

**AN EXPLORATION OF GENDER ROLES, ATTITUDES AND
EXPECTATIONS IN NIGERIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN
IRELAND**

BY

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DECLARATION

I certify that this dissertation, submitted for the degree of MLitt in Sociology, Maynooth University, is entirely my own work, has not been taken from the work of others, and has not been submitted in any other University. The work of others, to an extent, has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my own work.

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ABSTRACT

This project explores gender roles expectations and attitudes among first generation Nigerian men and women living in Ireland. Specifically this work examines how the process of migration influences gender roles expectations and attitudes. Through interview data, I investigate how Nigerian born men and women navigate what I suggest are a series of shifts in expectations surrounding gendered behaviour that accompanies the experience of cultural adaptation to Irish society. Previous research has established that migration and the associated experience of cultural adaptation have consequences for gender role expectations, particularly for women. Central to my project is an investigation of how the processes of migration influence gender role expectations and attitudes among first generation Nigerians in Ireland.

In other words, this research is interested in learning how Nigerian men and women negotiate these shifts and the consequences of such changing gender role expectations for the division of household labour, definitions of appropriate gender behaviour and the stability of their relationships. Possible factors that may affect these experiences include the extent to which Nigerian women are exposed to education and labour market participation. While these questions have been posed in other contexts, this work represents the first effort to map these changes in Ireland.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the most amazingly strong woman whose passion for equality and justice was not deterred by cervical cancer. To my mother, Mrs Justina M. Onyemelukwe and all women who are battling cervical cancer.

May your gentle soul rest in peace!

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction to Chapter One

This project aims to explore gender role expectations and attitudes among Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland. In this project I explore how migration influences a shift in gender roles expectations and attitudes and the implications of these shifts for first generation Nigerian families in Ireland.

1.2 Background of the problem

The recent Syrian Refugee crisis in Europe has once again triggered an immense interest in migration and migrant family life. Migration theorists (Haas 2010; Debiaggi 2002; Dion and Dion 2001, Shirpak, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian 2011, Updegraff et al 2012, Yick 2000, Nghe et al 2003 and Charsley and Liversage 2015) have explored migrants' families and their experiences in developed host societies. Their research suggests that migrants and their families undergo transitions while living in a different society. These transitions, of which the process of acculturation is a key catalyst, work in part to influence gender relations between migrant couples in intimate relationships. Scholars exploring migrant family structures and experiences, suggest that migration includes processes such as the empowerment of women; emasculation of men; deskilling of skilled migrants; racial discrimination and a disruption of gender role beliefs that can in turn create conflicts in the

migrants' family structure (Yick 2000, Dion and Dion 2001, Debiaggi 2002, Nghe et al 2003, Haas 2010, Shirpak, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian 2011, Updegraff et al 2012 Liversage 2015).

Although this scholarship, (Yick 2000; Dion and Dion 2001; Debiaggi 2002; Nghe et al 2003; Haas 2010; Shirpak, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian 2011; Updegraff et al 2012; and Charsley and Liversage 2015) has contributed to our understanding of the implications of the migratory experience for social actors. This research has examined the issue of how migration may influence gender roles and attitudes among most first generation migrants remains relatively under-theorised with the exception of Irish female migrants in historical and contemporary contexts see Gray (2004). In empirical terms, some contexts have also been under-researched. Ireland now has a mosaic of cultures and yet only has an emerging rather than established scholarship on migrants within its jurisdiction. Evidently, there have been many efforts made by key academics to understand the experiences and circumstances of migrants living in Ireland. This research has drawn attention to issues including racial discrimination, citizenship and other migratory-transition experiences, which are mostly situated outside of the family structure. Much of this work also examines the wider spectrum of migrants rather than focusing on particular communities (Fanning and Mutwarasibo 2007; Pillinger 2007; Gilmartin et al, 2008; Haas 2010; Eijorh 2011; Fanning, Hass and Boyle, 2011; Fanning 2012; and Gilmartin 2015). As such, there still exists a gap in the knowledge about the micro level dynamics that shape the experiences of migrant men and women as they settle in Irish society, in particular migrant groups and outside of the public sphere.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Hence, this study aims to address these gaps in knowledge by focusing on a particular nationality of migrants in Ireland within the private sphere. The chosen nationality is Nigerian, and this project aims to use research on migration and sociological work on gender by Lorber and Farrell (1991); Beall (1993); Connell (2002) Wharton (2005) and Crompton (2006), to explore migration from a gendered perspective. A central aim of this project is to explore the implications of the pre-migratory experiences of Nigerians and their distinct patterns of socialization in shaping their subsequent experience of living in Irish society. Nigerian gender relations, cultural expectations and attitudes are rooted in a patriarchal family structure. The implication of this is that Nigerians living in Ireland often hold different ideologies with regard to gender relations and gender equality as compared to those prevalent in Irish society. This project will examine how these gender ideologies interact with and are disrupted by the processes of acculturation/migration. Ultimately, this project will explore what the consequences of such dynamics may be for Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland. The details of the relevant literature will be covered partly in Chapter Two of this work.

1.4 Purpose of the study and research design

The purpose of this study was to interview first generation Nigerians in Ireland who were or are in intimate relationships, using a qualitative method of social research. The study employed the use of face to face semi-structured interviews and a focus group to collect data. The interviews were recorded on a Dictaphone and transferred to a college computer. Selective transcribing was then used to gather themes and findings.

19 Nigerian men and women were interviewed in Dublin, Slane, Cork and Drogheda, in a location of their choosing. All participants signed an informed consent before the

commencement of their interview. The sample participants were criterion based; they were over the age of 18 at the time of their participation in this project and had been living in Ireland for at least three years. The details of the research sample and how the sample was recruited will be explained further in Chapter Three of this project.

1.5 Structure of this work

Chapter One will introduce the background and details of the research problem identified, briefly describing the significance of the study, its aims and objectives, as well as its delimitations, limitations and theoretical framework.

Chapter Two will contain a review of relevant literature and will be split into two parts. Part One will introduce key theories on gender role socialisation and gender role acquisition, followed by a more specific discussion of gender roles within Nigerian and Irish culture and review of how the key theories regarding gender roles are relevant to the Irish and Nigerian contexts. In Part Two, literature regarding migratory experiences and theories will be used to decipher how migration could interact with gender roles and the implications that this might have on the attitudes, behaviours and family structures of Nigerian migrants living in Ireland.

Chapter Three will give a detailed description of the research methods used in this study, as well as describing the rationale for using qualitative research methods, the role of the researcher, the data collection procedure and the study's research limitations. Chapter Four will present the research findings from the individual interviews and focus group, arranged by theme. Chapter Five will discuss the findings of the conducted research and discuss how they relate to the findings of the literature review.

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of this study is to enable an in-depth understanding of the gender roles, attitudes and expectations of Nigerians living in Ireland. The focusing of this study on one particular nationality - Nigerian – is aimed at generating new findings on the social phenomenon taking place within the family structures of first generation Nigerians who are living in Ireland. These new findings will contribute to sociological knowledge on one of the largest African communities in Ireland and provide an insight that may inform both migration policy makers and social workers in Ireland.

1.7 Research aims and objectives

The research aims and objectives are focused on:

- Exploring the degree to which gender roles expectation among first generation Nigerians living in Ireland have changed;
- Investigating the factors that influence any changes in gender roles expectations among first-generation Nigerians;
- Investigating the impact of the interaction of migration and gender roles
- Exploring whether migration policies and experiences have an effect on the gender role expectations and attitudes of first – generation Nigerians living in Ireland.

1.8 Theoretical framework

The literature review chapter will cover literature on gender role socialization, gender role acquisition and gender roles within Nigerian and Irish culture. The purpose of using this literature is to acknowledge that gender roles are socially constructed and culturally constituted and as such may shift and or be reconfigured in key ways as a function of the migration and settlement in a host society. This chapter will also document the structures and social practices that organize gender role expectations and behaviours in both contexts. In the second part of the literature review, literature regarding migration experiences and theories will be used to decipher how migration could interact with gender roles with implications for attitudes, behaviours and family structures of Nigerian migrants living in Ireland.

1.9 Delimitations and limitations of the research

The study has certain delimitations and limitations. First the delimitations: the project excluded second generation Nigerians because they were born in Ireland. While acknowledging that first generation Irish-born people of Nigerian descent may hold attitudes and expectations shaped by their Nigerian families, this cohort would lack the depth of attitudes and expectations rooted in a childhood and early adulthood in Nigerian society. Second generation Nigerians typically exhibit the amalgamation of two cultures (Zhou 1997) and hence their attitudes and expectations with regard to gender relations would be less pronounced compared to that of first generation Nigerians. Also, first generation Nigerians below the age of 18 were not interviewed to improve access and to avoid significant ethical issues that would have arisen from proposing research with minors. The logistics would have been too lengthy and tedious for a project of such magnitude. While most of the participants of this study were from the major Nigerian tribes of Igbo and Yoruba, as well as Tsekiri and

Edo, most of the participants were living in urban areas which might have an implication for their experiences. Hence my sample will illustrate processes and patterns within this sample, yet may be limited in terms of generalisability to all Nigerians living in Ireland.

1.10 Conclusion

This projects aims to explore the gender roles, attitudes and expectations among first generation Nigerians. The purpose of the study is to add to emerging work that has looked at the interaction of gender roles and migration and to contribute to scholarship that examines migration in the Irish context. This project aims to reflect on the consequences of migration for attitudes and expectations on gender roles among Nigerians who are living in Ireland. Interview data allows an assessment of the meanings that Nigerian men and women attribute to what they perceive as continuity and change in gender role behaviour in their community. It also affords analysis of gendered constructions and patterns of power and conflict that have emerged as Nigerian men and women make sense of and work to negotiate the gap between Irish and Nigerian gender roles. The consequences of such changes for relationship dynamics and Nigerian family structure also feature in this analysis.

The study findings suggest that there is no linear path to the change in the attitudes and expectations of Nigerian men and women in Ireland. Rather, there appears to be a pulling and shifting of the women towards provider roles. Although, the findings shows that women in Nigeria have tended to support the provider's role (for example, by participating in trading, part-time teaching and secretarial roles to supplement their husband's income), the difference in the circumstances is that these women are now in more prestigious jobs in Ireland and are

assisted by the Irish State through social welfare. Overall, this study found a range of experiences and attitudes. However, there was evidence of men and women who, in spite of their exposure to modern ideas or more egalitarian family values, still espoused traditional gender roles attitudes and expectations and continued to gate-keep these values and norms within their Nigerian community in Ireland. Alongside this commitment were examples of a questioning of traditional gender roles and some efforts to shift or reconstruct gender roles in light of exposure to and settlement within Irish society. The experiences of Nigerian immigrants in Ireland are similar to those of immigrant communities in similar societies such as US and Canada, which will be discussed further in chapters Two and Five.

The next chapter will discuss the literatures relevant to gender roles and migration, as well as providing an insight to the typical socialisation processes undergone by Nigerian men and women and the factors which may have played major roles in the development of the values and norms they hold or held prior to migration. Chapter Two aims to provide an insight into the context of the experiences of Nigerian immigrants in Ireland prior to their migration.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Introduction to the literature review

The key aims of the literature review are to give a solid grounding in theories relating to gender and immigration, and to identify any further gaps that exist in the relating to the subject. The theories and knowledge from the literature will then be applied to a new empirical case in a new context.

The literature review chapter is divided into two parts: Part One covers literature relating to gender socialisation, gender role acquisition and gender roles within Nigerian and Irish culture, while Part Two focuses on theories regarding migration, the experiences that immigrants may have in their new country, and the effect that this migration and subsequent experiences can have on gender roles and attitudes.

In Part One of the literature review, I will identify a gap in the literature regarding analyses of gender inequality and gendered experiences of Nigerian-born immigrants living in Ireland. I will use the work of Lorber and Farrell (1991); Beal (1993); Connell (2002); Wharton (2005); Crompton (2006) and Carter (2014) to theorise gender and gender roles and acknowledge that gender and gender roles are socially constructed, historically and culturally situated, and that individuals within society are socialised based on the expectations and stereotypes attributed to their gender. Gender theories and gender inequality in the Irish context will then be briefly examined, followed by an exploration of the African (and specifically Nigerian) patriarchal system and of how structural forces such as culture and ideology work to maintain unequal gender perceptions and attitudes in Nigerian society.

Part Two will focus on migration theories. In it I will use relevant literature, such as that of Haas (2010), Fanning (2007) and EJORH (2012) to give an insight into migration and into recent phenomena such as tightening of borders and negative attitudes to asylum seekers within Ireland and other immigrant-receiving societies. I will use the work of Haas (2010) and EJORH (2012) to explore why transnational migration happens and to explore the impacts that this migration has on both sending and receiving countries. This literature will then enable me to position the migratory experiences of Nigerians in the wider general context of worldwide migration and European attitudes to migration. It will also highlight the rewards and difficulties that migration can pose to Nigerians. An analysis of Fanning's (2007) work will give a deeper insight into the difficulties experienced by migrants, whom he believes to be restricted by citizenship and administrative gradation. In order to obtain a clearer understanding of Fanning's (2007) assertion that citizenship and administrative gradation serve as difficulties for migrants (specifically for non-EU migrants whose most common mode of entry is asylum), I will use literature from Tyler (2006) and O'Reilly and Bonoughs (2013) to examine the experiences of migrants and asylum seekers. These include prejudices such as racism, discrimination and exclusion from the labour market, and how this may affect the experiences of Nigerian-born men and women who have migrated to Ireland.

This part of the literature review will also explore the gender contexts of migration and how gender insensitivity guides the migration policies which affect migrant women. Through the work of Boyd and Grieco (2003) and Cheng (1999), I will explore the Nigerian community and the perceptions that migration and interaction with a more gender egalitarian society such as Ireland work to simultaneously empower and liberate, but may also offer new forms of oppression for Nigerian women. In the third part of this chapter, I draw from research that explore the various post migratory experiences of migrant men and women in similar

circumstances. These include migrating from a culture where traditional gender roles are pervasive to a more egalitarian society where the challenges of migration provide a more difficult situation for migrant families (Van de Vijver 1990; McCreary et al 1998; Yick 2000, Dion and Dion 2001; DeBiaggi 2002; Nghe 2003; Harris et al 2005; Bhanot 2006; Grzywacz et al 2009; Shirpak et al 2011; Yu 2011; Updegraff et al 2012; and Charsley and Liversage 2015).

PART 1: GENDER ROLE AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION

This section of the literature review will give grounding in the basic definitions of gender and the three key gender-role socialisation theories of social learning, cognitive development and identity theory. Sociological work on gender roles has been fundamental to assessments of the processes involved in what is more recently defined as “becoming gendered.” While recognizing that earlier formulations of socialization theories of gender approached the acquisition of gender roles and gender role identity in a singular and static fashion, newer perspectives recognize the multiplicity of gender roles and, by extension, masculinities and femininities. This acknowledgment includes drawing attention to the complex and variable ways in which actors learn, contest and negotiate gender role prescriptions (Richardson, 2015: 12).

These concepts will be used and further developed in relation to the Nigerian context later on in the literature review chapter.

2.2 Gender socialisation

Gender is a social construct and gender socialisation is one way that society promotes societal harmony (Beal 1994). Gender role socialisation plays a significant role in patterns of social organisation and systems of stratification (Lindsey 2010). Gender roles are associated with an expected behaviour reinforced by societal norms which in turn determines the privileges and the responsibilities of the person with a particular status. Men, women, female children and male children are all expected to play particular roles within society. However, in ‘normal’ or traditional social situations, Lindsey states that:

The status of mother calls for expected roles involving love, nurturing, self-sacrifice, home-making, and availability. The status of father calls for expected roles of breadwinner, disciplinarian, home technology expert, and ultimate decision maker in the household (2008:3).

In other words, the traditional status of women positions them within the family, and the status of men places them in a more financially privileged position that is associated with power within and outside the home. The key defining feature of this gendered division of status is the role that male power or patriarchy plays in patterns of social organisation and social practice.

“Patriarchy, by definition, exhibits androcentrism – male-centered norms operating throughout all social institutions that become the standard to which all persons adhere” (Lindsey 2010:3). A working definition of patriarchy is given by Walby as “a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women” (1989: 214). Patriarchy is seen as culturally universal in the majority of societies across the world and gives the oldest male-gendered person power over other men, both within the home and outside it, and privileges men above women and children. The female-gendered person, on the other hand, is positioned within the home or perhaps outside the home in a less privileged, less recognised and less powerful position compared to the male-gendered individual. This phenomenon is based on stereotypes and attitudes towards the female gender.

There are three key theories on how gender socialisation and gender development occurs within society. It is important to note that I am applying specifically Western conceptions of gender socialization to a study of Nigerian women and men in Irish society. I contend that although such concepts have been predominantly applied in Western societies, the explanatory power of sociological accounts of gender socialization is applicable in non-

Western contexts as long as cultural and historical specificities are acknowledged. To summarise, these concepts travel and with careful explication allow for an assessment of the unique and at the same time universal elements of gender role socialization in different cultural milieu.

2.3 Introducing the key theories of gender socialisation

Wharton defines socialisation as the “process through which individuals take on gendered qualities and characteristics and acquire a sense of self. In addition, through socialisation people learn what their society expects of them as males and females” (2005:31). In other words, gender socialisation is the way that people learn masculinities and femininities.

Although authors such as Connell warn that the socialisation model must not be taken as a complete package because of its failure to acknowledge the “multiple patterns of masculinity and femininity in contemporary society” and its inability to explain individuals behaving differently from the environment they were socialised in early childhood, its usage as a yardstick for gender-role socialisation cannot be underestimated (2002:77).

Wharton asserts that socialisation is two-sided in that it targets the newborn, whose idea of the social world is as a result of his or her interactions with his or her parents, and it targets the adult through agents of socialisation in society. Wharton mentions the three theories of socialisation (2005):

- I. Social learning
- II. Cognitive development

III. Identity theory

2.3.1 *Social learning*

An important component of social learning is parents' attitudes and behaviours towards their children, which are based on their sexual organs. For example, parents often expect their male children to play football, act in a 'masculine' manner and to socialise with males. They expect their female children to be less aggressive and caring, and to socialise with females. The father is the role model for the son and the mother is the role model for the daughter. Beal affirms this point when she states that "Social learning theory also suggests that children learn gender roles through imitation of role models but proposes a different motivation; namely that children's behaviour is shaped by the reaction of others" (1994:69). Children learn what is acceptable and what would socially exclude them through observing their role models; they respond to behaviours based on an adult's approval and disapproval. The theory of social learning is relevant to my thesis as it may explain why unequal dominant/subordinate social structures such as the 'breadwinner model' is often believed not just by the men but also by women. The theory of the bread-winner model and how this model relates to Nigerian culture will be further expanded on in the section, 'Gender Inequality: The Nigerian Context in general'.

Another reason for the discussion of social learning within this literature review is that social learning and social influence - especially in relation to gender norms and behaviour - do not stop when the child reaches adulthood. Both men and women continue to be influenced to some extent by their peers and their peers' actions and beliefs of what is socially acceptable or the norm. The concept of gendered social learning is therefore highly relevant to my thesis

as social learning often occurs when women migrate from Nigeria to Ireland and begin to be influenced by the gender norms, beliefs and expectations of the receiving country.

The next theory of socialisation relevant to my thesis is the theory of cognitive development.

2.3.2 Cognitive development

This theory of socialisation argues that children develop gender schemas that guide them on how to behave and how not to behave within their society. According to Wharton, these gender schemas “emphasise gender polarization which is a belief that what is acceptable or appropriate for a female is not acceptable or appropriate for a male (and vice versa) and that anyone who deviates from these standards of appropriates femaleness or maleness is unnatural or immoral” (2005:34).

Internalising maleness and masculinity as desirable and highly valued can limit the person's ability to adapt to future changes in gender attitudes. Because in-built attitudes and perceptions based on these gender schemas are difficult to change, these schemas may mean that when faced with changing social circumstances such as migration, individuals might not be able to alter their ideas to suit the social climate at hand. I will explore whether this is the case for Nigerian men and women who have migrated to Ireland further in the thesis.

