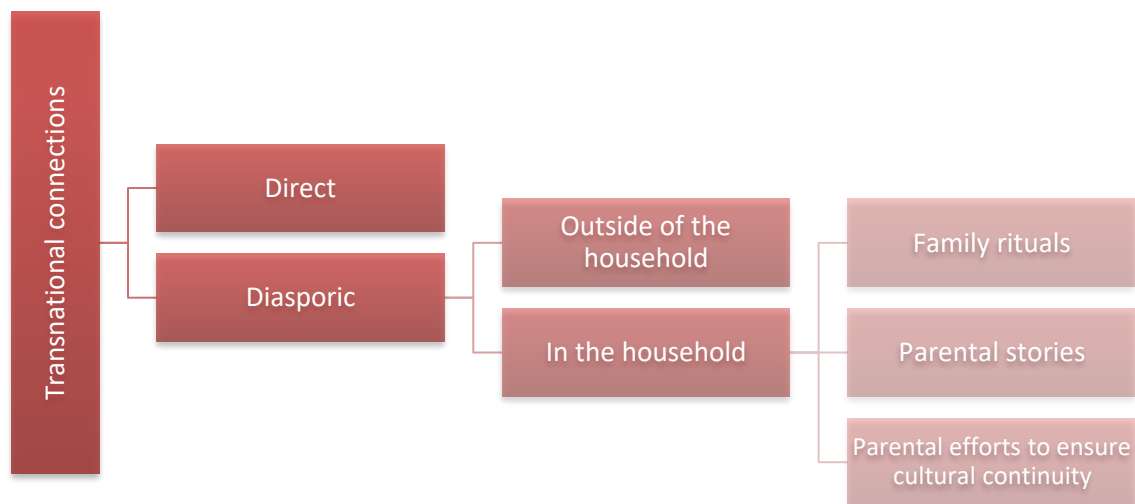
Fig. 3: Modes of transnational connections

Particularly women, who have been racialized in gendered ways by mainstream society, consider their own ethnic circles as sites of safety, where they unapologetically can simply be themselves. This challenges narratives that view female second generation solely as victims of the patriarchy of their ancestral culture. On one hand, this study shows that indeed young women have been subject to stricter rules and control in the household, but on the other, it highlights that they are also subject to sexism and patriarchy outside of their households.

The study further contributes to the literature on the gendered dimension of the lives of the second generation by showing that family impacts all aspects of their lives, including their identity-building process, the manner in which they are racialized in the public discourse and in the relations within the household. It also highlighted the gendered contribution of young females to household labour, which extended beyond socialization to being a significant contribution to reproductive work. Whereby most research on gendered contributions to household labour in migrant families focuses on the first generation (Parrado & Flippen, 2005), this study highlights the role of the

children of migrants in these dynamics. Here, housework is not only gendered, but ethnicised, where women, as the *keepers of culture*, are expected to continue the practices in the household to ensure cultural continuity.

This research answers the research question and contributes to the literature by showing that the second generation's relationships with their parents have to be examined by looking at the meanings they assign to their household and practices within it. The study demonstrates that the practices and rules in the household can be a source of tensions, but they are often also a source of identity and belonging, drawing a more complex picture of relations in the household.

8.3   Implications for policy

As discussed in Chapter 3, state frameworks and policies are of importance to second generation youths. This is not limited to the policies directly affecting them, but also their parents as first generation migrants. Different provisions might be relevant to the children of migrants at various stages of their lives; while immigration laws including family reunification frameworks, as well as citizenship law, have certainly been of importance in their childhood, educational policies became important in their childhood and adolescence. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017) highlights the disparities that exist between youth from migrant backgrounds and their peers from the host societies, showing the importance of special provisions to address this. According to their research, young people of migrant backgrounds are more exposed to social and economic exclusion, which can lead to decrease in social participation, especially if unemployed.

Additionally, the findings of the 2009 Eurofund survey show that ethnic minorities are impacted by discrimination in a way that influences their self- esteem and affects their opportunities in the labour market (Eurofund, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 3, the Irish policy approach to immigration is relatively fragmented, with the most comprehensive nationwide immigration strategy, *Blueprint for the Future,* published in 2018. Yet, the document relates mostly to the integration of the first generation immigrants. More coordinated approaches that ensure minority ethnic youth is discussed in all areas that affect their lives need to be created. Additionally, the

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affected youth should be consulted in the process, to ensure the framework reflects their needs rather than socio-political interests.

This thesis demonstrates that transnational activities are a vital part of the lives of the second generation. The ability for young people to maintain ethnic connections facilitates their well-being and enables them to find community and belonging in cases of exclusion. This suggests that any policies that concern the children of migrants should not necessarily encourage incorporation into the mainstream culture, but rather facilitate maintaining elements of the culture of origin, encouraging diversity in schools and other institutions.