2.3.3 Identity theory

Unlike the first two theories, which state that gender-appropriate behaviours are learned from role models or reinforced through peer groups, this theory instead concerns itself with gender identity and sexuality (Wharton 2005). Carter's work on ‘Gender Socialisation and Identity

Theory' questions why human beings, who are categorised as rational beings, tend to learn gender or continue to conform to beliefs and ideas learned from childhood or unquestioningly practice norms acquired from cultural, familial and societal messages without reforming them. He believes that the answer to this question is embedded in identity (2014). While the focus of this project is on the social context, the theory of identity is important as it can give us some understanding of how men and women from Nigeria had internalised gender roles as their identity. Understanding gender roles through the lens of identity allows for an assessment of how migration can confront the constraints of traditional forms of gender socialization and, by extension, the performance of identification with gendered schemas. In the case studied here, participants acknowledged the tensions that arose between their pre-migratory gender role expectations and sense of personal and social identity and what they perceived as a different set of expectations that characterizes Irish society. A focus on social learning and the cognitive- and identity-based elements of gender socialization helps in assessing how men and women socialized within a traditional gender role context understand and negotiate a new gender regime. Examples of such experiences will be presented in Chapter Four, in the words of the study's respondents.

In this next section I turn to the conceptual distinction of the separate spheres detailed in social historical accounts and employed in earlier feminist assessments of gender roles and gender inequality (Friedan 1963). I again acknowledge the Anglo-European heritage of this concept and the questions which arise when applying these concepts to the African context. Notably, anthropological accounts and social historical work indicate the considerable variability and flexibility in what constitutes a separation of male and female tasks and roles within specific social classes, racial groups and across different societies. The lived experiences of working class women, immigrant women and women of color contradict the

notion of a rigid separation of spheres. In reality, the doctrine of separate spheres is understood to be an ideology rather than an actual practice in historical and contemporary contexts). The breadwinner model that underpins the separate spheres is then complicated by racial, class and gender inequalities that made such rigid separation untenable. In Africa, and especially in Nigeria, the relevant research suggests a complex combination of familial systems where matriarchy was evident in some contexts in the pre-colonial period. The colonial era is argued to have then introduced elements of the separate sphere ideology that disrupted tribal kinship and family network configurations (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014). In reality, the lines between public and private spheres are blurred in everyday practice, yet the ideology that divides men and women into public and private forms of power retains force in Nigerian social, economic and political systems. As such, this theory holds conceptual relevance for the case examined in this work.

2.4 Gender-role attitudes: The rise of the doctrine of ‘separate spheres’

In order to understand current gender-role attitudes, it is essential to understand how these attitudes and beliefs originated. Various authors’ analyses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be reviewed in this section in order to understand how gender-role attitudes such as the doctrine of ‘separate spheres’ originated and how gender inequality was reinforced within society. This section will also discuss how this doctrine of ‘separate spheres’ continues to be a part of the beliefs and gender attitudes of Nigerian society.

Michell's (1971) statement in Connell (2002) emphasizes that female oppression is rooted in four areas - production, reproduction, socialisation and sexuality. The doctrine of 'separate spheres' is mainly linked to production. Prior to the period of industrialisation, production was rooted mainly in the area of agriculture. However, the growth of capitalist industrialisation and the rapid changes and developments it brought propelled changes within the family (Crompton, 2006). Prior to industrialisation, families were generally arranged in an extended family system and required lots of children within the household. The need for large numbers within the family or household was mainly due to the necessity of using children, wives and extended families as a source of labour. Capitalist industrialisation meant that extended family was no longer essential.

Another phenomenon which changed the family over time is liberalism, the idea that all human beings are born equal. Political liberalism spread after the birth of the capitalist market, which raised questions about the rights of women in a patriarchal society. Prior to that, attitudes towards women were largely negative. Women were viewed as inferior to men, disenfranchised from basic political human rights such as voting and excluded from participating in blue-collar education and training, and therefore from blue-collar jobs. The post-industrial era, the revolt of women through immense demonstrations, and the individualisation of the market contributed to a shift in attitudes towards women (Crompton 2006). However, it can be argued that real gender equality was not achieved by this shift, as Western structures and institutions did not significantly change their ideologies. Although western societies have witnessed momentous changes with regard to women's rights, the ideology of men as the stronger sex continues to be visible within them. A key example of a persistent ideology that remains influential on gender a role within the family, albeit in

different ways and to different degrees in different contexts, is the doctrine of separate spheres.

Crompton describes the ideology of separate spheres as “men being dominant in, and seen as more suited for, the public sphere of employment and other aspects of civil society such as politics, whereas women were responsible for the domestic or private sphere[s]” (2006:2). Hence men are expected to be the breadwinners and women the caregivers. Middle-class men and working-class men were given full-time jobs and women were encouraged to stay at home, and these roles were commonly known as the ‘breadwinner’ and the ‘caregiver’. The ideology of the breadwinner and caregiver roles originates in industrial capitalism, which contributed to the undervaluing of women by separating the home from work and allocating power to the men outside the family and the women inside the family.

Grint (2005), in exploring the sociology of work in a global society, asserts that a hierarchy of work exists and that it is gender-related with men at the top and women in the middle and servants and children at the bottom. But he asserts that although work was gender-related during the agricultural period, the ‘patriarchal control over work’ is not restricted to sex division but also dependent on work status. Also, he states that prior to industrial capitalism, the family home was a place where collective work was done. The sexual division of labour guided the collective effort of the home to bring in multiple incomes for survival but the era of separate spheres removed women and children from the labour market. Hence, men were placed in a position where they are the sole breadwinner for the home and the idea of what it means to be a man began to emerge.

The doctrine of separate spheres established the male-breadwinner model and emphasises patriarchal ideologies. The male-breadwinner model establishes patriarchal principles which position the man as the head of the family, and is driven by culture and religion. The male-

breadwinner model typically penalises both men and women who fail to fit within this constructed gender identity. The pitfalls of the bread-winner model is that male children may grow up to strongly associate being a man with being a provider so that when certain economic or migratory factors deny them this privilege in adulthood, it can create unfavourable conditions in which they feel emasculated and less like men. In order to understand the context in which most Nigerian immigrants who participated in this study reside, it would be essential to first and foremost explore briefly the attitudes and expectations of the host society, which in this case is the Irish society.

2.5 Gender roles and social change in Irish society

O'Connor (1998) states that although Irish women have experienced some changes in relation to gender equality, for example the lifting of the Marriage Bar in 1973 which required a woman to resign from work when she married, Irish women still experience discrimination on the basis of their gender.

Positive changes such as the elimination of inequalities within the social welfare system, the introduction of divorce, the legal entitlement to maternity leave and equal pay in the labour system have taken place in Ireland since the 1970's. However, the poor representation of women in the political arena, the refusal of abortion rights, and the prevalence of sexual violence are all indicators of the patriarchal nature of Irish society (O' Connor, 1998).

O' Connor mentions four structures that contribute to the marginalisation of women in Ireland: the economic system, the state, the church, and social and cultural institutions. She argues that the Irish state and the Catholic Church are great influencers of the oppression of women. She states that "even after the marriage bar was removed in 1973, industrial policy,

wage disparities, lack of child care and discrimination in the tax and social welfare system continued to effectively discourage the participation of married women. Indeed, that position was, and still is, endorsed by the Roman Catholic Church” (1998:101) The literature shows how much Ireland has progressed since the 1950’s, but also highlights that significant issues relating to gender inequality still remain.

Current issues relating to gender inequality in Ireland include a lack of flexibility in the workplace, the highest childcare costs across Europe, a continuing disparity between the wages of men and women, and unconscious and conscious bias against females as leaders in the workplace. According to O’Connor, Director of NWCI (2015), one of the challenges that confront Irish women in Ireland is childcare. Childcare remains the major likely reason most women drop out of workforce.

Barry(2014) states that a recent study which measured to what extent the cost of childcare could act as a barrier to paid employment concluded that Ireland has the second highest cost of childcare in Europe. She cites that:

‘The Report by *Indecon Economic Consultants* was released on December 2013 and concluded that 25% of parents have been prevented from accessing paid employment by the high costs of childcare, including 56% of parents in low income households. Indecon estimates the cost of full-time childcare at €16,500 per annum in a two child household, putting the Cost of childcare in Ireland, as a percentage of average wages, second highest in the OECD’ (2014:.11)

The cost of childcare in Ireland, which is currently estimated to be between €800- €1,000 per child per year, is significantly higher than in other countries. For example, O'Connor states that Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Finland have childcare costs of between €80 - €85 per child per year. However, Ireland is not committed to this type of model of childcare as a society. O'Connor states that:

“Currently Ireland is spending between 0.2-0.4% of GDP which is significantly below the EU average of 0.7% and the UNICEF target of 1% of GDP. Every parent knows what these figures mean by now – for some parents, it means spending over 40% of their income on childcare’ (NWCI website 2015)

In other words, she states that the Scandinavian model should be considered in Ireland. This suggests that Ireland as a society must make a commitment to providing efficient, reliable and affordable childcare, if gender inequality and gender gap is to be bridged for Irish women. In addition, Barry (2014) highlighted the effect of the recession on the battle against gender inequality in Ireland. She states that the recession brought about a downward spiral to the development already made in bridging the gap of gender inequality. For example, the recession dismantled existing gender inequality infrastructures as it led to the slashing of the budgets of important organisations which were promoting gender equality (Barry, 2014). As a result, these important organisations were forced to close. She also states that the recession brought about job losses, especially with the crisis in the construction industry, and led to a significant amount of men becoming unemployed. The government’s initiatives to create more jobs through policy were abandoned as the priority became merely providing jobs. Barry also mentions that homelessness and increased poverty among lone parents are both more prevalent among women. In summary, she states that the ‘gender gap narrowed based

on unemployment', 'increased poverty' and 'lower income level among women and men'. (2014:8).

Another current issue is flexibility of working hours. Crompton (2006) states that the increase in female participation in the labour market poses a question as to flexibility in the workplace, and that "The growth of flexible capitalism has been regarded by some as making a contribution to the resolution of the tensions between employment and family 'work' (2006: 7). However, she believes that, in a working situation, flexibility – sometimes considered a win-win situation because it allows women to work part-time – is not often associated with success because employees who work part-time tend to be less likely to be considered for promotion and tend to work in lower-grade positions than colleagues who work full-time (Crompton, 2006).

Despite the recent changes in Ireland with regards to policies and increased participation of women in the public sphere, in education and the labour market, better working conditions and pay for women and an increase in gender-balanced hiring practices such as gender quotas, there continues to be a gender equality gap in Ireland, which affects both Irish and international women. In fact, the gender inequality gap is increasing in Ireland (Barry, 2014). The European Commission Statistic (ECS) report published in 2014 complements Barry's (2014) proposition that higher percentages of Irish women are experiencing poverty since the recession. The statistics show that the gender gap is increasing in Ireland; the gap was 14.4% in 2012, compared with 13.9% in 2010 and 12.6% in 2009. The average EU gender pay gap stands at 16.4% (ECS 2014). As stated above, while gender inequality has lessened (for example, in 1961 it was reported that 26.4% of women were in the work force, which has risen to 55.9% in 2014) international assessments suggest that "although the situation for women in employment is improving, inequalities remain. In some cases women

suffer direct discrimination where they're simply treated less favourably than men. Or they may be treated unfairly due to a policy or practice that's not designed to discriminate, but still results in unequal treatment.” (European Commission Website, 2014).

Barry's (2014) analysis of gender equality in the context of Ireland's austerity measures details how gender inequality had increased with recession. Murphy (2014) details how political culture and the structures of power remain deeply gendered in Irish Society. She therefore suggests that to achieve gender equality, policies and structures must endeavour to include women in decision making and that includes addressing the gender imbalance in Irish politics (2015:222), as Irish women are underrepresented in the area of politics in Ireland. For example, EC (2014) statistics state that, 'in 2014 only 16.3% (27) of TDs in Dáil Éireann were women.' Congruent to EC statistics on the underrepresentation of women in Irish politics, Murphy states that:

‘With only 93 women TDs since 1918, Ireland's record is truly abysmal, only 5.4 per cent (262 of a total 4746) parliamentary seats filled since 1918 have been occupied by women... The pattern at local level is broadly similar, suggesting no pipeline through local government to national government. The absence of women in parliament feeds through to a lack of women in cabinet. Up to 2012 Ireland had only 22 women ministers since 1922 or 6 per cent of the 181 ministers’ (2015:223)

In addition, she states that,

‘Only 15.2 per cent of candidates (86 out of 566) were female and only 25 out of 166, or 15 per cent of the 2011 parliament, were women, leaving Ireland globally ranked

78th for the percentage of women in national parliament. In May 2014 local authority elections women comprised 20 per cent of candidates and 20 per cent of those elected. This increase from 16 per cent in the previous election reflected political parties need to invest in women candidates in the context of incoming gender candidate quotas for Da'íl elections. Only one in eight of those negotiating the 2011 five-year Programme for Government were women, only two women were appointed to the 15 new cabinet ministerial posts, and their appointment was to social rather than economic cabinet portfolios' (Murphy, 2015:223)

However, changes in gender roles are slow, with caring responsibilities particularly invisible, and little recognition of the need to address the situation of women outside the realm of the formal economy (Barry and Conroy 2014). Research confirms a gender policy logic embedded in a mix of a strong male breadwinner model combined with a gender differentiated dual earner model (Rubery 2014). Constitutional protections for women in the home have created a more recent tension between natalism and the neo-liberal activation of women in the labour market (Murphy 2015). Although divorce is now legalized the Irish record on intimate citizenship still compares poorly with most other member states. While the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has been an important context in supporting campaigns to loosen the restrictive abortion regime, abortion remains highly restricted. Irish women have the highest fertility rate in the EU (CSO 2012), but there is limited statutory paternity leave, no statutory entitlement to flexible working hours, and limited state support for childcare. All of this combines to create a patriarchal dividend gained from restrictive reproductive rights, high cost childcare, care work

unrecognized and male-gendered institutional norms in legislatures and political parties in Ireland (Galligan and Buckley 2013).

Yet many of the gender inequality issues that currently face Irish women, such as more restricted access to the labour market than men, and conscious and unconscious biases in hiring practices and in the workplace, are even more prevalent in Nigeria. The gender inequality issues visible in Nigerian society and how they differ from the Irish context will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.6 The power of the State in influencing equality and legitimisation

Connell includes the State in her analysis of gender relations and writes that 'Women's liberation recognised that patriarchal power was not just a matter of direct control of women by individual men, but was also realised impersonally through the state' (2002:58)

Gender inequality can come about through legitimatisation and institutionalisation, where a social relationship takes on the qualities of an institution. Therefore the reactionary actions and policies that the State enacts on issues of gender can either work to weaken or to reinforce the legitimisation of gender inequality in a society. For example, a policy that enforces strict measures on equal pay for men and women on the same level within organisations serves to weaken the legitimacy of gender inequality, while if no action is made to attempt to bring about equal pay, or detrimental policies are enacted, this can undermine gender equality within the State and give the impression that the State is legitimising gender equality within its society. Due to a State's potential power to either improve or legitimise

gender inequality, the role of the State in gender roles, socialisation and inequality is an important focus of my thesis.

According to Wharton (2005), if inequalities (gender and racial) between a dominant and a subordinate group remain unchallenged, the dominant group can ensure that there is a persuasive, institutionalised and legitimatised ideology in place to maintain their position. It is often easier for the dominant group to enact change in this relationship and to challenge the unequal norms in place, than it is for the subordinate group. And it can be argued that it is far more difficult for individuals to challenge unequal social norms and socially-legitimised ideologies, than it is for the State to challenge these ideologies through nationwide policies, public awareness campaigns and laws (2005:225). As such, I suggest that the State is an important context for my consideration of the experiences and attitudes of Nigerian men and women in Ireland as they negotiate their migrant status, the structures of gender inequality and the policies and practices that set the terms under which migrant men and women construct lives in a gendered and racial order.

This concept of the Irish State influencing equality - especially concerning the Nigerian-born immigrant women living there - will be expanded upon further in Chapter Four during the presentation of findings.

2.7 Nigerian Society:

Population density (per sq. km): 188

Life expectancy: 53 years

Primary enrolment: 64% (2010)

Population:

173,615,000 (2013); 46 per cent of people live in urban areas and 15 per cent in urban agglomerations of more than one million people; growth 2.6 per cent p.a. 1990–2013; birth rate 41 per 1,000 people (47 in 1970); life expectancy 53 years (40 in 1970).

Nigeria is one of the most ethnically diverse countries. There are some 250 ethnic groups, with the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo making up 70 per cent.

Language:

English (official language), Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and more than 200 other languages and dialects.

Religion:

Muslims (mainly in the north and west) 50 per cent, Christians (mainly in the south) 40 per cent, and the rest holding traditional beliefs.

Health:

Public spending on health was two per cent of GDP in 2012. Some 64 per cent of the population uses an improved drinking water source and 28 per cent have access to adequate sanitation facilities (2012). There are 18 university teaching hospitals in Nigeria (2014). Infant mortality was 74 per 1,000 live births in 2013 (123 in 1960). In 2013, 3.2 per cent of people aged 15–49 were HIV positive.

Education:

There are nine years of compulsory education starting at the age of six. Primary school comprises six years and secondary six, with two cycles each of three years. Some 80 per cent

of pupils complete primary school (2009). By October 2013, the National Universities Commission had accredited 40 federal universities, 38 state universities and 51 private universities, including four federal universities of technology, three federal universities of agriculture and the National Open University of Nigeria. The longest-established universities are the University of Ibadan (1948); University of Nigeria (Nsukka,1960); Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria,1962); University of Lagos (1962); and Obafemi Awolowo University (Ile-Ife, 1962). The first state university, Rivers State University of Science and Technology, was founded in 1979 and the first private universities, in 1999. Literacy among people aged 15–24 is 72 per cent (2010).

See more at: <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/nigeria/society#sthash.vwqJWyUB.dpuf>



2.8 Gender inequality: The Nigerian context in general

The gender inequality issues visible in Nigerian society and the ideologies and concepts that underpin them will be discussed in this section. This section will also touch on how the gender inequality issues faced by Nigerian women differ from or resemble those that exist in the Irish context.

In this section, I will introduce and discuss key concepts such as gender roles, separate spheres, the power of the State in influencing equality and how these elements relate to Nigerian society, as well as mentioning briefly their relationship to the Irish context and highlighting any significant similarities or differences. It is essential to note at this point the potential limits of applying Western gender and feminist perspectives to an African context and community. This said, I believe that sociological accounts that privilege the role of culture and understand the continuity yet also capacity for change within social roles are useful in helping us to understand the issues raised in this case. However, I would like to briefly note the limits of applying theories and concepts developed in a Western context to capture the complexities of the diverse post-colonial context of contemporary Nigeria. Notably Nigerian women from different tribal contexts, outside of Islamic traditions, experienced a decline in gender power and equality, as a function of colonization (Igbelina-Igbokwe 2013). It is also important to acknowledge that Nigerian gender roles have experienced significant shifts in the contemporary context as a result of growing urbanisation, expanded education for women and girls and the influence of the media (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014).

2.9 Introducing gender in the context of Nigeria

Across all societies, forces in the form of institutions and tradition reinforce and maintain the inequality behind the ideology of gender to some extent. In Africa, and more precisely Nigeria, these social structures are more rigid in nature than in countries such as Ireland, and lack comprehensive and/or significant change or progress in relation to gender equality.

Although in some contexts, particularly in urban areas, social change has prompted some reconfiguration of gender roles, Nigeria remains a patriarchal society that relegates women to the background. Irrespective of their qualification, these women are discriminated against in the labour market and excluded from decision-making positions. Although the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in Nigeria in the 1980's increased women's participation in the labour market, women still remained segregated into a narrow range of occupations and are still responsible for most of the care work. (Anugwom 2009 and Arisi 2011 Nwosu 2012; Ejumudo 2013). In order to establish that Nigeria is a patriarchal society, I will adopt Crompton's (2006:33) three characteristics of a patriarchal society as was evident in many societies across the world during the agricultural era. A society that is patriarchal exhibits three characteristics: i) Men retain control; ii) There is a degree of segregation between men's and women's production, and women's tasks are often closely linked to women's domestic responsibilities; and iii) There is a relative lack of societal-principle separation between the household and productive activity. Nigerian society displays these three characteristics. In patriarchal societies, men have the privileged position of being the breadwinner and as a result, male children are more likely to be educated, appreciated at birth and employed in the work place. Although progress on gender equality has been made,

Nigerian men are often placed in privileged positions politically and socially in preparation for their breadwinner roles. The ideologies behind these practices are embedded in Nigeria's patriarchal society as the doctrine of the separate sphere.