Ireland claims to have adopted an intercultural approach to manage immigration (Fanning, 2012). At the same time, this study shows that young people do not feel they can claim Ireland as their own. If Ireland is to ensure that minority ethnic people are participating in the cultural, social and economic activities, more effort is needed to address racism and discrimination. A robust anti-discriminatory system would be of benefit to the young people in this research. The Equal Status Acts 2000-2018 prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race for the provision of goods and services, accommodation and education. However, at the time of writing this thesis, in 2020, there is no hate crime legislation in Ireland.

This study highlighted the role of education and schools in the lives of the second generation in Ireland. Respondents stressed the importance of a welcoming, non-discriminatory atmosphere, but also of inclusive curriculums. The Irish Intercultural Education Strategy 2010-2015 aims to ensure that education in Ireland "respects the diversity of values, beliefs, languages and traditions in Irish society and is conducted in a spirit of partnership" (Education Act, 1998). Yet, Devine (2017) argues that while on one hand maintenance of ethnic identities and cultures seems to be encouraged by policies, children are primarily supposed to focus on excelling in the Irish school systems.

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8.4   Limitations

This study aimed to provide a comprehensive picture of the family lives of second generation young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. As was stated above, it answered questions about intergenerational relations, identity and gender dimensions of household negotiations. However, as the study was conducted as a doctoral research, there were a number of limitations, both due of time and resource constraints. The focus of the study were second generation young adults of Nigerian descent in Ireland. The group of participants was thus quite specific, which constituted one of the strengths of this project, as already within such a narrowly defined group there were a wide range of experiences, views and opinions. All the participants were accessed via their connections to educational institutions or youth services. Therefore, their profile is quite specific, with all but one in third level education. Some of the respondents mentioned youths that do not access services and often leave school at an early age. This has often been discussed in the context of conflict at home and the dynamics in the households are most likely different to those discussed in this research.

I am aware that being a white female researcher had an impact on my interactions with the respondents. There were more female respondents in this study and I believe this could be due to men feeling less comfortable discussing their lives with a female. A more participatory research when peers are trained to collect data could address this.

Finally, much of the literature in which this study is grounded has been written by Western scholars. I have aspired and searched extensively for locally grounded knowledge to inform parts of this research, but due to institutional challenges, much of the knowledge produced in West Africa is not published, especially in peer reviewed journals. Addressing this issue will require a significant amount of work in order to ensure that research produced, even by Western scholars, can be grounded in locally produced scholarship.

8.5   Directions for further research

This research provided a comprehensive picture of intergenerational relations in Nigerian households in Ireland. However, it also opened up directions for further research both in Ireland and abroad, some of which stemming directly from the limitations identified above.

Issues of second generation youths in Ireland were highlighted, including racism, exclusion and culturally sensitive education. While some of these have been addressed by previous research (Devine, 2009; Walsh, 2017), more studies are required in order to garner a better understanding of the lives of second generation. This includes research on other ethnic groups in Ireland and comparative approaches. In this study, as the research concerned mostly the families of young adults, much of its focus documented their lives during adolescence. Further research could look at the lives of the second generation at further stages in their lifetime, perhaps investigating how their relations with their parents change when they move out and become financially independent. As the participants in this research were entering adulthood at the time of the study, further research could also focus on relations within the families they build in the future, including gendered relationships. Outside of the household, there might be a need to see the experiences of second generations in Ireland in the labour market.

This thesis argued extensively for a qualitative approach, but I also recognize the utility of quantitative research to explore the patterns of integration of the second generation. A mixed method research in Ireland could potentially provide large scale data on the trends of integration among second generation. Diasporic communities have also played a role in the lives of second generation. This includes both institutional communities, like churches, but also informal networks. Further research could explore in more detail the importance of those communities for second generation in Ireland and their impact on their ethnic identities. Parents were not the primary respondents in this study, but some of the issues they raised during interviews can be explored further. This includes interaction with schools, challenges as single parents and relationships with children.

8.6   Concluding remarks

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As many PhD projects, this study significantly changed over the last four years, which was accompanied by my own learning. As such, this project is not limited solely to research outcomes, as it also contributed to my development as a researcher. Apart from gaining technical research skills, the process was particularly beneficial for me to consider my role as a researcher, my positionality in the research process, as well as the potential impact of the research conducted and how it situates itself in the wider narratives surrounding the research topic.