The next section will discuss the concept of the 'breadwinner model' in more detail and will examine its prevalence in Nigerian society.

2.10 Gender-role attitudes

2.10.1 Gender-role attitudes: The 'breadwinner model' in Nigerian society

In relation to the idea of the sexual division of labour, Wharton states that throughout history and across the world, divisions of labour have developed along the lines of gender (2005:82). Hence, while work is an activity performed by both women and men, in virtually all societies gender has been an important basis of societal organisation. As stated above, since its independence, Nigeria has become a moderate industrialised society (Nigerian Industrial Revolution Plan, 2014). Wharton (2005) also holds Crompton's view about industrialisation creating the doctrine of separate spheres. She states that:

'Industrialisation's impact on work and household was intrinsically connected to its role in reshaping gender roles. Despite the fact that many working-class and minority women were employed for pay, the experience of the middle class became the basic in cultural norms and employer practices that defined the workplace and workers as 'male'.' (2005:86).

Wharton concludes that this ideology was predominantly that of middle-class males who considered the workplace to be a brutal place, from which women must be protected. The

idea reinforced the view of the family home as a safe haven where care and nurture is given, away from the hostile work environment. However, the limit on income sources for families with lower incomes was a strain for poorer families. Irwin (2003) in Crompton, Lewis and Lyonette (2007:1) states that in the 18th and 19th centuries, in less well-off countries during early industrial capitalism, all members of the family - even children - were expected to work to supplement the family income. But later reforms such as the introduction of compulsory education in the 19th century reshaped children's contributions to the family. Children moved from being an economic benefit to an economic cost. Lower-class women had to work to supplement their husbands' incomes, a change which felt shameful for the men. Ideally, Crompton says that the breadwinner model is an attempt to protect middle-class women from the 'vulgarity and moral pitfalls of the public sphere' (2007:36) and that a working wife was considered shameful among the top working class. However, the need to supplement family incomes determined the participation of working-class women in the labour market. A full-time position was classified as man's work and part-time work was strictly for women. Gradually, the dangerous idea that a woman does not need a full-time job because her husband is the provider crept into the social order. In addition, the danger of the phenomenon was that it drew a huge line between home and work and created and reinforced an expectation that work was a sphere of brutal competition, and a home was a safe haven. The doctrine presented men as independent and women as angelic mothers, and justified men working and women staying at home (Wharton 2005).

While African societies have developed distinctive patterns of gender socialization, gendered institutions and social practices, certain elements of this public and private sphere divide can be applied to the modernized, urban context which many Nigerian migrants to Ireland originate from. For example, in Lagos State, which is the formal capital of Nigeria, the rise of

middle class identities and sensibilities have marked a shift in gender roles, where women can afford to outsource some of their traditional labour and maintain a full time homemaker/care giver role. In their research on social change and traditional gender roles in Lagos in Nigeria, Yusuff and Ajiboye (2014) state that gender role socialisation in Nigeria still maintains traditional gender roles based on the person's sexual organs. In Lagos, individuals must still adhere to the roles which promote 'stability, continuity and predictability'(2014:59). In their research, Yusuff and Ajiboye (2014) outline the main tenets that support such role divisions, including the culture of male preference and the male inheritance of property, which in turn determines the social mobility of the male's family. When it comes to educational training and employment, male preference also disadvantages women. And when a woman is widowed, the family land and properties are absorbed by the other males in the family. However, Yusuff and Ajiboye affirm that the advancement of information technology, the exposure to globalisation and western norms and employment opportunities has influenced the practice of traditional gender roles in Nigeria. This is partly due to international migratory flows, where migrants returned to Nigeria having acquired new norms and values from the society in which they resided. They document some shifts in urban contexts but argue that, overall, significant gender role distinctions and inequalities remain in education, culture, religion and the labour market in Nigeria (Yusuff and Ajiboye (2014:60). In more specific terms, they detail the increasing participation of women in the labour market but see very little internal shifts in the distribution of household tasks (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014:61).

2.10.2 Gender role attitudes: Nigerian society and inequality

Agbegunde (2014), in exploring gender inequality within Nigeria, mentions factors that are responsible for gender inequality, including: cultural restraints, division of labour, widowhood, religious restraints, politics and control of women's sexual reproduction. These factors have been explored by other Nigerian authors and will be briefly discussed below:

i. Cultural restraint

Agbegunde further analyses the impact of Nigeria as a patrilineal society - i.e. the right of inheritance by male descendents - and states that the attitudes that emerge as a result of such culture include male supremacy and female subordination. Basically, patrilineal culture assumes that men are better than women (2014:167).

ii. Division of labour

The division of labour is another factor that encourages gender inequality as well as ageism, as Agbegunde suggests that the division of labour is based on age and sex. In this instance, men are usually allocated skilled job and supervisory roles while the women are positioned in unskilled and subservient jobs. He states that this phenomenon is perceived as normal in Nigeria (2014:167).

iii. Cultural Rites

Certain cultural rites such as widowhood rites and female circumcision contribute to gender inequality. In widowhood rites, women are stripped of their inheritance and absolved of their husband's properties (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014 and Agbegunde 2014), while rites such as circumcision are perceived to control promiscuity. As well as that, in certain cultures such as the Benue State in Nigeria, men 'offer their wives to visitors' (2014:168) for sexual gratification, which Agbegunde describes as a violation of women's reproductive rights.

iv. Religious restraint

Agbegunde suggest that religious beliefs and practices inhibit women's liberation and equality' (2014:168) and gives accounts of how Christianity and Islam regulate family relations and views in Nigeria and restrain gender equality.

v. Politics

Agbegunde states that fewer women than men are represented in the political arena in Nigeria, which is a contributory factor to the poor enactment of laws that are gender sensitive. While exploring the reason for the poor representation of women in politics in Nigeria, he mentions that thugery, aggression, intimidation, and political violence might be major reasons why Nigerian women avoid politics. He believes that women are put off getting involved in politics by the high levels of violence, assassinations and assassination attempts that occur within Nigerian politics. He also believes that Nigerian politics are a game of money which most women would not be able to afford to join. In addition, he states that the circumstances of caucus meetings are only men-friendly and do not make any considerations for women who are mothers. Therefore the participation of women in election is more through appointment than election (2014:175).

Furthermore, Agbegunde accounts that the statutory discrimination of women in Nigeria is another major factor of gender inequality as the 'municipal laws and regulations of Nigeria relegate a woman as a second-class citizen' (2014:176). For example, Agbegunde mentions that under Section 26(2) (a) of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution, a Nigerian woman cannot confer residency rights to her non-indigenous husband. But, on the other hand, the constitution allows a man to do so. The silence of the Nigerian Constitution regarding

Nigerian spouses or foreign men married to Nigerian women is because of the patriarchal nature of categorising citizenship in Nigeria (2014).

The British Council (2012) also acknowledges a huge gap in gender inequality in its report on gender in Nigeria. It states that Nigeria ranks in 118th place out of 134 countries in the gender equality index, based on education, employment and property ownership. In their report, they identify unequal opportunities and access with regards to class and gender. For example, with regards to opportunity, they state that ‘80.2million Nigerian women and girls have significant worse life chances than men and also their sisters in comparative societies.’ The lack of equal opportunities and access is deeply rooted in poverty. For example, the report mentions that ‘54 percent of Nigerians still live in poverty and the proportion has doubled since 1980 (when 28% were classified as poor). 42% of Nigerians are malnourished, nearly six million young women and men enter the labour market each year but only 10% are able to secure a job’ (British 2012:iii)

With regards to land ownership, the British Council (2012:iv) states that ‘men are five times more likely to own land, women own four percents of land in the North –East, and just over ten percent in South-East and South- South’. Although, 60-70 percent of the rural work force is women, the ownership of land is situated in the hands of the men. Thus, women are unable to secure loans because they do not have collateral, which can in turn contribute to higher poverty levels among women.

With regards to employment and education, the British Council (2012:v) states that women receive less pay than men and ‘only one in every three employees in the formal sector is a woman’. Women not only occupy only 30% of public sector posts, which are appealing and

well-paid jobs, but are also taxed higher than men. In the area of education, the British Council (2012:v) states that ‘70.8% of young women aged 20-29 in the North-East are unable to read and write compared to 9.7% in the South-East due to early marriage, early childbirth, poverty, sanitation and the shortage of female teachers and educational fees.’ While there is evidence that the gender gap in school enrolment is closing, the British Council (2012:31) states that the actual completion rate for girls is only 7.8%. This is largely because of the preference for boys to be educated compared to girls, and most girls end up dropping out of school as a result of various push or pull factors as indicated in the table below.

SUPPLY SIDE BARRIERS (Push factors)	DEMAND SIDE BARRIERS (Pull factors)
Distance to school	Ill health
Harassment	Onset of puberty, marking the beginning of adulthood and adult roles
Bullying	Early menarche
Discrimination or punishment at school	Early sexual debut
Sexual harassment or other dangers at or on the way to school	Pregnancy or expulsion for pregnancy
Expectation to do chores at school, for example water collection	Marriage or expectation of marriage
Cost, levies and charges	Death of parents, particularly where the incidence of HIV/AIDS is high
	Domestic duties, chores and childcare
	Expectations/pressure to earn money
	Lack of social or economic opportunities for girls
	Inability to pay school fees
	Inability to pay for uniforms, books etc

The family preferring to spend money on the school fees and expenses of male children

Hunger

Table copied from p.31 in British Council Report (2012) ‘Gender in Nigeria; improving the lives of girls and women in Nigeria’

2.10.3 Gender role attitudes: economic forces and access to education

Another danger associated with the rigid ideology of the breadwinner and caregiver roles is that this ideology creates attitudes that affect the education and employment of both genders. For example, parents would show preference to a child based on their sex over another simply because of the future prospects of that child in the labour market. A good example of this is the preference displayed towards the male gender because of economic and lineage gains. On the other hand, women tend to be preferred in cultures where property is passed through the maternal line of the family. In some societies with rigid patriarchal structures, women are used to pay debt, as a bridal price or in exchange for a wife and typically the “preference of a boy is rooted in religious tradition and economic circumstances that have endured for centuries” (Beal, 1994:35). The preference of a particular gender due to economic gain might then become attitudinal.

In Nigeria, both the institutions of the family and of society conspire to give male children much greater privilege over female children. Male children have first priority to gain access to education because they are considered more important to increasing the family’s financial and social capital. According to Ojobo, ‘for economic reason, many parents consider women’s education as a waste of funds. Such parents believe that monthly spent on a girl’s education is a waste, since she will soon marry into her husband’s family, thus leaving only boys in their original family to cater for their parents. Therefore, when families are faced with

the option of choosing between sons' and daughters' education the daughters are always the victim' (2008:102)

The tradition and culture of Nigerian society is patriarchal and discriminates against female children (Okojie 1994). Female children are less likely to be enrolled in school and are most likely to be withdrawn from college by parents from a disadvantaged background. It is easier for men to justify sexism and gender discrimination by saying, 'it is the culture'. In his exploration of education as a catalyst for women's empowerment, Ojobo (2008) states that when it comes to education and employment, the enrolment of females in education is still lower than the enrolment of men, and the school drop-out rate of girls continues to be much higher than the drop-out rate of boys (Ojobo 2008:102). He states that the high female drop-out rate from education can be explained by factors such as early marriage, pregnancy and heavy demand for girls to begin doing the household chores. Subsequently, fewer women tend to choose blue collar jobs and "their career choice is still largely confined to the 'feminine' area of teaching, nursing, secretarial studies, catering etc.' (Ojobo 2008:8)

Ojobo also details how male chauvinism acts in the Nigerian context. These beliefs include those that women's education ends in the kitchen and that men prefer to marry illiterates, and that wives who are educated are perceived as being too 'assertive, domineering, free and in general a threat to the male-dominated society' (2008:102). However, more women in Nigeria are now availing of the education system than previously, and more women are attending tertiary education. In their article, 'Gender analysis of student enrolment in Nigerian Universities' Adeyemi and Akpotu (2004) point out the disparity between the attainment of education between both genders. However, the FOS shows an increase over the years, but this increase is particularly poor at university level. They cite:

'For instance, the percentage female enrolled at the secondary schools in 1980 and 1999 were 13% and 30% respectively, while they were 25% and 36% in 1980 and 1999 respectively for the male (Population Reference Bureau 2000). Similarly, female enrolment at the primary education level ranged between 43.2% and 44.5% between 1990 and 1998. It ranged between 42.7% and 47% during the same period at the secondary education level...At the university level the average overall percentage was 29.8% during the same period for the female'(2004:362).

But while Adeyemi and Akpotu (2004) point out the poor university enrolment rates of females in Nigeria, they also highlight a significant increase in the enrolment of women into overall education between the period of 1980-1998. The British Council (2012) report updated this statistic in 2012, stating the latest statistic for primary enrolment in 2008 as 22% for girls and 29 percent for boys.

The education of most Nigerians, particularly women, is an added advantage for their economic development when it comes to migration. In the Part Two of this chapter, I will cover the relevant literature on migration and the challenges experienced by migrants from Non-EU countries.

PART 2: MIGRATION

2.11 Introducing Migration

Most migrants from the European Union have easy access to other EU countries due to the agreement signed by these countries. In addition, some of these European countries also signed the Schengen Agreement which allows members or citizens of these countries free passage to member states (Brady 2012). However, the case is different for most non-EEA or EU countries. Most members or citizens of non-European Union states have very limited entry routes into most of the migrant-receiving countries. Prior to the recession and the US twin-towers attack by terrorists, the borders of these states were less restraining. Many of the migrant-receiving states actually invited highly professional workers from non-EU states to work. The main entry routes for most migrants are through General Employment Permits (called work permits colloquially), Irish Green Card Permits or via asylum (Fanning 2007).

Migrants are given citizenship after three years for green cards holders and five years for work permit holders. During Ireland's period of economic boom, most migrants entered the country with Irish Green Card Permits and General Employment Permits. Asylum seekers were also allowed to access social welfare while waiting for their case to be processed. However, hostility towards immigrants became stronger with the advent of Ireland's recession (Gilmartin and Migge 2015). Ireland also adopted new laws. New immigration regimes and laws began to limit migrants worldwide and most of the countries with migratory inflows began to enact laws. Evidence of the closure of borders to non-EU migrants is highlighted in the media recently by the desperate efforts of Syrian immigrants to cross illegally to Europe by sea. The growing restrictions that organize migration are also suggestive of the attitudes towards migrants that settle in host societies (Haas 2012). African migrants in Ireland have negotiated shifts in the global and national immigration regime with

different outcomes. Below I review recent research that examines the Irish Migration Regime and the African migrant experience in Ireland from a broad perspective.

2.12 Ireland's Migration Regime

Prior to the 1990s, if an individual worked for five years with a work-permit visa, they would be granted citizenship. Also, marrying an Irish citizen or having a child on Irish soil gave automatic citizenship to the child as long as the migrant was in the country legally (Fanning and Mutawarasibo 2007)

Another mode of entry into Ireland is asylum which is common among citizens of non-EU countries. The process of gaining refugee status depends on careful deliberations by relevant authorities and does not strip the person of the right to vote or claim welfare. In other words, migrants are classified or gradated and have different statuses before they are considered full members of the society. Fanning states that this gradation promotes the restriction of migrants and places them into different administrative boxes, which in turn restricts the social and economic rights of the non-citizens. Thus citizenship acts as a barrier to non-citizens but gives unlimited privileges to citizens (2007).

Fanning states that 'in particular, the last decade has demonstrated the willingness by nation-states to increase inequalities between the rights of migrants and citizens in response to populist politics' (2007:12) His statement highlights a common issue of how most receiving countries have created institutional discrimination of migrants in the media and through politics, which results in grassroots racism and discrimination. For instance, Fanning and Mutwarasibo state that the economic boom encouraged returned migrants, migrants and the increased participation of women into the labour market (2007). Fanning suggests that

working from ideas about asylum seekers and immigrants as dependent on welfare allowed interests to convince Irish people of the need to tighten citizenship eligibility and pushed them towards 'exclusionary nation building' which recognizes Ireland as an 'ethnic nation-state' rather than a civic nation (2007:440). As a result, the campaign of the key political party in Ireland employed the use of the slogan 'commonsense citizenship'. Fanning and Mutawarasibo agree that it 'tapped into existing distinctions between the still predominantly mono-ethnic 'nationals' and 'non-nationals''. This campaign argued that migrants (in particular African women) were exploiting the health system and seeking citizenship based on birth on Irish soil, (2007:441). The advantage of this campaign was that it enabled politicians to be elected but it left damage and even more gradation of migrants. The result was that the 2004 Irish-born child referendum removed the rights of a child born on Irish soil from gaining citizenship unless one parent is ethnic Irish. Asylum seekers were also disenfranchised and stereotypes about migrants exploiting the Irish maternal health system were solidified, which resulted in racist abuse. In addition, the social construction of the terms nationals and non-nationals, and the resulting dualism, encouraged a sense of superiority among ethnic Irish Citizens who considered migrants as inferior and not completely Irish because they were not ethnically Irish. It also made migrants invisible and stripped of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal treatment. The implications of this for first generation Nigerians, whose main entry route was through asylum (ie. through the Direct Provision system), is that they suffer grassroots and structural racism as a result.

O'Reilly and Burrough's (2013) study on asylum seekers and illegal migrants in Ireland, explores the exclusion and gradation of immigrants. They state that in the last three decades, Europe witnessed massive restricting practices to illegal migration and asylum which resulted in 'detention', 'incarceration' and 'deportation' being used 'institutionally as a method of

prevention and expulsion'. In addition, they highlight that migrants face racism, discrimination and labeling, thus 'raising a huge disregard for non-EU migrants basic human rights in the name of control of the border and security' (2013:60). They also highlight that, prior to 2004, the gradation of migrants (and asylum seekers) was not as intense because they were allowed to work and access social welfare and those issued with deportation were allowed to leave of their own free will. However, these laws have changed over time. O'Reilly and Burroughs state that the construction of the words 'asylum seekers' and 'bogus asylum seekers' signified an unwelcomed change and 'unsanctioned associating them with deception, danger, and criminality' (2013:64), which ignores the complexities of these individuals and their lived experiences and identities. Therefore, these words encourage stereotypes and rationalise the exclusion of migrants from Irish society. These words place all migrants in one box of identity.

2.13 Discrimination and racism in Ireland: social and workplace

Although racism is a common experience among immigrants irrespective of their entry route, Farrell and Watt (2001) state that the existence of racism was constantly denied in Ireland until the 2000's. They state that 'complacency and denial also influenced political approaches to the issue of tackling racism in Ireland' (2001:11). Ireland's political campaigns enacted policies against migrants and were supported in large numbers. There appeared to be a general attempt to repress immigration and reduce the amount of migrants entering the country. Farrell and Watt state that 'in many countries in Europe there has been a worrying increase in the electoral support for political parties that advocate policies against minority ethnic groups and diversity, and seek to implement repressive immigration and asylum policies and dismantle or restrict equality and anti-racism measures'(2001:13). However,

racism was not only directed towards immigrants on the basis of their skin-colour. Prior to the start of mass immigration to Ireland, racism had already been taking place in the country and was being directed towards the Irish Travellers on the basis of their ethnicity. Regulations, policies and laws have marginalised both migrants and Irish Travellers. These regulations have been identified as 'a type of institutionalized discrimination' by Farrell and Watt (2001:33). Many anti-racism authors criticize racial stereotypes and discrimination against migrants, as well as condemning racial hostility towards migrants and Traveller groups. For the benefit of this study, I will be focusing on the racial discrimination of migrants based on skin colour.

Migrants are also discriminated against within the Irish labour market. Although Nigerians are classified as highly qualified migrants and are typically fluent in English before arriving to Ireland, most tend to end up in low-skilled jobs in Ireland. Barret and Bergin (2007) state that the high level of migrants' educational attainments as seen in CSO statistics might 'lead them to assume that the immigrant population would be more heavily concentrated among the higher level occupation relative to the Irish society' (2007:7) However, that is not the case- even though the educational level of immigrants is higher than that of the Irish, this is not reflected in the occupational attainment of these immigrants. Barret and Bergin (2007) describe it as an occupational gap which 'cannot be explained by the different age structures of the two populations and so other, more fundamental explanations are required' (2007:7) because immigrants in Ireland are often not accepted into employment that reflects their skill levels. With regard to working conditions, Barret and Bergin (2007) also note that the proportion of immigrants who have to work evenings, Saturdays and Sundays is much higher than that of Irish-born employees. The precarious situation of migrants with regards to

employment can cause a shift in gender roles, and consequentially this could affect the dynamic of their relationship.

In a research study conducted on behalf of the Immigrant Council of Ireland on migrant experiences of racism and discrimination, Fanning et al (2011:20) specify that racism takes place within the community, among children and in work places. In their report, they mentioned how migrant workers in positions of authority in the work place were harassed by service users, ignored by service managers and describe the failure of the Garda to have clear guidelines to deal with these issues. They state that 'Most of the incidents in this report were witnessed by non-perpetrators or were perpetrated by groups. Respondents described receiving racist verbal abuse from young people and from older people, from teenage boys from economically deprived communities and from middleclass women.' Various participants in this study have called for a universal approach to prosecuting racist assaults that demonstrates that racism is taken seriously and is unacceptable in our society.

2.14 African/ Nigerian Migration to Ireland

In exploring patterns and contexts of African migration to Ireland, Ejorh (2011:578) states that most Africans who migrated to Ireland made the decision because of their perception that Irish people are 'welcoming' and 'convivial' people, which also coincided with the Irish booming economy in the 1990's. Ireland was an easy choice because it is English speaking and migrants from Africa have prior exposure to Irish clergy working in their communities. He states that prior to the independence of many African countries, inhabitants travelled only for education, trade, enforced conscription into the army and as forced labour, because they were focused on reconstructing and rebuilding their nations. In his findings, Ejorh (2011:579) states that most African migrants now travel to escape 'the horror of a sordid life back home',

'fear of insecurity', 'political insecurity and human right abuse'. They also want 'better life opportunities', 'enhance[d] status and better security' and have 'aspiration to live in a foreign society' However, he mentions racism as acting as a structural barrier to achieving this purpose. Ejorh (2011:145) states that 'Diaspora and migration literatures show that all immigrants/ethnic minorities face different forms and levels of discrimination in majority societies, but people of black African origin always fare the worst'. He states that the media contribute to the racialising of images of Africa and have participated in constructing certain images of Africans, which determines how Africans are treated in Ireland. Although most African countries have English as their official languages, Ejorh(2011) states that they are discriminated against in accessing housing and job opportunity despite their language proficiency, compared to other migrants from EU countries, and recruited only to jobs that are below their skill levels. Nigerians living in Ireland do experience these forms of exclusion (Gilmartin et al. 2008; ENAR shadow report 2011-2012,). It is important to acknowledge this in any assessment of internal community dynamics particularly in the context of contest around power, control and authority between Nigerian men and women. Migration for Africans can also mean an experience of downward mobility and/or a dislocation from their prior social status. This is particularly significant for African men who are simultaneously confronted with a different gender regime.

In addition to authors such as Ejorh (2012) who wrote about Nigerian or African migration to Ireland, Komolafe (2008) also explores Nigerian migration to Ireland in his work. In his article, he explores the movements, motivations and experiences of Nigerians in Ireland. According to Komolafe (2008), there are two types of Nigerians immigrants in Ireland; those who migrated from another European country and those who entered Ireland directly from Nigeria. In his project, which interviewed fifty-four Nigerians in Ireland, Komolafe (2008)

further subdivided Nigerians into more categories within the two types. Four categories were used to explain the movements, motivations and experiences of Nigerian immigrants from other European countries, and six categories were used for Nigerians who migrated from Nigeria into Ireland. Some migrated to Ireland voluntary and some involuntarily. Some were documented and others undocumented. The table below, as adapted from Komolafe's 2008 article, describes the main types and categories:

TYPE ONE: movement from EU (four categories)	TYPE TWO: Movement from Nigeria (six categories)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pioneer group and visa extension: These entered Ireland temporary as they awaited their visa renewal in the UK, but remained as a result when they failed to get their visa renewed by British immigration. 2. Child citizen group: These entered Ireland based on the effect of the Fajjonu's case of 1987 (where the illegal parents of Fajjonu were granted citizenship based on the Article 40, 41, 42 of the Irish Constitution which gives a child right to parentage of their parent within a family unit). 3. Entrepreneurs: As a result of the Fajjonu case, most illegal Nigerians from other EU countries began to migrate to Ireland to receive a visa, creating a need for African food, restaurants and hairdressing etc. Nigerian business men living in other EU countries saw this as an excellent opportunity, which lead to further migration of Nigerians to Ireland. 4. Guest worker group: These groups of immigrants from Nigeria are highly skilled temporary workers from other EU countries who are already citizens of other EU 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pioneers: This group includes missionaries and business men from Nigeria who came to Ireland on a temporary basis simply to fulfill certain requirements or business proposals. 2. Students: Students from Nigeria who came to study medicine and nursing; while some left, others remained after completing their studies. 3. Professionals: This group of Nigerians arrived as a result of the recruitment of Nigerian doctors and nurses to fill the shortage in Ireland. 4. Refugees; This group came to Ireland for solace, fleeing from gender based violence and ethnic and religious conflicts. 5. Economically-displaced people: This group arrived in Ireland in search of greener pastures, migrating to escape poverty and economic problems in Nigeria. 6. Family Unification: This group arrived in Ireland in order to join their families. These groups of migrants are mainly men joining their spouses and child citizens or families of refugees inviting their husbands or

countries.	wives.
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With regards to Nigerian migration to Ireland, Gilmartin et al (2008:56, using the CSO (2006) statistics) states that Nigerians are the fourth largest migrant group in Ireland with an 81.7 percentage increase since 2002. The predominant age group for most Nigerians in Ireland is 25-44 years. Gilmartin et al.'s report for the Immigrant Council also states that 'The CSO noted that, 'in 2006, 38.3 per cent of foreign nationals whose full-time education had ceased had a third level qualification compared with 28.2 of Irish nationals. From the profiles of these four groups, people born in China, India, and Nigeria have even higher levels of third-level qualifications' (2015:57). In other words, the report affirms that Nigerians have the highest qualifications of the top four largest migrant communities in Ireland, but that these qualifications do not reflect in the area of employment. For example, prior to arriving in Ireland, most Nigerians had worked in a high skilled job, but on arrival were made to work in low-skilled and low paid jobs. Within the categories of migrants that are being discriminated against with regards to employment, Nigerians appear to be the most marginalised. The report states: 'In general, however, there is evidence of deskilling across all four national groups, particularly among Nigerian respondents, and evidence that migrants are occupying the rapidly expanding personal service sector in Ireland' (Gilmartin 2008:93). This report by the Immigrant Council of Ireland tallies with the ENAR shadow report 2011-2012 which states that:

'Immigrants are disproportionately employed in low pay, low skill jobs. They are more likely than Irish nationals to be employed in a job below their skill level. Immigrants are employed at higher rates in seasonal work, are less likely to receive permanent contracts and receive lower gross earnings' (ENAR Shadow report 2011-2012:15).

Evidently, the ENAR Shadow report (2011-2012:16) states that, 'In 2008 the Equality Authority and the Economic and Social Research Institute conducted a study in which fictitious CVs were sent to recruiters, half with recognisably Irish names and the rest with either African, Asian or German names. The study found that 'candidates' with Irish names were twice as likely to be called to interview as non-Irish candidates with similar levels of experience and education.'

In summary, migrants in Ireland are faced with discriminatory practices, however Ireland is experienced as inclusionary and exclusionary for African immigrants. As Fanning (2012) argues while Africans found it difficult to gain citizenship for a period time, in more recent times this has changed. The entry of migrants into Ireland is a good sign that Ireland is a welcoming state for migrants (CSO 2006). Nevertheless, the Irish state must endeavour to make conscious effort to combat racial incidents in Ireland despite the cutbacks in funding towards this issue as a result of the recession. The ENAR Shadow report suggests that:

'racism and anti-racism must be placed back on the political agenda. There are some opportunities within the Programme for Government, given its focus on equality. However, the Government needs to make explicit reference to racism and related forms of discrimination experienced by ethnic and religious minorities in its implementation' (ENAR shadow Report 2011-2012:46).

Finally, having explored the migration, motivation and experiences of Nigerians in Ireland, it would be interesting (since this study is on the attitudes and expectations of Nigerians towards gender roles) to explore the gendered context of migration and how policies that were gender insensitive might have contributed to the shift in the gender role attitudes held by first generation Nigerians.

2.15 Overall gendered context of migration

Boyd and Grieco (2003) identify gender as an integral part of the migration process. They believe that gender must be incorporated into migration theories because gender is one of the core principles that underlines the organization of migration experiences. For example, a migrant's gender influences his or her adaptation in a new country, continual interaction with the new country and the decision to return to the old country. In their article 'Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory' Boyd and Grieco (2003) state that although gender is the core organising principle in migration, immigration principles and policies have always excluded women. Take for instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, the term 'migrants and their families' simply implied migrant men, their wives and their children. In other words, women were always on dependant visas, while men were assigned independent visas. This was challenged by feminists, who queried the near-invisibility of women in migration research. In the 1970s, the inclusion of women began to appear in research but did not create a dramatic shift because it failed to address the underlying situation of how decisions are made in migration, how women experience migration and the consequences of this. Transnational migration continued to be based on the decisions made by the man, who was the bread winner. For instance, women migrated based on their husbands' decision that they should be together and unite the family.

Cheng's analysis of global migration in the 1990a (1999) states that the feminization of migration is one of the major characteristics of migration. A feature that often accompanies this is the gendered concentration of women in particular jobs: service-sector jobs, domestic service, sex industry, and manufacturing industry. This is as a result of stereotypical perceptions about women's positions in society. It dictates the sexual segregation of the

migrant labour force internationally and this shapes the distinct experiences of each gender with regards to migration.

A gendered approach is essential in exploring migration experiences as it affects each gender in different ways. Migration policies which often grant women a dependant visa mean that state policies automatically place women in a family/dependent role. Migrant women who travel to so-called egalitarian societies are not only locked in another web of gender inequality in another country, but are also confronted with added structural barriers, discrimination and racism, which place them in gender-specific jobs such as child-minding and domestic work. Finally, the route of entry determines how migrant women integrate, access social welfare and participate in the labour force. In the case where they are not given the opportunity to obtain paid work because they are on dependent visas, they are further marginalized and maintained in a position of economic dependence. In addition, the idea that actively participating in the labour force promotes women's autonomy and empowers them does not necessarily liberate them within the family structure and means that women can still face additional unpaid work at home after their working day. Men who behave according to patriarchal ideologies do not necessary have to undertake unpaid work at home because it is understood to be the role of women. This puts more pressure on women and increases their stress levels (Dion and Dion 2001)

In the next section I will review the relevant literature that looks at the family dynamics and gender roles within migrant communities.

2.16 Migration as a factor of change in gender roles and gender role expectations

This section explores various studies of migrant families and the gender roles expectations of different nationalities. The key idea is to relate the experiences of migrant families in other host countries to the experiences of Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland. The findings from the Nigerian immigrant families living in Ireland will be presented in the next chapter. This literature has identified several changes that can occur due to the experience of migration:

1. Male emasculation and female empowerment

Men and women experience migration differently. Both genders are placed in a new society with new situations and in order to survive, both genders must reshape their mentality and behaviours within the private and public spheres. Migration, especially into a society that exhibits a relatively more egalitarian system, means that the migrant is confronted with new values and attitudes towards gender and relationships. Gender is an important variable when assessing the role of integration into a host society. Dion and Dion (2001) conducted a research study on gender and cultural adaptation among immigrant families in the United States, whose research findings tally with the experiences of Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland. In their research, Dion and Dion (2001) affirm that conditions associated with immigration can challenge the expectations of immigrants with regards to gender roles. Dion and Dion (2001:513) suggest that 'socio-structural factors that might be expected to facilitate personal well-being and adaptation in the receiving society may not always function in the same manner for male and female immigrants'. The structural difficulties that immigrants experience, particularly in accessing employment in a context of a devaluation or lack of recognition of education certificates, confines them to low skilled, low-paid work that necessitates both male and females in a household to work outside of the home. In

effect, it becomes a necessity for the woman to support their husband's income by participating in the labour market (Dion and Dion 2001). The positives are that women may therefore experience some form of financial independence. The negatives of this situation are that the women can also experience work overload, which results in negative psychological outcomes such as depression. The reason for this work overload is that women often have to work additionally at home after work (Dion and Dion, 2001). On the other hand, in cases such as this, men experience emasculation. In their study of Korean immigrant men and women in the US, they argue that Korean immigrants are confronted with a form of gender role reversal where the woman becomes more assertive and independent and the male experiences a loss of authority. For the Korean men in their study, the dynamics within the home were also reinforced by interactions with external forces (such as police, legal authorities and certain social welfare policies) that exhibited a more egalitarian approach to Korean women than in their country of origin. For the men in this study, their new context and the increased labour force participation of women over time created deep challenges to their pre-migration values and expectations around gender roles and behaviours. These challenges were difficult for Korean migrant men to accept, leaving them with feelings of meaningless and powerlessness (Dion and Dion 2001; Grzywacz et al. 2009).

With regards to male emasculation, a more recent study was conducted by Charsley and Liversage (2015) on transnational marriages involving ethnic minorities, which explored gendered challenges for Muslim men of Turkish and Pakistani origin in Britain and Denmark. In this study, these authors argue that men experience gender role dislocation when they have less financial resources than their wives. Muslim Turkish and Pakistani husbands in the UK who depend on their wives for residency permits and who have less financial resources than

their wives experience a degree of role reversal where they are rendered dependent in financial and legal terms on their wives and their wives' families. The result is that they take up tasks within the home that they previously would not have considered to be theirs and are subordinated in financial decision making to their wives' family. This marks a break from their traditional gender roles and is tied to a complex processes of negotiation between Muslim men and women about where the wife's family hold financial power and influence.

2. Change in beliefs and attitudes towards gender roles

Migration can act as a catalyst for change in the migrant family. The process of adaptation puts pressure on the migrant family, hence creating a shift in their beliefs, attitudes and expectations of gender roles. Shipark, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian's (2011: 753) study of post migration changes in Iranian immigrant couples in Canada found that recent immigrants with 'higher education and professional credentials face devaluation of their education, credentials and work experience and find themselves relegated to low paying, minimally skilled, low status jobs.' In addition, he states that immigrant women are more likely to find a job in the host country than immigrant men, which in turn has profound effects on the immigrant's family, whose pre-migratory values and expectation had previously positioned the man as the family's breadwinner. His findings are similar to the findings regarding Nigerian immigrants in Ireland in Chapter Four of this project. He states that 'the right of women to dress as they pleased, to move about in society and make decisions (e.g., financial, work, about their children, travel) without their husband's knowledge or permission and the availability of state provided economic and social support should they choose to leave their marriage, were all contrary to their lived experiences of the

patriarchal structure of the family and gendered marital roles within it.' (Shipark, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian 2011:758)

Nghe et al.'s (2003) research on Vietnamese immigrants explores the influences that migration to the United States has on Vietnamese men with regards to traditional gender and acculturation. They observe that, in this case study, the women's quicker access to jobs in the American context worked to displace gender roles expectations and threatened the Vietnamese men's positions as household heads. This was explained in terms of for both men and women, the family breadwinner role remained central not only to the role of a good husband, but also to a man's identity and sense of masculinity.' Vietnamese women were also confronted with a double burden of additional paid work on top of their workload inside the home and in their communities. The women in this study complained of work overload, as they were expected to work outside of the home full-time and to still take responsibility for house chores – a case similar to the Nigerian immigrant family in Ireland. Vietnamese men were reluctant to embrace new gender expectations, working to maintain the original gender role distinctions as much as possible and resisting the changes that accompanied their wives' entrance into paid employment outside of the home (2003:760). DeBiaggi's (2002) work on changing gender roles among Brazilian immigrant families in the US draws on the concept of acculturation to situate what she argues is a predominantly cultural shift. In her analysis, the level of cultural adaptation depends on certain factors such as the specific conditions within which immigration occurs; the age group, gender, education, social class and legal status. In her study DeBiaggi identified gender-based division of labour and male dominance as central to traditional gender role attitudes (2002:44). Through the work of Hochschild (1989), she identified the complexity of gender role division, especially with regards to household tasks. Hence, she narrated that there are three types of ideology of marital roles which are:

'a) pure traditional – the woman wants to identify with her activities at home while her husband is concerned with work; she wants less power than him and the man agrees; b) pure egalitarian – some couples might want to be jointly orientated to the home, others to their careers, or both of them to jointly hold some balance between the two; c) transitional – a typical transitional woman wants to identify both with caring for the home and helping her husband earn money but want her husband to focus on earning a living.' (2002:45)

DeBiaggi (2002) positioned the pre-migratory gender relations of the Brazilians' community in the first ideology (pure traditional), which is basically traditional in nature. However, certain factors in this community, such as regional and class differences, have influenced gender relations within this community. DeBiaggi states that 'the patriarchal Brazilian family with traditional gender roles is an ideological model for Brazilians' (2002:51). However, in exploring the post migratory experiences of the Brazillians immigrants with regards to gender roles, DeBiaggi identified a 'disruption of a previous gender role belief system', which she believes 'creates unexpected conflicts in the family structure'. (2002:56)

In addition, her points tally with other researchers such as Dion and Dion (2001); Nader (2003) and Shirpak, Marticka-Tyndale and Chinichian (2011) who suggest that women's participation in the labour force (due to economic necessity brought about by migration) creates a change to the habitual traditional gender roles in families. DeBiaggi (2002) suggests that when the woman is more acculturated than the husband, there is inevitably more conflict. For example, the Brazilian migrant men in her study worked to reclaim their male privilege and authority in their new social, economic and cultural context. The Brazilian women who attempted to apply egalitarian values to the gender relations within the family were confronted with a strong opposing force from their partners, families and community. For the women in her study, modern views on gender roles were adopted in partial and selective

ways to avoid conflict and maintain status, harmony and inclusion within the family and community. As such, Brazilian women embraced education and pursued job and career opportunities but maintained more traditional attitudes and behaviours within the home and in the context of childcare. The complex and uneven nature of this process of gender role shift for Brazilian-born women living in the United States is illustrative of the inconsistencies and continuities that can exist in a period of gender role transformation for migrant men and women from traditional gender regimes who settle in more modern gender role contexts.

2.17 Feminism: Intersection of race and sex in migrant women

It would be inappropriate to conclude the literature review without linking feminism and the theory of intersectionality. This is because, in narrating the experience of migrants from different parts of the world, it is essential to make a connection of how the migrant families in receiving or host countries are particularly affected due to the intersection between race and gender.

Crenshaw argues that feminist theories, which claim to reflect women's experiences, exclude the experiences of black women (1989:67). For example, in overlooking the experiences of black women (specifically the black slave women in America), Crenshaw (1989) argues that feminist theories are based on a white racial context. In addition, she argues that the fact that white women tend to be in a position of authority to speak for black women and this excludes the original voices of black women from the discourse of feminism. She argues that 'when feminist theory attempts to describe women's experiences through analyzing patriarchy, sexuality, or separate spheres ideology it often overlooks the role of race.' In other words, Crenshaw highlights how the white race limits certain aspects of sexism but also gives

themselves the privilege to marginalise black women. Therefore, she concludes that feminist theories centre on white women's experiences.