Lack of similar studies in Ireland was an opportunity, but also a challenge. There were few previous studies I could build on and most of the existing ones still refer to second generation as 'migrant children'. Minority ethnic people are also not yet sufficiently visible in public life in Ireland, with little representation in the media or public positions. Though some Nigerian councilors were elected in early part of the 2000s, in 2020, there is only one full-time Black female academic professorial post-holder in Ireland (The Irish Times, 2020). However, there seems to be increased visibility of minority ethnic youth and of their voices, particularly in light of the Black Lives Matter movement in the US. As the Irish society becomes more diverse, it is increasingly important to understand the specific experiences of minorities in Ireland at each stage of their lives in different contexts. To build a cohesive society, their voices must be at the fore of the discussions of migration and belonging.

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Appendix A

List of participants

Name	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Age when moved to Ireland	Ethnic identity
Tariq	M	20	Netherlands	8	Nigerian
Tyson	M	18	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Nero	M	19	Nigeria	3	Nigerian
Tyrese	M	20	Ireland	0	Black Irish
Shag	M	19	Nigeria	3	Nigerian
Eva	F	19	Nigeria	9	Nigerian
Felicia	F	18	Ireland		Irish Nigerian
Levi	F	19	London	3	Nigerian
Daisy	F	20	Ireland		Nigerian
Anne	F	22	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Anne	F	24	Nigeria	7	Irish
Sandra	F	21	Nigeria	3	Irish
Ricci	M	18	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Mimi	F	19	Italy	3	Irish Nigerian
Kaf	F	18	Nigeria	4	Nigerian
Tina	F	18	Nigeria	2	Nigerian & Irish
Joyce	F	18	Nigeria		Nigerian
Ingrid	F	18	Ireland		Nigerian
Janet	F	18	Ireland		Nigerian
Peter	M	18	Nigeria	3 months	Nigerian
Bobby	M	21	Nigeria	6	Nigerian
Daniel	M	21	Nigeria		Nigerian
Mary	F	21	Nigeria		Nigerian
Gloria	F	20	Nigeria		Nigerian
Amanda	F	19	Nigeria	8	Nigerian
Isaac	M	20	Ireland		Nigerian-Irish

Appendix B

Focus Group – Interview Schedule

<u>Identity</u>

1. What do you answer when someone asks you 'where are you from'?

2. How do you identify yourself? As Nigerian-Irish/Nigerian/Irish/Black Irish? None of the above? Other?

<u>Family life</u>

3. What was it like growing with a Nigerian family in Ireland?

4. Are there any experiences, particularly in relation to family, you think you have in common with other young people of Nigerian descent living in Ireland?

<u>Growing up in Ireland</u>

5. As a young person of Nigerian descent, what is it like to be a woman or a man in Ireland? What was it like to be a young woman or man at school?

6. Do you think your experiences of growing up were similar same or different tothose of your other peers outside of the Nigerian community? If different, why?

<u>Transnational activities</u>

7. Do you have contacts with your family or other people in Nigeria?

8. Do you ever go to Nigeria?

9. Why do you go there and how do you find the visits there?

Appendix C

Individual interview schedule: second generation youths

<u>Identity:</u>

1. Where were you born?
2. Where would you say you 'grew up'?
3. Where were your parents born?
4. What do you answer when someone asks you 'where are you from'?
5. How do you describe yourself? (Nigerian-Irish?)
6. What does it mean to be Nigerian-Irish?
7. Is being 'Irish' and 'Nigerian' ever in opposition?

<u>Growing up in Ireland</u>

8. What is it like to grow up in Ireland as [Nigerian-Irish] person?

<u>Follow up from focus group:</u>

9. Was there any topic raised during the group discussion that you would like to talk about?
10. Was there anything where you specifically strongly agree or disagree with the rest of the group?

<u>Expectations and norms</u>

11. What do you think your parents expect you, as a young man/woman, to be?
12. What do you think your friends expect you, as a young man/woman, to be?
13. What do you think people in your community expect from you, as a young man/woman?
14. What do you think the wider society expect you, as a young man/woman, to be?
15. Have these expectations changed over time?
16.   Do you ever talk about those expectations with other people? Do you ever talk about those expectations with your parents? Do you ever disagree with them?

17. What do you think of these expectations

18. Does your behaviour change depending on the place or the people you are with?

19. How do you think a young man or woman, like you, should be or behave?

Household

20. What is it like to grow up in a Nigerian family in Ireland?

21. What was it like to be a teenager in a Nigerian family?

22. Did you feel you had freedom or where you restricted? In what way?

23. Do you have any siblings? Are they raised in the same way as you?

24. What do you think were the most important things your parents tried to pass over to you/teach you?

25. What do you think of the way your parents raised you?

Attitudes and perceptions of gender roles

26. What do you appreciate most and least about the way your parents raised you?If you had children, what aspects of your parents' parenting would you continue?