The emphasis on African women's experiences is not to undermine that of African men. However, the fact must be established that, although both genders face racism and discrimination within the host society with regards to accessing the labour market, the negative experiences of women are even more difficult due to their gender and race. Whatever the case may be, migratory experiences can marginalise and emasculate African men, with specific consequences for African migrant women. In addressing the experience of migrant women with regards to immigration challenges, Crenshaw asserts that race, gender and class are grounds for discrimination and unequal distribution of social resources is mainly centered on these areas (1994:1257). Thus women, especially lower class migrant women, are more likely to be economically disadvantaged, under-employed or unemployed. As well as that, these women might depend on their husband for language, immigration information and financial stability. The failure to identify the intersection between race, gender and class would mitigate the efforts to combat domestic violence and mislead policy makers in enacting laws that overlook the experiences of migrant women. Crenshaw relates to the experiences of Nigerian women when she states that:

'race and culture contribute to the suppression of domestic violence in other ways as well. Women of color are often reluctant to call the police, hesitancy likely due to a general unwillingness among people of color to subject their private lives to the scrutiny and control of a police force that is frequently hostile. There is also a more generalized community ethic against public intervention, the product of a desire to create a private world free from the diverse assaults on the public lives of racially subordinated people. In this sense the home is not simply a man's castle in patriarchal

terms, but it is also a safe haven from the indignities of life in a racist society'(1994:1257)

2.18 Conclusion

Gender is a complex, interwoven part of our lives and society; attitudes attributed to gender are inculcated into every individual from birth and reinforced during adolescence and adulthood, and gender ideologies determine how societies are organised. One main conclusion arrived at from the literature review is that gender is a powerful tool for stratification of power, and that the state is a primary apparatus of maintaining gender ideology through its status-quo, for example, through policies surrounding migration and citizenship.

Migration, especially into a relatively more gender-egalitarian society, means that the migrants are confronted with new values and attitudes towards gender and relationships, which create conflicts with the traditional gender roles that they have internalised as their identity since childhood.

I do not assume that Irish society offers a utopian gender equal context, and it is clear that gender inequality and patriarchy are present in different yet enduring ways in the Irish context. . In reality the Irish state and society have colluded to slow down significant social change in gender terms in the Irish context foot reluctant to deviate from familialist gender distinctive frame of Irish law and social policy and a model of low public expenditure (Devitt 2015). For Nigerian women as intersectional subjects, the forms of racism and sexism in the Irish combine to create significant constraints. In this sense I acknowledge the

complex realities that face migrant ethnic minority women in this Western European gender regime. Men and women experience migration differently; they can experience gender role reversals where the woman enters the labour market and becomes more assertive and independent and the male feels emasculated (Dion and Dion, 2001). Migration can mean that men are suddenly faced with new attitudes and beliefs, and tone down the generally-held unequal perceptions of women in their own country. However, migrant men can work to maintain the original gender role distinctions and to resist or resent the changes that accompany their wives' entrance into the labour market.

Yet sometimes challenging traditional gender role beliefs on migration to an egalitarian culture can add additional burdens, especially for women who continue to work inside the home and now also acquire a new role in the labour market. For example, when both partners have to work in low-income jobs, the woman is not only overburdened with work but also confronted with guilt, as a result of the societal expectation of women to not only be autonomous and economically independent, but also to be caring mothers whose children are their priority. In some examples, the gender role of the migrant mother remained predominantly traditional, except that a new role was added to it, which was that of a paid worker with new obligations (Martinez et al. 2011).

Disruption of a previous gender role belief system can create unexpected conflicts in the family structure (DeBiaggi 2002), especially if the woman is more acculturated than the man and ventures to apply egalitarian values to the gender relations within the family.

Migrant women who travel to more gender egalitarian societies are also confronted with structural barriers including discrimination, racism and low-skilled jobs (Barret and Bergin 2007) that can in turn manifest in relationship conflict. And although both genders can face racism and discrimination within the host society, the negative experiences of migrant

women are twice as difficult as they experience a combination of racism and sexism. While Ireland has progressed significantly since the 1950's, sexism and gender inequality remain. Gender insensitivity guides the migration policies which affect migrant women, and these women are more likely to be under-employed or unemployed, and more likely dependent on their husband for language and financial stability.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study aims to decipher how migration and its challenges contribute to changes in attitudes about gender roles in Nigerian-born men and women migrants in Ireland and to explore some of the challenges Nigerian men and women face as they seek to negotiate their roles in their new social context. In this chapter, I will discuss and explain the research methods used in this study, as well as justifying the rationale for using qualitative methods of social research. I will also explain in detail the role of the researcher, the purpose of the study, the data collection procedure and the research limitations of this study.

3.2 Statement of the problem

Nigerian culture promotes family-orientated ideals and beliefs, and emphasises the importance of stability in family relationships or marriage. However, Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland are experiencing difficulties as a result of the combinations of migratory challenges and the shift in gender roles attitudes and expectations. These difficulties are similar to those experienced by many migrant families in Europe and America (Yick 2000; Dion and Dion 2001; DeBiaggi 2002; Nghe et al 2003; Shipark et al 2011; Grzywacz et al 2009; Yu 2011; Updegraff et al 2012; and Charsley and Liversage 2015). Nigerian-born immigrants - and particularly women - living in Ireland are experiencing a change in their gender role attitudes and expectations. One of the consequences of these dynamics is an inability of Nigerian couples to negotiate these changes, which in turn promotes conflict within their families and contributes to family instability and separation.

3.3 Purpose of the study

Migration is a global phenomenon and there is evidence of the impact that migration has on immigrant families across Europe and America. Studies have shown that migrants can experience difficulties within their families as a result of their interaction with another culture (DeBiaggi 2002). This is because, prior to arriving to their host countries, migrants often hold certain strong cultural beliefs and traditions which shape their attitudes and expectations, particularly on the gender division in family roles.

This study, which is titled '*An Exploration of Gender Role Expectations and Attitudes in Nigerian Immigrant Families in Ireland*', aims to explore and understand the attitudes and expectations towards gender roles in first-generation Nigerian men and women who are

living in Ireland for at least three years. Hence, the key research question of the study is: *'How and to what extent does the process of migration influence gender roles expectations and attitudes among first-generation Nigerians living in Ireland?'*

The research aims and objectives are focused on:

- Exploring whether gender roles expectations among first-generation Nigerians living in Ireland have changed;
- Investigating the factors that influence these changes among first-generation Nigerians;
- Investigating the impacts of the interaction of migration and gender roles, and finally;
- Exploring whether migration policies and experiences have an effect on the gender role expectations and attitudes of first-generation Nigerians living in Ireland

3.4 Definitions

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of this research, the researcher employed the use of qualitative research methods, namely by conducting a focus group and semi-structured face-to-face interviews.

Qualitative research is influenced by interpretivism; in other words, qualitative researchers view events through the eyes of the people that they study (Bryman 2008). I believe that the qualitative method is highly-relevant to this study of Nigerians, as it is my belief that it is essential to view how the processes of migration influences their attitudes and expectations on gender roles through their own eyes, their own words and their own analysis. The

difficulties and turmoil experienced by people of one culture when they come in direct contact with another culture can be difficult to imagine or understand for those who are only influenced by one culture or the other and have never had to negotiate this duality of cultures. According to Bryman, qualitative research enables an understanding of the behaviour of a particular social group within its context; hence, what might seem “irrational can make perfect sense when we understand the particular context within which that behaviour takes place” (2008 :387). Thus, qualitative research can enable a more insightful ‘view’ into the experiences of first-generation Nigerians in Ireland.

3.5 Discussion of research methods

3.5.1 Critique of the qualitative research method

Qualitative research methods, and especially feminist qualitative methodologies, have been argued to capture meanings and insights which quantitative methods often cannot. But Bryman (2008:391) asserts that qualitative research can be criticized for being too subjective and difficult to replicate and generalize. Critics of the quantitative paradigm of research data collection argue that its findings are based on the researcher’s judgment of what is right or wrong and that this method has no formal process as it allows the researcher to concentrate on his or her predilections (Bryman, 2008). They believe that this thus makes it difficult to replicate the research or to successfully generalize it to a wider setting. Bryman also asserts that qualitative research lacks transparency as it can sometimes be unclear how the researcher arrived at his or her study conclusions.

Bryman argues that the qualitative paradigm, set in a natural environment and is 'often depicted as attuned to the unfolding of events over time and to the interconnections between the actions of participants of social settings' (2008:394).

With regards to this study, the reason for using a qualitative research method is that this would give a better understanding of the attitudes and expectations of Nigerian immigrant men and women and could be used to make sense of their lived experiences based on the implications of their attitudes. The use of qualitative research as a primary research instrument is suitable for understanding Nigerian immigrants in Ireland because it enables the researcher to collect credible data through fieldwork. In this study, the researcher used semi-structured face-to-face interviews face to collect the data.

3.5.2 Delimitations and limitations of the research project

This project explores the attitudes and expectations of first generation Nigerians in Ireland. This implies that firstly, the experiences of first-generation Nigerians under the age of eighteen were not considered and the experiences of the second-generation Nigerians and their attitudes and expectations were also not taken into consideration. Since it was deemed impossible to interview first-generation migrants from all 350 Nigerian tribes, it was decided to interview first-generation Nigerians in Ireland hailing from at least three of the major tribes in Nigeria; specifically Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. Based on the CSO (2006) statistics, the predominant Nigerian languages spoken in Ireland are from the Yoruba and Igbo tribes. It is understandable that this influenced the recruitment process and the level of participation of Nigerians from different tribes. For example, the participants of this project were

predominantly from the Western and Eastern area of Nigeria which are Igbo and Yoruba territories. This study also included few Nigerians from the tribes of Tshakiri and Isan.

Evidently, the researcher did intend to exclude second generation Nigerians. The main reason for this exclusion is that most second generation Nigerians in Ireland do not have any first-hand experiences of being immersed completely in Nigerian culture, as most of them have never lived in Nigeria. And while children of Nigerians born into Nigerian culture are of course influenced by their parents' culture to varying extents, they also typically exhibit an amalgamation of the two cultures, as is typical in second-generation migrants (Zhou, 1997). This does not mean that second-generation Nigerians do not experience clashes between the culture of their birth country and the culture exhibited by their parents, but rather that these are less pronounced than their parents'. Also, the gender role attitudes and expectations of second-generation Nigerians living in Ireland, as taught to them by their parents and by observing their parents, would have been continuously influenced by the prevailing attitudes towards gender roles present in Irish society.

Another limitation of this study is that it is difficult to ascertain that the research findings represent the typical views of Nigerians in Ireland, as the participants in this project were predominantly from the Counties of Dublin, Cork and Meath. Although CSO statistics show that the majority of Nigerians living in Ireland reside in urban areas such as Dublin, it is not certain whether there could be some sociological differentiations between the experiences of Nigerians residing in urban parts of Ireland, and the experiences of those residing in rural areas.

3.6 Significance of the study

This project is one of the first studies with regard to first-generation Nigerians in Ireland. Although there have been similar studies on migration and gender roles conducted in the UK, US and Canada, this particular study focuses on contributing to the social understanding of the Nigerian immigrant family in Ireland. It aims to decipher the interaction between migration and gender role attitudes and expectations within the context of a Nigerian family residing in Ireland.

3.7 Research Design

3.7.1 Introduction

Creswell affirms that the choice of a particular approach or design is based on three considerations which are: the research problem, the person's experience and the audience for whom the research would be written for (2003:21). This project aimed to ground its analysis in the experiences, understandings and perspectives of a sample of Nigerian immigrants living in Ireland. This research privileged the testimonies and subjective interpretations of the participants in the context of both Irish and comparative studies on migrant and gender role socialization. While the sample chosen was purposive and of modest size, this study generated important insights even if of limited generalizability.

3.7.2 Study Sample

Bryman defines a sample as 'the segment of the population that is selected for investigation. It is a subset of the population' (2008:168). Based on this definition, the chosen study sample is made up of 19 first-generation Nigerian men and women. The criteria for inclusion were that this sample must have lived in Nigeria prior to arriving in Ireland and must have lived in Ireland for at least three years. Since the sample is criterion based, the participants or

respondents must also be at least 18 years old and resident in Ireland for the chosen time period before participating. When using qualitative methods of social research, Lindlof et al. states that, 'sampling in qualitative research is emphatically not an "anything-goes" pursuit.' (2011:110) Hence, the ability to achieve the research aims and objectives requires a careful selection of the respondent or participants. Therefore, any Nigerians who did not meet the basic criteria set by the researcher were excluded from the research sample.

In addition, the relatively small sample size of 19 people is highly-suitable for the qualitative semi-structured interview method as, according to Hogan et al., 'qualitative research tends to focus upon small samples rather than the large samples associated with quantitative research. Sampling in qualitative research is generally purposive, that is the subjects, or cases selected for examination are chosen specifically.' (2009:5)

How these 19 respondents were acquired will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

3.7.3 Data collection procedure

The primary method of data collection was via a focus group and via personal interviews with each respondent. The data from the interviews was collected by individual face-to-face interviews conducted by the researcher with first-generation Nigerian men and women. These interviews were recorded by a dictaphone. The participants were asked open-ended questions from two categories; questions from the first category were based on their pre-migratory experience, while the second category discussed their post-migratory experiences. All of the 19 respondents were asked a similar set of semi-structured questions in order to decode the respondents' attitudes and expectations towards gender roles within the family prior to arriving Ireland, and how these attitudes changed post-arrival. This set of questions was not

set in stone, but rather acted as a sort of interview guide which allowed participants to be asked further questions depending on their answers during the interview. The main reason for the use of this semi-structured interview method is that the researcher already has a general idea of the attitudes and expectations of first-generation Nigerians, due to the researcher being a first-generation Nigerian who has now lived in Ireland for almost seven years. The interaction of the researcher with other Nigerians over these years means that the researcher has a fairly clear focus of what the specific issues to be addressed are and the semi-structured format of the interviews allowed the researcher to zone in to these issues as was seen fit within the interview process. This research methodology decision is justified by Bryman (2008:439), who states that 'if the researcher is beginning the investigation with a fairly clear focus, rather than a very general notion of wanting to do research on a topic, it is likely that the interviews will be semi-structured ones, so that the more specific issues can be addressed'.

A focus group was also conducted and the same format of semi-structured open-ended questions was used as a data collection tool. Bryman defines the focus group research method as a 'form of group interview in which: there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis in the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic, and the focus is on interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning. As such, the focus group contains elements of two methods: the group interview, in which several people discuss a number of topics; and what has been called a focused interview, in which interviewees are selected because they are known to have been involved in a particular situation' (2008:474). The advantages of using a focus group are that this allows the group to determine the key issues in relation to the topic discussed. In addition, it allowed the women to challenge themselves and listen to each other's views. The use of focus

groups was also chosen as part of the study's methodology in the hope that it might reveal any other topics relevant to the research question that the researcher had not considered.

3.7.4 Data analysis procedure

The data recorded with the dictaphone during the interview process was downloaded to the college computer for analysis. The interview was played and listened through headphones. The relevant themes were identified in the process and were noted down.

3.7.5 The researcher's role

It is important to categorically state the role of the researcher in this project. Qualitative research is an interpretive research method and hence the research findings are interpreted through the researchers' judgment of what is an issue. However, the fact that the researcher is a first-generation Nigerian woman means that there might be some biases which stem from her own experiences and social interactions within Nigerian society prior to arriving Ireland. For example, the researcher is familiar with gender role attitudes and expectations because she is from a polygamous family and had first-hand observation of the very distinct gender role responsibilities that were prevalent within her family. Also, one of the characteristics of a polygamous family structure is gender inequality and conflict which emanates from the rivalry among the married women fighting over the male's attention and for inadequate resources within the family. It is possible that these experiences would shape the researcher's interpretation of the research findings. As such, the researcher adopted a self reflexive perspective, acknowledging that while an insider status had considerable merits in gaining access to the target community, it was also imperative to be aware of over-familiarity and of the danger of imputing her own motives to participants and their contributions. Managing this

tension between insider status and keeping a 'critical distance' was an important part of the researcher's interaction with the participants and during the subsequent data analysis.

3.8 Access and negotiation

The researcher's initial expectation was to interview ten first-generation Nigerian men and ten first-generation Nigerian women, making sure that these participants were not in the social network of the researcher. However, the process of access and negotiation was difficult, especially in relation to recruiting Nigerian women for the research study. As a result, a mini-focus group was conducted.

The initial point of access was through multiple means; the research project was advertised in the most circulated migrant-led newspaper popularly known as *Metro-Eireann Multi-cultural Newspaper*. Subsequently, an email containing the same advertisement was sent to the database of Nigerians in Ireland through the Nigerians in Diaspora of Europe (NIDOE). In addition to that, the researcher recruited Nigerians by direct approach at various socio-cultural events in Ireland. The diversity of these means of recruitment was specifically designed because of the perceived difficulty of recruiting samples outside of the researcher's social network. There was no response from the newspaper advert and one response from the NIDOE database. Unfortunately, the one Nigerian who responded to the email was within the social network of the respondent and hence could not be interviewed.

Although, the researcher anticipated a difficulty in accessing or recruiting participants, she was not prepared for the extremely poor response from Nigerians living in Ireland. It appeared that lack of trust or suspicion as to who the researcher was working for was the primary reason for the poor turnout. Hence, a quick strategy was employed which required

contacting and interviewing socialites and influential Nigerians in Ireland. These included male community leaders and known social figures. After the interview, it appeared that trust was established and these influential men were used as informal gatekeepers. According to Seidman, in certain situation there are no formal gatekeepers but informal ones. Seidman states that 'in small groups, there is usually at least one person who without formal authority nevertheless holds moral suasion. If that person participates in a project, then it must be okay; if he or she doesn't, then the group feels there must be a good reason for not doing so' (1998:38). Seidman also adds that the interviewer 'can identify informal gatekeepers, not to use them formally for seeking access to others but to gain their participation in the project as a sign of respect for the effort, access to others in the group may be facilitated' (1998:39). Therefore, the research recruitment procedure became more successful by recruiting the men recommended by these informal gatekeepers. The implication of using these gatekeepers is that they referred me to their tribal communities, for example, Yoruba referred me to Yoruba communities and Igbo to Igbo communities. Perhaps, if socialite and community heads of people from other tribes from Nigeria were used, the diversity of the participants of this project would have been better.

The participants who were referred by informal gatekeepers or established initial contact with at socio-economic or cultural gatherings were first contacted by phone. The logistics of arranging for a brief introduction of the project and interview were tedious and time consuming. Due to the participants' involvement with work, family and childcare, arranging the logistics of securing a conducive time/place was close to impossible. Hence, the researcher agreed to interview these participants in their homes, offices and cars depending on what they found to be safe and convenient. In some instances, it was difficult to interview the participants because the recommended place for an interview was inappropriate. For

example, one participant wanted to be interviewed in a taxi rank pending when a customer appears. He suggested that if a customer appears, then the interview would have to be stopped.

The biggest challenge in recruiting participants was of accessing Nigerian women. There appears to be an ingrained unwillingness to participate. In several occasions, the participant refused to answer phone calls or declined to participate when asked to sign an informed consent form or to be recorded. The participants that reacted in such a manner were predominantly women. The reason for this unwillingness cannot be ascertained, although one of the major obstacles was perhaps that the women were minding their children. In order to eliminate that barrier, the researcher volunteered to visit them in their houses. Only then did those who genuinely wanted to participate agree and those who did not really want to participate declined even the offer to come to their house. However, it is certain that childcare was one of the main challenges for the access and recruitment of female participants in this project. To illustrate, most of the female participants were interviewed at home while their children played in the kitchen. Frequently, the interview was paused to allow the woman to attend to children or cooking.

Finally, the researcher employed another strategy to enhance female participation which was to conduct a focus group. The reason was because at the time of the recruitment process, the gender balance was unequal. There were basically ten men interviewed and only four women. Another reason was that this might throw up interesting topics that the researcher might not have considered. One of the women recommended by the other was advised to gather four of her friends in an agreed venue. On the day of the focus group, three women turned up for the focus group and two declined to pick up their phones when called.

The male and female participants were interviewed separately as it was viewed that this approach would generate the most honest answers. It was the researcher's instinct that, due to their evident reticence and unwillingness to participate, Nigerian women would be further reticent to supply their views on their own gendered experiences if there were Nigerian men present in their focus group or in the room. What is interesting to note is that there was also a strict divide between the sourcing of Nigerian men and women, namely that the male community leaders sourced other men, while the women sourced other women. The researcher did not find a single instance where a male lead sourced a female respondent, or vice versa.

These difficulties in sampling meant a somewhat narrower sample and gave less choice between participants. The researcher can only speculate on what viewpoints and experiences were missed out on in this research project due to this significant and widespread unwillingness of Nigerian women to participate in the study. Perhaps a more varied sample might have thrown up other reasons that explain why these Nigerian women felt unwilling to discuss their own family situation and gender roles, for example a prevalence of domestic abuse, fear of authority figures in general, lack of support in the home or numerous other factors which can only be speculated upon. This lack of willingness in Nigerian women in Ireland is another limitation of this study.

The difficulties in accessing and recruiting participants may have also been due the researcher's lack of an approved leadership position within the Nigerian community and/or possibly because the participants felt they could not trust another Nigerian with the details of their private affairs. Particularly, Nigerian women may have been wary to trust another woman from outside of their specific friendship network with certain information about their gender relations. This was contrasted with how willing Nigerian men were to share their

experiences as they tend to dictate even while sharing their experiences. The readiness with which men were recruited could also be interpreted as the men looking for an avenue or a 'mouth piece' to inform someone of their disapproval and to influence other women to readopt traditional gender roles.

Nevertheless, my position as a first generation Nigerian woman was an asset as well. It was easy to understand the contexts, language and reference points that participants used when sharing their experiences.

3.9 Ethical issues

The researcher ensured that the study's ethical proposal was approved before beginning the fieldwork. The university's ethics panel approved the methodology and ensured that the researcher adhered to the university's ethic of research conduct.

This study was classified as culturally sensitive because it aims to conduct a study of Nigerian immigrants, who were discerned to be a possibly vulnerable demographic. In order to ensure that the participants would be safe and experience no negative effects during or after the research process, a risk assessment of the possible harm to the participants was carried out beforehand. The risk assessment concluded that the risk would be minimal. It must be noted that several minimal risks were identified, such as the risk of participant getting offended or feeling that their culture or tradition was being criticized or the possibility of reawakening memories of difficulties experienced by participant. In order to ensure that risk of harm to participant was minimal, the researcher made certain that all of the relevant information needed before participating in the research was provided in the informed consent.

Also, the researcher provided options of contacting a family therapist or the researcher should

the participant feel emotionally disturbed after participating in the research. Contact details of support services were suggested and provided as a precaution and on the basis of a recommendation from Maynooth Research Ethics Committee. This was in the unlikely event that in the context of data collection, participants may reveal information regarding conflict within the familial system and or experiences of emotional distress relating to their intimate partner relationships. This did not prove to be the case.

However, up until the time the methodology chapter was written, no participants reported any form of emotional difficulty. Participants become passionate about the topic during the interview process and after. In fact, most participants carried on talking after the dictaphone was turned off at the end of the interview.

In addition, research ethical standards were followed. For example, the researcher informed all of the participants that the research was voluntary, confidential and anonymous in the statement they signed before they were interviewed. They were informed that the interview involved voice recording. Also, the researcher defined the scope of confidentiality by informing participants that reported criminal activities during the interview would be reported to the relevant authorities and that the researcher and the university might hand over the recorded interview to the court should litigation occur.

With regards to anonymity, the researcher ensured that all identifiable markers were removed from the transcribed materials. Signed informed consent forms and details of participants were kept separately from the transcribed material. All of the documents relating to this research study were kept under lock and key.

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3.10 Methods for verification

Qualitative research requires verification to ensure that the research is valid. In order to achieve this, the researcher worked with her supervisors, colleagues and friends to ensure that the research design was in line with the research problem and aims. Morse et al. state that 'Within the conduct of inquiry itself, verification strategies that ensure both reliability and validity of data are activities such as ensuring methodological coherence, sampling sufficiency, developing a dynamic relationship between sampling, data collection and analysis, thinking theoretically, and theory development' (2002:18). In other words, Morse et al. suggest that qualitative research is not linear and must go through certain processes in order to fully establish its design. This process will be discussed below.

3.10.1 Methodological coherence

The project developed over some time. The researcher started out with the intention of exploring the attitudes and perception of domestic violence among Nigerian immigrant families. After careful deliberation with her supervisor, the researcher figured out that the issues addressed under this heading were actually gender roles and migration. Hence the project took a new turn, exploring various literatures within three prominent migration host countries such as UK, USA and Canada. The research questions and problems were developed but were then modified after one year as the research question became clearer. In addition, the researcher worked in designing the research using qualitative methods and using careful deliberation and reflection to ensure that the chosen methods were suitable for the research question asked.

3.10.2 Sampling sufficiency

The researcher ensured that the sample was purposeful and appropriate and, importantly, that the participants had knowledge relevant to addressing the issue in question. For example, participants were either in adult relationships, separated or divorced, which meant that they had knowledge and experiences that were relevant to the research question. Also, the researcher ensured that the voices of both genders were included, in order to avoid the possibility of marginalizing one gender over the other. The researcher proposed interviewing twenty people but finally managed to only interview nineteen participants. The sample size was then in total nineteen participants. Fifteen participants were interviewed. Four additional participants took part in a focus group. The focus group comprised of four female participants and was conducted separately to explore group dynamics and an in-depth account of the experiences of married women from the community. The interviews were conducted with seven female and eight male participants. Eleven of these were married, eight were divorced or single. The participants in the focus group had university education and worked in the legal and health care professions. Their parents were also university educated and they represent a high status group within the Nigeria community in Ireland (see below). As such they were selected as a group with a distinctive educated and urban perspective on gender roles. They also had husbands who occupied well paid and high status occupations. Their mode of entry into Ireland was also through the work permit system. The interviewees had a more mixed profile representing lower levels of education and lower occupational status and their mode of entry to Ireland included those seeking asylum and experiencing direct provision. The sample was also characterised by different tribal groups representative of Nigerian immigration to Ireland. As such these groups had differential experiences of immigration and settlement with implications for their experiences and understandings of gender roles.

The focus group was populated by women exclusively, to offer a 'safe space' for them to discuss their assessments of gender roles. It also allowed for an analysis of the forms of surveillance and policing through gossip and hearsay by older women of what they perceived as inappropriate gendered behaviour by younger women in their community. The individual interviews allowed for a more systematic analysis of the views of particular men and women in the community as they reflected on their childhoods, current relationships and their assessment of the broader dynamics in gender roles and the structure of families in their community. Contextual documentary data is used to provide a background to this assessment of Nigerian immigrant attitudes on gender roles in Ireland. This included census data and government reports on the experiences of African immigrants in Irish society. Based on a systematic literature review of similar research in different contexts, I generated two broad themes for exploration. These were:

1. Pre-migratory and post-migratory attitudes, expectations and perceptions of Nigerians towards gender roles
2. The impact of the process of migration on Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland

A series of questions were then constructed to inform an interview guide and an outline for the focus group (see appendices). Transcripts of interviews/ focus groups were then examined to isolate meaningful patterns and processes. The first stage in classifying and assigning meaning to pieces of information for the data analysis involved generating broad categories that were then translated into focused coding where coding categories are eliminated, combined, or subdivided. Finally I identified repeating ideas and larger underlying themes that connected codes.

Sample characteristics

As previously described in Chapter Three, this study is about first generation Nigerians who are living in Ireland for a minimum of three years. A total of nineteen Nigerian men and women were interviewed, and were aged between 24 – 65.

Of the ten interviewees, ten are men and nine are women. Three of the respondents who participated are aged 25-30, 2 were 30-35 years old, 1 was 35-40, none are 40-45, 5 respondents were 45-50, 6 are 50-55, 1 was 55-60 and 1 is 60-65.

13 of the respondents are married, 1 separated, 2 divorced and 3 were single.

The tribes or languages of respondents who participated in the project are as follows: 7 are Igbo, 8 Yoruba, 1 Ikwere, 1 Tshakiri, 1 and 2 Edo or Benin.

The average years lived in Ireland by a participant is 11.7.

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PARTICIPANTS' PROFILE

Participant 1: Pseudonym of Cyrina

Gender: Female
Age category: 30-35 years
Tribe/Language: Edo
Marital status: Married to an Irish National
Number of children: 3
Qualification: No degree
Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum
Immigration status: Refugee
Number of years in Ireland: 17

Participant 6: Pseudonym of Faith

Gender: Female
Age category: 50-55 years
Tribe/Language: Yoruba
Marital status: Married
Number of children: 5
Qualification: Masters Degree in Accounting
Mode of entry into Ireland: family unification
Immigration status: Permanent/Irish citizen
Number of years in Ireland: 15

Participant 2: Pseudonym of Benjamin

Gender: Male
Age category: 45-50 years
Tribe/Language: Igbo
Marital status: Married
Number of children: Not disclosed
Qualification: Doctorate degree
Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum
Immigration status: Refugee
Number of years in Ireland: 13

Participant 7: Pseudonym of Rekki

Gender: Female
Age category: 50-55 years
Tribe/Language: Yoruba
Marital status: Divorced
Number of children: 1
Qualification: Doctorate English
Mode of entry into Ireland: Work permit
Immigration status: British/Nigerian
Number of years in Ireland: 16

<p>Participant 3: Pseudonym of Albert</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 25-30 years Tribe/Language: Yoruba Marital status: Single Number of children: 0 Qualification: Degree Accountant Mode of entry into Ireland: family reunification Immigration status: Permanent/Irish Citizen Number of years in Ireland: 12</p>	<p>Participant 8: Pseudonym of Alinco</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 50-55 years Tribe/Language: Yoruba Marital status: Separated Number of children: Not disclosed Qualification: Degree in Youth Work Mode of entry into Ireland: Work permit Immigration status: Irish Citizen Number of years in Ireland: 12</p>
<p>Participant 4: Pseudonym of David</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 60-65years Tribe/Language: Ikwere Marital status: Divorced Number of children: 2 Qualification: Doctorate Economic Mode of entry into Ireland: Work permit Immigration status: Greek/Nigerian citizen Number of years in Ireland: 18</p>	<p>Participant 9: Pseudonym of Jackson</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 50-55 years Tribe/Language: Igbo Marital status: Married Number of children: 3 Qualification: Degree Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum Immigration status: Refugee Number of years in Ireland: Over 10</p>
<p>Participant 5: Pseudonym of Gabriel</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 25-30 years Tribe/Language: Yoruba Marital status: Single Number of children: 0 Qualification: Undergraduate Sociology Mode of entry into Ireland: family unification Immigration status: Permanent/ Irish passport Number of years in Ireland: 15</p>	<p>Participant 10: Pseudonym of Ngoo</p> <p>Gender: Female Age category: 45-50 years Tribe/Language: Igbo Marital status: Married to Yoruba Number of children: 3 Qualification: Degree in Social Work Mode of entry into Ireland: Joined spouse Immigration status: Irish Citizen Number of years in Ireland: 15</p>
<p>Participant 11: Pseudonym of Nkiru</p> <p>Gender: Female Age category: 40-45 years Tribe/Language: Igbo Marital status: Married Number of children: 5 Qualification: Degree Occupational Therapist Mode of entry into Ireland: Joined spouse Immigration status: Irish Citizen Number of years in Ireland: over 10</p>	<p>Participant 16: Pseudonym of Paul</p> <p>Gender: Male Age category: 45 -50 years Tribe/Language: Yoruba Marital status: Married Number of children: 3 Qualification: Degree in IT Mode of entry into Ireland: German Citizen Immigration status: Irish National</p>

Number of years in Ireland: 14

Participant 12: Pseudonym of Blessing

Gender: Female
Age category: 50-55 years
Tribe/Language: Ikwere
Marital status: Married but living alone
Numbers of children: 4
Qualification: Masters in Law/Community Work
Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum seeker
Immigration status: Irish National
Number of years in Ireland: 15

Participant 17: Pseudonym of Almos

Gender: Male
Age category: 45-50 years
Tribe/Language: Edo
Marital status: Married
Numbers of children: Not disclosed
Qualification: Degree
Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum
Immigration status: Irish National
Number of years in Ireland: 15

Participant 13: Pseudonym of Vikky

Gender: Female
Age category: 35-40 years
Tribe/Language: Igbo
Marital status: Married
Number of children: 4
Qualification: Postgraduate General Nurse
Mode of entry into Ireland: Work permit
Immigration status: Irish National
Number of years in Ireland: 10

Participant 18: Pseudonym of Nna

Gender: Male
Age category: 50-55 years
Tribe/Language: Igbo
Marital status: Married
Number of children: 3
Qualification: Not disclosed
Mode of entry into Ireland: Student
Immigration status: Irish Citizen
Number of years in Ireland: 15

Participant 14: Pseudonym of Nora

Gender: Female
Age category: 30-35 years
Tribe/Language: Igbo
Marital status: Married
Number of children: 3
Qualification: Postgrad Cert in Gerontology
Mode of entry into Ireland: Joined spouse
Immigration status: Irish National
Number of years in Ireland: over 10 years

Participant 19: Pseudonym of Baba

Gender: Male
Age category: 55-60
Tribe/Language: Yoruba
Marital status: Married
Number of children: 3
Qualification: No degree/ entrepreneur
Mode of entry into Ireland: Asylum
Immigration status: Irish Citizen
Number of years in Ireland: 18 years

Participant 15: Pseudonym of Fumilayo

Gender: Female
Age category: 25-30 years
Tribe/Language: Yoruba
Marital status: Single
Numbers of children: 0
Qualification: Degree in Psychology
Mode of entry into Ireland: family unification
Immigration status: Irish National
Number of years in Ireland: 12 years

3.10.3 Collecting and analyzing data concurrently/theory development

Morse et al. suggest that reliability and validity are achieved through collecting and analyzing data concurrently (2002). In order to ensure that the findings from this project were reliable and valid, the researcher persisted in reviewing data collected from the interviews against the published literature. This was achieved through coding and analyzing the data collected from the participants.

The outcome of the study in relation to other literature in the field is that this study enhances the sociological understanding of Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland. This study also brings into perspective the influence of migration on attitudes and expectations applied to gender roles. This study is set in Ireland and, through its research design, allows the reader to understand some elements of the pre- and post-migratory experiences of Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland.

In summary, the research methods and design are verified as valid, reliable and suitable for the key research question which is focused on how migration influences the attitudes and expectations of Nigerian men and women in intimate relationships. The purposive sample of adult Nigerians who are resident in Ireland for at least three years is ideal as a clear distinction of their pre-migration and post-migration experiences is needed to understand the change in context and situation.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings from the data collected from conducting a focus group and one-to-one interviews with 19 Nigerians living in Ireland will be presented to enable the reader to understand whether migration has influenced attitudes towards gender relations among Nigerian immigrants in Ireland, and to what extent.

4

4.2 Presentation of findings

The thesis findings will be divided into two broad areas:

3. Pre-migratory and post-migratory attitudes, expectations and perceptions of Nigerians towards gender roles
4. The impact of the process of migration on Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland

These two themes are further subdivided into categories that form the basis of the analysis. The first theme is divided into two sections- i. Pre migratory and ii. Post migratory perceptions of Nigerians towards gender roles.

4.3 Pre-migratory attitudes towards gender roles

4.3.1 Pre migratory attitudes and expectations of Nigerian men

The research findings show that prior to migrating to Ireland, the male respondents had a strong sense of traditional gender roles within the family structure. In order to decipher this, participants were asked questions such as ‘tell me about your childhood experience as a boy and before you came to Ireland’ and ‘What is the right way for a man to conduct himself?’ Most of the male participants responded that a man is the head of the family. For example, Nna, a fifty years old Igbo man who had lived and studied in Ireland for fifteen years states that:

‘The right way I will say a man should conduct himself in Nigeria should be; a man should be the head of the family, must be able to provide for the family, must be able to take care of the family, must love the family, the wife because the love thing is a kind of, it is a reciprocal thing, give and you take. Love your wife, that the thing yeah.’(Nna 2015. Igbo. Degree)

‘Well before I came to Ireland, I will say that the father is the head of the family.’ (Gabriel 2015, Yoruba, Undergraduate sociology)

‘He is expected to be the breadwinner. He is expected to provide guidance, leadership, direction, protection, love, care and all the positive that could help to make children develop’ (Alinco 2015, Edo Degree)

The traditional gender roles espoused by most Nigerians are patriarchal (Walby 1989:214) and exhibit androcentrism (Lindsey 2010:3). As a result, gender role socialisation within Nigerian institutions enable andocentric norms and values which give Nigerian males privileges over their female counterparts in terms of their upbringing. In Nigerian society, the male’s upbringing focuses on his future role as the provider, and on his responsibilities and behavioural expectations. The interviews with participants highlight that most men’s childhoods were about giving them a quality education which would then prepare them to become the ‘breadwinners’ and heads of their families. As covered in the literature review, Crompton (2006:2) explains this prioritisation of men for education by referencing the doctrine of the separate spheres, which establishes the principles of patriarchy and positions

the male as the breadwinner and the woman as the care giver. For example, Participants 4, 2 and 18 (who are aged between the ages of 45-55 years old and have lived in Ireland for up to a decade) remembered their childhood as a time where they had education. Compared to the women, the male respondents remembered their childhood with opportunity to education or less participation to house work. They state:

Living in Nigeria was quite interesting for me personally, though I was born in the Nigeria delta area, but I was raised in the Eastern part of Nigeria. Then I attended University, my first degree is in English...’ (Benjamin, 2015, doctorate degree, Tshakiri)

I came from a good nuclear family where education is important and I had a good upbringing... I wasn’t treated differently but my growing up is like the way we (Africans) bring up siblings in the family, that is the way I was brought up (laughs) definitely the right way! Basically of course, the women do the cooking anyway, she is the home maker, while the Nigerian man is expected to be out there bringing money and everything’ (Alinco, 2015. Degree, Yoruba)

In other words, Alinco reiterated that a man is trained by education to be a provider and a woman as a home-maker. In his opinion, this is natural and African and does not indicate differential treatment of gender.

In summary, the general perceptions of Nigerians who participated in this project are that men are heads of the family. The attitudes of the majority of the participants who participated in this project are that it is the man’s privilege to occupy and maintain this role. This attitude is also indicated in the descriptions of the respondents’ upbringings; the men interviewed agree that they were brought up as princes, and socialised to take on the future roles of men. It became evident through the participants’ responses that this privilege is greater when the man is the first male in the family. For example, Participant 18 (pseudonym Nna), who is in his late 50s’ and has lived in Ireland for fifteen years, described himself as a “typical traditional Igbo man”. He claims that as the first son among eight siblings, he was brought up

“as a prince.” In addition, Participant 16 (pseudonym Paul) who is from the Western part of Nigeria - a Yoruba speaking area - also acknowledges his princely treatment during his upbringing and socialisation process. Again, both participants are from different parts in Nigeria but were given the same male privileges during their socialisation process.

‘...I have three sisters and the two, I have two senior sisters, the elder one you know to me means most of the things were being done by them so I was just treated like a prince anyway. So being very good anyway and other siblings as well, some of them were boys, we are eight in the family, so being the first son and you know in African context, how first son is being treated, so I was treated as a prince, so it is being very good (Nna, 2015, Degree holder, Igbo)

‘I think I was treated like a prince in the house anyway but in the environment I am in Nigeria, I see the way people treat their women so when I got married, and I got married in Europe anyway, I decided not to treat my own woman like that’ (Paul, 2015, Degree holder, Yoruba)

However, despite the male privileges of Nigerian men, and especially of the first sons, the findings indicated a variety of experiences, which suggest that not all Nigerian men enjoyed the privilege of an upper social class and educational attainment. In fact, it seems that some participants who were born into poor families had difficulties attaining education. For example, Baba (Participant 19), who is in his 50’s and currently working as a business entrepreneur in Ireland, had no higher-level degree as he had to drop out of his education after his secondary school certificate. He states:

‘My general experience eh growing up as a young boy, I encounter a lot of problem on the way... A lot in which I have a physical injury that I can never in my life forget about. I am a struggle man since I was young because I was born into a polygamous house and more so the father I have, he is a great father. He is educated person and he his profession is teacher, in fact he is a headmaster. And you know they are very strict people but the only strict my father has is that in time of, in the area of education, he can use his strength but he cannot use his money, in which I was struggle, but the help of the God, by the help of my mother senior brother that is my uncle I made it through to finish school.’ (Baba, 2015. Business entrepreneur, Yoruba).