27. If you would have a partner, what qualities would you like to see in them?/ How do you imagine your own home if and once you have your own family?

Transnational activities:

28. Are you in contact with family members outside of Ireland?

29. What are the ways in which you stay in touch with them? Do you ever visit Nigeria?

30. What is the way you think they expect you to be or behave as a young woman/man?

31. What do you think of the way women and men are supposed to be and behave there?

32. If you were born in Nigeria, do you think your parents would have raised you differently?

Appendix D

Interview schedule - parents

Migration

1. Where were you born?

2. When and why did you come to Ireland?

3. Where were your children born?

Changes in household relations

4. How different is your household now as compared to Nigeria?

5. How are decisions made in the household? Did that change since you moved to Ireland? What influenced these changes?

Parenting

6. If any of your children were born outside of Ireland, have you seen any changes in your parenting strategies since you moved here? What influenced thesechanges?

7. Do you think there are differences in being a parent in Ireland and in Nigeria? What are those differences?

8. Do you think your parenting is different in Ireland to what it would be in Nigeria?Why?

9. Do you think men and women are raised differently in Ireland and in Nigeria? What are those differences?

10. Does this have any impact on the way you raise your children?

11. Do you play any role in raising children other than your own?

12. Do you raise all your children in the same way?

13. Do you raise your daughters and sons in the same way?

14. Do you ever encounter disagreements with your children? What are the typical reasons?

15. Do you ever negotiate with your children?

16. Do you ever adjust or change your parenting?

Transnational activities

17. Do you keep any links or contacts with Nigeria? How often do you go there? In what other ways are you connected to it?

18. If you go there, do you bring your children?

19. How do they see the trips to Nigeria?

Apendix E: Questionnaire

Name:

………………………………….

Preferred pseudonym (How would you like to be identified in the study?)

………………………………….

Gender:

………………………………….

Age:

………………………………….

Where were you born?

………………………………….

If you were not born in Ireland, what age were you when you first moved to Ireland?

………………………………….

How do you describe your ethnic/cultural/national identity?

………………………………….

What is your religion?

………………………………….

What other countries have you lived in?

………………………………….

Where in Ireland did you live growing up?

………………………………….

Where were your parents born?

………………………………….

What is your level of education?

………………………………….

Are you working/studying or unemployed?

………………………………….

Appendix F

Plain Language Statement

Growing up in Ireland as young men and women of Nigerian descent in Ireland

Introduction:

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of growing up in Ireland as young men and women. In particular, the project aims to discover how gender norms are negotiated between generations in Nigerian households, that is between the parent generation and their adult children who were raised in Ireland. In relation to children of migrants, the study investigates how they negotiate gender in their household and in society and how these dynamics shape their gender behaviours and attitudes. In relation to parents, the study aims to discover how they view parenting in Ireland and whether or not raising children in this context influenced their parenting strategies, particularly in relation to transmitting beliefs and values about what they see as appropriate behaviour for men and women.

The research is part of PhD degree funded by the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies at Dublin City University

What will I be asked to do?

The research comprises of two distinct parts: focus group discussion and individual interviews. All participants will be asked to join a focus group, after which you can either withdraw from the research or you can participate in individual interviews, which is the next stage of the study

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to join a focus group with another 6-8 participants, also children of Nigerian migrants. The discussion in the focus group will take no longer than 2 hours.

Should you wish, you can also participate in an individual interview to discuss in more depth any topics which were raised during the focus group that you consider most important. The interview should take around 2 hours.

You can withdraw from the research at any point without penalty. During both focus groups and interviews, you can also skip a topic you are not willing to discuss.

How will my identity be protected?

Your participation in the interview is anonymous. All data will be stored securely in a password protected memory stick in a locked cabinet and the interviews will be identified by codes to protect your privacy. A key to the codes will be stored as a hard copy in a different locked cabinet. Any information revealed during interviews which could lead to identification will not be published. Confidentiality of information is subject to legal limitations in line with Data Protection Act. The researcher will have to disclose information in certain situations when obliged by law. The data will be stored for 5 years after completion of the PhD. Any hard copies will be shredded and the memory stick will be re-formatted.

Pre-examination copy. Submitted 18/12/2020

How will I receive feedback?

The research will inform a PhD project which will be made publicly available. Should you wish to receive a link to the copy of the thesis this can be done at your request. The data may be also presented publicly during conferences and in academic journals.

If participants have concerns about this study and wish to contact an independent person, please contact:

The Secretary, Dublin City University Research Ethics Committee, c/o Research and Innovation Support, Dublin City University, Dublin 9. Tel 01-7008000, e-mail **rec@dcu.ie**

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