Nevertheless, the attitudes and expectations of Nigerian men, irrespective of their social status and class, are that a male child - particularly the first son - should avail of education before his female sibling. This belief is the same both in the upper classes and the lower classes. For example, Baba dropped out of school due to his parents' inability to sponsor his education, but the fact remains that Baba was given the priority to receive education over his other siblings, because he was the first son and also because of his gender. This was to prepare him for the future role of a breadwinner, as was required of male children (Ogege 2011; Agbegunde 2014;; Yusuf and Ajibode 2014), in preparation for him being able to support a future family. The only difference is that in terms of inability to cover cost, low income families train the first son up to primary level, who then steps down for his younger brothers. In this case, the female children have one choice and that is early marriage without primary education. This phenomenon was narrated by various Nigerian authors and the British Report on Gender in Nigeria (2012), as already covered in the literature review. Empirically, Baba's experience gives concrete evidence to support this theory:

'...I realize that I wanted to pursue my education by going to University but I look back and saw the junior one that I have ...then I said if I go to university without bringing up my junior one, it means a drop of water inside ocean so that is why I just decided to step down' (Baba, 2015, Business entrepreneur, Yoruba).

After careful consideration of Baba's experience, it is possible to say that the pre-migratory experiences of Nigerian men in terms of gender socialisation are centered around preparing them to be the head of the family irrespective of whether they are treated as princes or not because of their social status. The main focus of the gender socialisation of male Nigerians is to empower them with the skills necessary to take on the role of breadwinner and head in the public and private spheres in the future. As briefly discussed in the literature review, Gerson (1993, in Wharton 2005:87) states that the obligation of a man to be the provider places him

in a difficult position and increases his desire to succeed. Thus a man's role is to provide for his family through paid work and his inability to fulfil this obligation considers him as unfit for the role of a husband or father. Hence, it is important for the participant to succeed and to learn how to provide for his family. For example, Agbegunde (2014: 167), in exploring gender inequality in Nigeria, asserts that in Nigeria the division of labour is based on age and sex and that men usually work in skilled and supervisory roles while the women work in subservient jobs mainly in the home. In addition, The British Council (2012) suggested that the girl child is more likely to drop out of primary school because of the burden of housework tasks at home and even in school, where they are made to run errands such as water collection. With regards to the male pre-migratory experience, education is a key feature for most Nigerian men. This is as a result of the attitudes towards girl's education which is perceived as ending in the kitchen. For example, David (an Ikwere), Benjamin (Tshekiri) and Nna, (an Igbo) are from different parts of Nigeria and from both urban and rural areas, and were therefore brought up in different socio-cultural contexts in Nigeria. However, it appears that all of them had experienced the same upbringing or socialisation from their parents in terms of education and expected future role. Therefore, it becomes contradictory to assume that Nigerian men and women had similar experiences; rather, it is correct to say that both genders were socialized differently, with women relegated to the background in terms of economic gains. While there may have been situations where men participated in house work, this does not necessarily suggest that they were being socialized for that role. For example, when Nna was asked whether he observed any difference in the way his female siblings were treated compared to him, he boasted that although he participated in house chores, he was the source of direction and the upholder of the family's legacy as the first son. He states:

'I would say that I was that lucky that I was treated separately because at the right age, I joined my elderly ones who are girls and although I did the house chores as

much as they did, in fact, I will say that more was expected of me. Yeah, I was probably looked upon as the one who will give the family a source of direction and uphold the legacy of the family in the right' (Nna 2015)

Bem (1993, in Wharton 2005:34) acknowledges that individuals internalise these gender schemas and assume that maleness or masculinity are more desirable and highly valued. Thus, in shifting his statement, the participant Nna was not only trying to establish his identity as a privileged first male but was also trying to justify it as an acceptable ideology that required a lot of responsibility. In other words, his shift in statement was to reiterate that he was not treated like his female siblings. In fact, what he was trying to justify was that, although he might be a privileged male, he was humble to work in female roles, but that at the same time, this did not mean that he was going to be in this role in the long run, as he has a higher mission which is 'being the source of his family direction and legacy'.

4.3.2 Pre-migratory attitudes and expectations of Nigerian women

While the male participants suggested that they were brought up as princes and availing of education as a result of male privileges in Nigeria, the case was different for the female participants. Most of the female participants suggested that their social upbringing was associated with control and challenges of life. The research findings show that the perception of the female participants was that their upbringing as a female child was centered on the control of their dress, sexual expression and sexuality. Domestic work and behavioural guards were a common feature. Participant 1 (pseudonym Cyrina) is in her 30s and is from Benin City in Nigeria. She entered Ireland through asylum, is married to an Irish national and

has lived in Ireland for 18 years. She described her social upbringing in a brief and discreet way:

‘...growing in Nigeria as a girl is very tough eh, very tough life to grown in Nigeria because the life you have there is very hard.’ (Cyrina 2015. No degree. Edo or Benin)

Also, Ngoo who is an Igbo woman married to a Yoruba man in Ireland narrated her experience as a girl and young adult growing up in Nigeria. She states,

‘As a respectable Nigerian woman especially respectable one, we have different kinds of women. You know how to conduct yourself, you talk, you don’t talk back, you don’t talk if you are not talked to and you don’t talk in public, men talk in public and em, you know how to conduct yourself both in your dressing and in your manner of approach and if a man do not approach you, when men are in the midst talking you don’t go in the midst and interrupt them and you are not allowed to er. your husband actually, the male dictate what you do basically... and you live by that, if you go against the rule of a man, you are seen as a, you are not er you are not subordinate as you should and so you don’t wear mini, shorts, you don’t wear trousers and you don’t miniskirts, you are not allowed to do those things because those are things that street women, those are the code of street people so you are not allowed to do that. You go to school and you come home, you are not allowed to have a boyfriend obviously and em if you are in relationship, you kept this to yourself but the day you are caught, you will be beaten mercilessly. Those are the things that really made us stand out and stands out for me when you are in Nigeria as a girl and the way I was supposed to, of course I rebelled on every single one of them (laughs) with my father’s permission of’ (Ngoo, 2015. Degree, Igbo)

Also the perception of some of the female participants when asked about their experience as a girl growing up in Nigeria suggested that most of the female participants in this study experienced not only marginalisation and control of their conduct or dressings, but they were also socialised to aspire to marry and become future good wives. The implication of this was that the girl child was not considered a priority in terms of educational training.

‘...In this regard, I will put in context. I was privileged to come from a family where my father believes every child have a right and we all have equal access...despite my father’s equality belief, I was not for once deceived because you see, you hear it being

practiced, young girls getting married especially from parents who are not to pay school fees. A girl will be married off and still be expected to support the family and still the remaining resources will be put into the boy who believe will carry on the lineage. Being a girl child, even the way the boy will speak to you, even the role you play. You are expected to cook. I felt like second class.’ (Blessing,2015. MA. Ikwere)

‘It is the same in Africa and Nigeria, the way the girl are brought up are very different, maybe now with influence of Western Civilisation and more people getting more education. It is changing or declining but it is still there to some extent. I was lucky to be born in an educated family, that was why I have the opportunity to go to school, but this is not same for every other family like some family still believe that thy don’t have to spend so much on the girl because they think that at the long run, they think they can’t benefit from the female child but it is not very true, majority still think that training a female child is tantamount to nothing but is it true now? No. if you look at it now you will see that it is the girl carrying the family’ (Vikky, 2015. BA. Igbo)

When they described their experiences as a girl child in Nigeria, participants Vikky and Blessing indirectly made reference to the prevalent idea of male preference in Nigeria, which was covered in the literature review by various authors such as (Okojie 1994; ; Ojobo 2008; Nwosu 2012; Ogege 2011; British Council 2012; Igbelina-Igbokwe 2013; Ejumudo 2013; Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014). These authors write that female education is not considered a priority when there are insufficient funds for educating all of the children in a Nigerian family, as noted above. The male children, and most preferably the first son, are trained to the expense of others and the female children are more likely to be married off early to support the family. This practice promotes gender inequality in Nigeria. The idea is that the first son would bring back income to support the family and many Nigerian parents have less expectations of the success of a female child Nigerian. For example, Nora’s statement below suggests a regretful father who invested so much in his first son but in the end, it turned out that it was the female child that brought more income home:

‘In my own view, I was fortunate enough because when you look at it on the other angle, my dad especially was a traditional man (laugh) even though he gave us equal right in terms of education and all that but he is a cultural man because there was a day he made a comment because we are two boys and three girls that had it been I had

two boys before the girls, I don't think there will be up to five of you. I don't think he was in love with the boys than us but that is how it is in the culture because they feel that training a woman is a waste of woman but if you ring him today, he will change that comment because of where I am now. Because I worked and sent back money back home... he said he spent less money on me than our first son. He spent triple on him, but I bring in money more than him but then I was a woman and they didn't believe in training a woman or spending much money on the woman (Nora 2015. BA. Igbo)

Nigerian women provided recollections of their gender-unequal childhoods and of disproportionate resources being allocated to male siblings. For Nora and Vikky, this was patently unfair and did not in reality reflect the capacity of girls and women to excel professionally or support their families (whether acknowledged or not). As these women were interviewed after settling in Ireland, it is interesting to reflect on how their assessments may have been sharpened over the years, particularly in the context of Irish societal gender norms.

Rekki, a doctorate graduate in her 50's from Yoruba, spoke about how a woman should behave. Although Rekki is from a royal family and was brought up in middle class family, her experience with regards to the expectations and attitudes of a woman's conduct was as follows:

'When I was in Nigeria, I was a girl... As a woman, you are expected to conduct yourself properly, there is certain thing you would not do, we don't expose our body parts, we speak, and we don't shout at people, we respect our men. Actually, as a matter of fact for any good relationship, the man is actually absolutely king. The man should be king if you really want to be supported by the man or males whether you are married to them or not' (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

Nkiru, who is a mother of five and a full time occupational therapist, provided a more nuanced assessment of how gender roles socialization operated in her family context. She came from a middle class family and her father had spent a number of years working abroad. In this sense, she suggested that there was not a rigid gender distinction in terms of household

chores, in fact she argued that her parents' professions affected their perspectives and by extension their child rearing, which translated into a less rigid form of gender differentiation between their children. However, there were indeed significant strictures in terms of the girl children's behaviours and dress. She confirmed that, when it came to controlling her and her sister's behaviour and dress, they were treated differently from her brothers. She says:

As a young girl, I don't think my family like, like my close family, there was really no distinction. I grew up in a family of two girls and two boys and my parent had time to look at us equally. There was no distinction that this is a boy or this is girl... my father was a guidance counsellor and my mother a nurse so because of their exposure and their background, they don't discriminate with stuff like domestic work. Anybody could do anything, they are not giving the females work to cook while the men raise their legs. And my father studied abroad and when he came from abroad, he learned some new menu and was teaching us how to cook... BUT in the upbringing, we were told look you are a girl, sit well, you should carry yourself well but in other stuff, there was no distinction' (Nkiru, 2015. Degree, Igbo)

In addition, Nkiru states that her experience outside of the family was contrary to her socialisation within the family and she experienced sexism outside of her home.

'In the wider world, that is when you (woman) feel being different from men... men grab your breast in the market but they don't grab other men, they intimidate you so apart from that, I don't think I grew up feeling discriminated against' (Nkiru, 2015, degree, Igbo)

However, as with many of the participants, despite being aware of sexism and of the rigidity of expectations surrounding gender in her community, her sense of what was appropriate female behaviour maintained strong traditional dimensions. She states that gender socialisation and gender roles are less rigid in Ireland than in Nigeria and commented that this may not always be a positive factor:

'Women are freer here than in Nigeria. In Nigeria, there are things that will not be accepted from a woman. The girls from Nigeria from growing up we (women) tend to be more reserved and we hold the value of women dearly. We are not careless from being a child, even as a toddler, you are told, you are a woman and you should carry

yourself in a certain way. We are more respectful towards men' (Nkiru, 2015, degree, Igbo)

Nkiru's emphasis on holding the 'value of women dearly' and her insinuation that there is a degree of carelessness about how Irish girls and women behaved indicate the strength of a core set of traditional gender stereotypes that remain largely undistributed despite her years spent in Ireland. Other female participants from middle class backgrounds and an educated family were in agreement that their childhood experiences lacked the severity of gender inequality that is assumed to characterize many Nigerian families. However, they also concurred that this ended at the boundaries of the family, and that they were not treated as equal in the wider society. Those female participants believed that they received an education because their parents were educated and believed more in gender equality and in educating girls than more traditional, poorer and less educated families.

'I was privileged to come from a family where my father believe every child have rights and we all have equal access... I was privileged to have such father that is why I have the education... in the context of my community; it wasn't like that because I know the boy child is adored and revered. The celebration when a boy child is born and the girl child is born is very different. Even the way they call them names so from that point, you know you have no inheritance right. As you go to school, you are been groomed in a way that you are going to get married. You are going to respect your husband, you will know that you are a second to the boy or the man' (Blessing, 2015, MA. Ikwere)

Notably, many of the participants, including Blessing above, referenced their father as the ultimate decision-maker regarding education. They often invoked the fact that they were 'lucky' compared to other families in the level of gender parity practiced by their well educated and well travelled fathers.

4.4 Male privilege and patrilineal male preference

The participants narrations of their experiences as either a boy child or a girl child highlighted the issue of male preference in the Nigerian community prior to migration. For example, Blessing, a Masters holder and a mother of four children, described the male preference she experienced in her own community. In narrating her experience, she states that the girl child is undervalued compared to the male child and that the attitudes and expectations of parents towards their male and female child differ.

She states:

‘In the context of my community, it wasn’t like that because I have friends and neighbors. The boy child is adored and revered. The celebration when a boy child is born and when a girl child is born is quite different and even in the way they call pet names so from that early stage, you begin to know that you have no rights to inheritance and whether you are going to school or not, you are being groomed to know that you are going to be married and that you are second to the boy’ (Blessing, 2015. Masters. Ikwere)

‘In my own view, I was fortunate enough because I came out from an educated family. My both parents were teachers but when you look at it on the other angle, my dad was a traditional man (Laughs) even though he gave us equal rights in terms of education and all that but he is a cultural man because I will give you an instance now, there was a day he made a comment, he said eh, we are five in the family anyway, two girls before two boys. He said, ‘had it been I had two boys before you girls, I don’t think you would have been up to five children. You know that the way they value boys in the family more than how they value girls. They feel like training a woman is a waste of money because you will be married out’ (Nora, 2015. Degree. Igbo)

Nora, a mother of three boys, highlights the fact that childbearing mothers in Nigeria are under pressure to produce a male child in order for the male child to carry on the lineage of the family. In her statement above, she explains how her father’s preference for male children determined the number of children to be given birth to and it appears that in her own case, her parents continued until they had a male child. In addition, Blessing who is a mother of four

daughters, states that the presence of a male child proves that the father is a man. The birth of the male child gives the father of the child some form of honor and access to the family's property. However, not having any male children negates the man's manhood. Blessing states:

'I think it has to do with money because inheritance is patrilineal and for the man having a son no matter what that boy is a proof of his manhood' (Blessing, 2015. MA, Ikwere)

Although, this phenomenon was narrated to be a common occurrence in Nigeria, Blessing gave an account of a friend's story that suggests that the practice of male sex preference has not gone extinct after migration. In her statement below, she narrated a friend's experience which indicates that this continues to occur in Nigerian families now living in Ireland:

'I know women who have four or five daughters and then she had the last child who was a boy. You need to see how her husband was screaming in the hospital- 'It is a boy! It is a boy! Oh my God, so at last!'" And this was the same man who kept telling her that it was okay when she had no son. In fact, to prove it, he was almost angry on the way she was getting pregnant and told her it was alright but she knew that wasn't alright and kept getting pregnant and his reaction on that day proves to her that it hadn't been alright. And God knows what he would have done if she didn't have a baby boy' (Blessing, 2015. MA, Ikwere)

Later during the interview, Blessing was asked about the implications of not having male children among the Nigerian community, a similar case to her own reality. She explained that, in this case:

'You are totally cut off from inheritance that is the fact! No male child, the brothers in law will take over and control your husband's property. For example, the woman is immediately moved out of her matrimonial bedroom in my custom when her husband dies... the implication of not having a boy child for me in my experience, you are not entitled to any inheritance' (Blessing, 2015. MA, Ikwere)

4.5 Gender roles associated with responsibilities

When both male and female participants were asked about the responsibilities of a father, an interesting finding emerged; namely that the majority of the participants affirmed that men should be the breadwinners and women should be the caregivers. Benjamin, a doctorate holder in his 60's who has been legally resident in Ireland since he arrived from Greece for a job in Ireland, stated that:

‘A man must be truthful with the truth, he will command respect. He will find out that when he is untruthful, he disowns his respect... he must be powerful in the sense of physical fitness and also able to put food on the table for your family, either you are a hunter, or you are a farmer or a palm wine tapper, whatever you are able to do but not stealing’ (Benjamin, 2015. Doctorate, Tsekiri)

‘A father is to provide not only food but identity. I mean where your children would say, yes, I want to follow my father's steps; I want to follow the examples of life... (Benjamin, 2015. Doctorate, Tsekiri)

While answering the question about the responsibilities of a father, most of the respondents - both male and female - appeared to associate the role of a breadwinner with authority and power. In other words, the man is the financial decision maker, the provider and the head of the family, while the woman is the homemaker, peacemaker and the cook. These expectations were narrated by most of the respondents and remain the same as the expectations they held before they migrated to Ireland. It appears that most of the participants still find their traditional gender values more appealing than the modern values of their host society.

Analysis of the interview data reveals that, irrespective of their post-migratory experiences, the majority of male participants still maintain that the man is the head of the family. Even where the male participants appear to have more liberal values and are willing to share household duties in a dual-income family, the interview data suggests that they still maintain

that the woman must stick to her role as a woman. For example, Paul, a married man from Yoruba land who had lived in Europe since the age of 21, states that he expects that his wife, who works outside the home, must at the same time cook and store food in the fridge for him to microwave when he returns home before her. While this participant had shifted in his perspective to some degree, he still maintains a core commitment to his traditional gender role expectations. This complex and uneven transition is illustrated by his intervention when, on visiting him in Ireland, his mother-in-law confronted his wife about why she was not cooking for her husband:

‘I will give you a scenario, my mother in-law came to Ireland and em she find that I came back from work and I go to the fridge to bring food out of the fridge and warming it and she was so angry and go to meet my wife that, ‘your husband is doing this thing.’ I overheard them and I went to her and I said mom, ‘come, in this country this is how we live and we understand ourselves, she works, I work and she had try to make some food in the fridge. if I am the first person to come I should warm something and eat and I can call her and she call me I can make something for her, it is not taking me as a slavery no this is how we work and she now said wow eh this is good, but they don’t have that mentality in Nigeria, even though that woman go to works and come back, she must cook that is, we understand each other so in Nigeria, we said, according to your question now culture in Nigeria is different from culture here but the good culture in Nigeria and the good culture here, if we bring it together it helps (Paul, Yoruba, Degree in IT).

Although this participant’s attitude shows that he is willing to share the responsibilities of his wife, it is also clear that he is not willing to become the major contributor to that role. Likewise, he is willing to let his wife work and supplement the income as a second breadwinner, but he is not willing to let her assume the full package of that role, which is being the head of the family. The female participant Blessing clearly described it in her own words:

'Gender role is along domestic work and white collar jobs. His own role as a breadwinner is posh; your own role as a domestic wife is not posh!' (Blessing 2015, MA, Ikwere)

Paul still expects his wife to do most of the cooking and play the role of a woman. This attitude became apparent when he was asked later in the interview about what he thought of a woman doing the role of a man, to which he quickly responded:

'For me it is rubbish. A man should do the work of a man while women have to do the work of a woman. If both of them want to help each other in some area, it is possible in a way that my wife have to cook but there is no time, there is nothing bad in it that I went fry the egg or cook on Sunday to them, you understand me, so it depends on how, but man should be a man while woman should be a woman ...a man have responsibilities at home to do which I told you in the beginning and a woman have to let peace reign in the home and I mean make food, sometime, not every time as I said, you know, there is a flavour in a woman's food than a man, no matter how that man is chef is.'

(Paul, Yoruba, Degree in IT).

In exploring the participants' perceptions of the role of a respectable Nigerian woman irrespective of where she finds herself, several participants - both men and women - suggested that women should play their role. The findings of the study show that, despite living in Ireland for an average of 11.5 years, most of the participants still find the traditional gender roles for women desirable. For example, when stating her perception of a responsible or respectable Nigerian woman, Participant 1 (Cyrina) said:

'The way we think from Africa, the way I think that a responsible woman should stay in the house, cook her husband's dinner, look after the house, not even going out there to work. Before the husband will come, she needs to get dinner ready for and put it on the table and when the man finish, take the plates from the table and wash them. You know, wash, do the house work, and remain in the house looking after the children.'

(Cyrina, 2015, no degree, Benin).

While a female participant Cyrina narrated the expected conduct and responsibility of a Nigerian woman, the response of the male participant Nna suggests that women are not entirely conducting themselves in the traditional role. In fact, it appears that Nna recognizes the reality of cultural adaptation and is open to accommodating certain changes in Nigerian women, but is not happy to see the woman entirely adopt the western way of life. He states:

‘Okay before I came to Ireland my thought in this thing for Nigerian woman they should conduct themselves. They should not forget where they come from, all those eh the traditional way of treating their husband especially when they are in a man’s place, they should not throw it aside just because eh embracing the western life. They should not let western life bring a kind of conflict between the way of life of a Nigerian and the way of life in the western world. They should at least try to marry these two things and that would help them to go a long way in their marriage’ (Nna 2015. Degree. Igbo)

The male Participant 2, Benjamin, describes his expectation of a responsible Nigerian woman; it appears that Benjamin is open to accommodating the changes that come with migration, but still expects the woman to do the household chores. He states,

‘I expect a Nigerian woman to be respectful, obedient, you know, do the chores, raise the children, em, be dependent on the husband but I didn’t subscribe to a situation where a Nigerian woman or wife should be oppressed or bullied by her husband, you know because of my own personal experience. I came from a family where women were routinely beaten’ (Benjamin, 2015, Doctorate, Tsekiri)

Participant 15, Fumilayo, who is a single Yoruba-speaking female in her late twenties, describes what she sees as being a respectable Nigerian woman:

‘Hmm, this is a funny question but the way a respectable Nigerian woman, first of all she is, and she should be married at twenty-five. If she is not married you have to be in a relationship... if you are in a certain age and you are single, ah what is wrong with you? It is not fashionable for a woman to be drunken in public as a respectable Nigerian woman, drinking is bad enough as a respectable Nigerian woman. If you are smoking wao, these things are seen as you are irresponsible and er dress mode, you are supposed not to expose your skin too much. When it comes to what your husband said (laughs) you will listen o. You are not supposed to be challenging, I mean even if you are educated, when you get to your house, forget about that. It is what your

husband said that matter; I mean that is typical way it is supposed to be. The typical woman must also know how to cook, care for the children, tidy the house, if you are a woman and your house is all over the place, they will think you mother didn't teach you, they wont say your dad didn't teach you' (Fumilayo, Degree, Yoruba)

However, while both genders hold these beliefs and expectations, there appear to be pull and push factors that are gradually changing and influencing certain men and women who participated in this project.

For example, Nkiru, an Igbo woman in her forties and a mother of five, indicated her frustration with men not participating in the roles of women. In her assertion, she reiterated the common Nigerian cultural belief that a man is not expected to partake in domestic work despite the difficult situation of the woman:

'Well, again because of the society in Nigeria, we have come to accept that the man even if the two of you (the couples) are working... both of you are working and everyone (husband and wife) is tired but the man is not expected to cook but you (wife) being tired, you still go on and make the food while he sits and watch television and read newspaper. It doesn't matter even if you are pregnant, you still have to cook. We don't complain because we don't know the difference until you see the other side of the world.'" (Nkiru, 2015. Degree. Igbo)

As Nkiru states, this pattern of behavior seems reasonable and normative, 'until you see the other side of the world.' Nigerian women are certainly aware of this gendered division of labour, but maintain a mixed outlook made up of critique of Nigerian values alongside disapproval of too liberal notions of gender equality. For example, Blessing argues:

'This head that we are talking about, here (Ireland) gender roles are not clearly defined as in our context so your African husband comes in and you expect him to go and make his food, that is where the problem is coming and that is the head some of us are thinking of becoming because your Euro is higher than his stupid naira, you expect him to go and make food, he won't because he wasn't raised that way and then he feels you are now beginning to control. Meanwhile here in this context (Ireland) it is not the same, nobody is looking at the head or the breadwinner, it is shared role. If the wife go to work, the man look after the children, cook dinner... but an African

man, they don't get it, they will query why should they go to the kitchen and even pushing buggy. They will tell you that if other men see them, they will call them human wrapper (Blessing 2015. MA, Ikwere)

Through this account, Blessing gatekeeps the traditional gender role division. She also indicates that gatekeeping is taking place within the Nigerian community in Ireland. In support for traditional gender role division, Blessing argues that role reversals and gender role division is also a feature in the Irish society. She states:

'A lot of us are really running this gender equality rights issues but even in this context (Irish context) women where we are now is still seen in that role. A lot of women work and their husband is at home... I know my manager said that her husband is working from home. We are getting it all mix up running this gender equality thing.'

Section Two: Post-migratory attitudes, expectations and perceptions of Nigerians in Ireland

4.6 Complexity and attitudinal change towards traditional family values

For Nigerian men, the economic function is a primary element of the male gender role and constitutes the man as the natural head of the household. However, living in Ireland has made

this difficult to maintain and Nigerian men living in Ireland seem to understand that the complexities and variety of household types now threaten the more traditional model.

For example, Participant 5 (pseudonym of Gabriel) is from the Yoruba-speaking part of Nigeria. He was born in Nigeria but has lived for fifteen years in Ireland and still affirms his pre-migratory belief that the man is the head of the family. However, he admits that Nigerian families in Ireland are changing and that saying that the man is the head of the family is no longer a reality. This is due to the changing structure of the Nigerian family or the assumption that a Nigerian man who cannot provide for his family is just a 'figure head' in the family. He also reflected on the reality that while men are the formal heads, women often are the real drivers behind family organization and function:

'Well before I came to Ireland, I will say the father is the head of the family, well from what I saw, the father is the head of the family but the woman seem to run the family... based on other people's family, I have seen like mostly father as the heads but then, there are families without father so the mother tend to be the head of the family' (Gabriel 2015. Yoruba)

He continued by suggesting that in Ireland the reality is that women often arrived prior to their husbands and therefore became the defacto head of the family:

'A lot of African families that migrated to Ireland, they would not have migrated wholesale, it will be the mother and children that come and then the father in Nigeria or something like that, so in those cases, the mom is the dad and all of them' (Gabriel, 2015, Undergraduate student, Yoruba)

Another participant, Paul, suggested that fatherhood in Western contexts was not a straightforward matter, and that the guidance and direction that fathers should provide was not always possible because of factors outside of their control. He narrated his observation

and stated that modernism had impacted on the meaning of fatherhood. In his opinion, a man might have children or make a baby but that is not fatherhood. In his comment below, he indirectly questioned the role of fatherhood then concluded that some Nigerian men in Ireland have lost sense of some the traditional values which focus on providing, guiding and protecting their family.

'I believe but it is not every man is the head of the family, that is my comment after studying and coming abroad and seeing the situation. Every man can make a baby but not every man can be a father or to father. To father, do you know what it means to be a father and take care of a child and give a sense of direction? Not every man can do that because of the modern world.' (Paul, 2015, Doctorate, Tsekiri)

For Fumilayo, a female participant, these boundaries made less and less sense in practical terms and she felt that these boundaries needed to be rethought:

'I will say it is the men who are the head of the family before I came to Ireland but to be honest eh nowadays, I will say there is many blurs. Like in Europe there is stay at home dad so the matter of head is not even (silence and sighs) to some family it is not even an issue. If you (the partner) is earning more, take care of the family. I don't know if it is the African culture that head of the family thing is an issue; some men hold it so deep but if you sit down and think about it, what does it mean to be the head? You know, is about money? Is it about responsibility because if it is about responsibility, some women are more, in fact, most women care for their children more than their father so what's make you (the man) the head like? Why are you the leader? Why are you the one that can make decision? You know there is this joke that the man is the head and the woman is the neck because a lot of women run the house, if they are like (pause) I know of a woman who travelled and her husband didn't know where the salt is in the home. He has to call her in Nigeria and I was like, 'oh my God, you don't even know where the salt is in the house but you are the head of the family.' (Fumilayo, 2015, Degree, Yoruba)

In Fumilayo's comment, she indirectly suggests that the traditional family values of breadwinner and caregiver are becoming blurred with the influence of migration. She states that the role of who is the head should not be an issue, rather an openness by both partners to support each other (when it comes to fulfilling the responsibility of income within the home). In other words, she canvasses for both egalitarian family values and joint partnership in the

family whereby both spouses are the heads of the family. Another participant, Nora, queries the idea of the man being the head of the family and argues that she is entitled to be a head as well, due to the level of financial and other support she gives to the family. She states:

We still give them respect as a husband but I see myself as the head of the family based on what I do day by day. I carry a lot (take a lot of responsibilities)... you (women) pay bills, do this, do that, oh my God! I see myself as the head of the family and he is the head of the family as well. I know some people who are having problem due to sharing responsibilities but this is not sharing responsibilities because the way you contribute, it is like you are the head.'

In summary, it is evident that the Nigerian men and women living in Ireland have a clear sense of the gap between their childhood experiences of gender socialization, the typical behaviour expected of Nigerian men and women in Nigeria and what they see in their own community in Ireland and in the broader Irish society.

4.7 Gender roles: the hierarchy of responsibilities

At an initial stage, it appeared that the boundary between the roles of caregiver and breadwinner are clearly defined in Nigeria. However, evidence provided by the interviewees suggests that women also participate in the breadwinner role. For example, Ngoo, a female participant, argues that although women in Nigeria are the primary caregivers, the reality is that they have also always worked outside the home:

'I don't believe a man should be a sole breadwinner. It is not practical anyway. In the African culture, the man had never being the sole breadwinner even though he's been told he is the sole breadwinner, he was never the sole breadwinner. Women go out to farm, women go out to work, women go out to their business and they bring food, but that is not taken into account.' (Ngoo, 2015, Degree, Igbo)

In fact, Ngoo's argument suggests that Nigerian women are more versatile than men; in terms of their actual roles within the household, and their combination of household tasks with work outside of the home. For Ngoo, the only difference is that Nigerian men have not adapted their roles to support the woman in the responsibilities of childcare and household tasks. It appears that Nigerian men in Nigeria, and now in Ireland, are willing to share the breadwinning role but are not willing to relegate their role of financial decision maker within the family.

In fact, Participant 9, a male Nigerian man in his fifties who is from an Igbo speaking part of Nigeria and has lived in Ireland for 10 years, concurred with Ngoo's statement when he said that:

'You see even in Nigeria yeah, the most couples have always worked together to the benefit of the family. Even where the woman is not civil servant or gainful employed, she is into something that bring some form of finance into the household to augment what the man has to bring in. I find many African women are into some petty trading you know here and there as little as you think their ware amounts too; it solves a lot in the household. It is a very big help. And the African woman had actually never been laid back sitting back just waiting for the man. No! Even in the agriculture days, you find the man in the farm and the woman is also there...' (Jackson, 2015, Degree and business entrepreneur, Igbo)

Ngoo acknowledged that women working in a small trade are a common occurrence in Africa, although this role is not recognized and does not seem to provide additional status or power to those women. Reflecting on how many Nigerian women in Ireland now also work, she commented:

'I think having lived in another culture, it just helps me to see, you are able to look at the different culture and see that there was never really a difference, it just that it was never acknowledged, a woman working, trading doing business

was and still what the norm is in Nigeria, so is here, everybody take their own responsibilities so there is a kind of a balance' (Ngoo, 2015, Degree, Igbo)

Like many of the participants, Ngoo is ambivalent about what this may mean for the power dynamic within the family. She is eager to establish a form of continuity between Nigerian women's behaviour in Africa and their behavior in Ireland. In the end, it is a gendered division of labour that is not equal but that creates in her words a 'kind of balance'.

Most of the female participants were then either full time or part-time employed and most acknowledged that most women in Nigeria were either involved in petty trading or part-time jobs to supplement the husband's income as the breadwinner. However this female labour force participation did not disturb the gender hierarchy. Thus the man remained at the top of the hierarchy of responsibilities, then the woman and then the younger siblings or house help. Invariably, the woman supports her husband and the woman is supported by either her siblings or that of her husband's. In other words, there is a clear hierarchy of economic power and responsibility in the Nigerian family. In Nigeria, siblings, friends, extended family members and house help reduce the workload of most Nigerian women. Men sit at the top of this system and benefit in particular from being released from all housework and many caring responsibilities. This structure also benefits some women whose workloads are reduced by the participation of extended families, siblings and children in housework, who are at the bottom of the hierarchy. Men are always missing from the equation and the woman does not necessarily have to do a second shift or ask the man to share in the household responsibility if the people in the bottom hierarchy are present.

4.8 Bargaining for autonomy and negotiation

The hierarchy of responsibility is different in Ireland, particularly for families with growing infants. As women in Ireland often cannot rely on the same extended family as in Nigeria, and together with the high cost of childcare and low pay of ethnic minority women, this means that many women only have one option and that is to solicit support from their husbands in the area of housework. Nigerian women are structurally disadvantaged in the context of race and class in Ireland and as such look to compensate in ways for the absence of supports available in their home culture. This works to push Nigerian women to bend the boundaries of their gender role expectations and to seek support from their husbands to fill the deficit. For example, participants Cyrina and Fumilayo agreed that men should help women with household tasks:

‘No! No! No! No! I just think that it is too much, that is we (women) over labour ourselves as African women, so you (Nigerian woman) have to have your independence and say no to something, not just yes! Yes! Yes!... The best way for men to conduct themselves is to help their wives around their homes and they should understand that the women are not meant to be slaves. They do something you understand, fifty – fifty’ (Cyrina, 2015, No degree, Benin)

‘The father should sometimes look after their children as well. He should understand that sometimes, when a woman is tired, that he has to help the woman around the house as well and look after them as well. And the responsibility of a woman is to give the respect to the man and help the man as well and understand that the man is tired and give a hand as well, so they should help each other.’ (Cyrina, 2015, No degree, Benin)

‘I will be honest; I have been swayed towards the western world in the way that favours me. In the western world, you see women; they don’t kill themselves to work. You know, they go to work, if it is a dual income family for example, the husband go

to work, the wife go to work. They share the house work, caring duties. For me, I like that aspect of the culture, I am not even going to lie, forget that I am a Nigerian woman, I like the fact there is some sort of egalitarianism. You know one person is not overused like the way a typical Nigerian family where the woman does everything.’(Fumilayo 2015, Degree, Yoruba)

‘Maybe, I am a secret feminist but for me, the man must support his wife. She should not be the one doing everything that is why they say that women are always nagging... if a man is pushing his child’s buggy or carrying his wife handbag, they exclaim back in Nigeria, they will say that the woman had used voodoo. She has charmed him but for me, I would like to see a typical Nigerian man take or be more into their family, take note of how the children are growing... for me a lot of the traditional role need to be (pause) I mean you can hold (continue with tradition per se) but when you see that the need your family has needs, basically you should forget what your culture has told you to do or do not. You should be able to break out of that and help where need is wanted’ (Fumilayo, 2015, Degree, Yoruba)

It appears that all of these women are bargaining for their autonomy and negotiating gender relations. They are querying the social norms related to gender roles among intimate family. They are bargaining for support in the areas of childcare and household duties. Nevertheless, the female participant Ngoo acknowledged the difference between Nigerian men in their home country and the ones living in Ireland. She acknowledged that men in Ireland are actually making an effort to support their wives to some extent. Her acknowledgement that men support women to some capacity does not suggest that it is a reality applicable to most Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland, but it is an acknowledgement that gender relations are not as rigid as they are in Nigeria among couples in intimate relationships:

‘The difference I do see between here and Nigeria is that men easily agree to stay home and take care of the child while even if a man is not working in Nigeria, the man is the breadwinner, he will still go out with his friends.’
(Ngoo, 2015. Degree. Igbo)

For many of these women, Irish culture offers some useful resources to support a less burdensome division of labor. However, there is a clear distinction made that reserves a core commitment to respect for men and 'holding with tradition'. Of course, different women in the sample asserted different levels of critique and resistance, but a common theme remained that when practical circumstances required it, older gender role distinctions should give way, specifically for the overall good of the family. Any gains in this regard required hard negotiation for the Nigerian women. One of the participants appeared to have negotiated to the point where her husband is participating in some of the household chores but she admits that it was not without a fight:

'Now here it had changed, I can't go to work and come back and go to the kitchen for my husband, he understand. Initially it wasn't easy. I make food and store in the fridge and he can make his food even if I am at home. It took time for him to adapt to that but I didn't get that without a fight'(Nkiru, Degree, Igbo)

For Vikky, negotiating is not an option. It appeared that she had given up. She is aware of the difficulties associated with not putting up a fight, but is willing to accept it. This sense of surrendered was suggested in the reply she gave when asked about who she considered as the head of the family, post-migration:

'Everybody complements each other, the husband is there as the head and we are not disputing it and being African people, the husband is still the head. We still have to be dying in the silence, killing ourselves, yet we are still answering sir sir sir as if they own us which they do anyway. Even at that you still find yourself doing everything... every clear level headed woman will just know this is it. They have to keep going.' (Vikky, 2015. Postgrad. Igbo)

Despite these women's socio-cultural differences and varying levels of academic attainment, it is obvious that they are experiencing a shift in their expectations of gender roles within the household. While some women have been successful in their negotiations, others were less so and the majority of women who were working part-time or full-time to supplement their

husband's incomes were not receiving significant help in the home from them in return. Thus the theory of the second shift by Hochschild (1989) comes into play. It can be gathered that, within the context of pre- and post-migratory experiences, Nigerian women are experiencing the challenging situations of working a second shift. According to Hochschild, women are absorbing the 'speed-up' in work and family life. They have a huge gap in leisure and wages as they give a huge amount of their time after work to childcare and housework and the majority of working mothers are 'emotionally drained' as a result of working second shifts after work (1989:261).

An alternate solution would be to employ paid labour in order to reduce the weight of the additional shift at home, but due to the high cost of childcare in Ireland (O' Connor 2015), Nigerian women can rarely afford to do this and are similar in some sense to many Irish women who also face additional or multiple shifts. However, for some Irish women, who have an extended family network or wages that are high enough to commodify some care or household work, second or third shifts can be managed. Migrant women, whose extended families are back home in Nigeria and whose wages are inferior, face more limited options. For example, Nkiru, who is a full-time occupational therapist and a mother of five, narrated the plight of Nigerian women, while admitting that Irish women are often going through the same stress:

'It is in terms of the help with kids, it is very hard, like staying up at night and you need help. Like in Nigeria, you have helps around. My husband is very helpful, he works full time... it is very hard looking after the kids even if you have childminder, it is not the same as it is in Nigeria. In Nigeria we have two or three helps and family members I feel women; we have loads of responsibility on our shoulder. They still have it (gender inequality) here in Ireland but in small quantity... here they are freer while in Nigeria, most of us are still in bondage. In relationships for sure when things go wrong, the men are free, they get away from all the blame and the women get all blame (Nkiru, 2015, Degree, Igbo)

4.9 Gender roles: code of conduct

Aside from household and labour market roles, the gender roles prevalent in Nigeria and in the Nigerian community in Ireland place a strong emphasis on the idea of respectability. When it comes to dress codes, it appears that pre-migratory expectations of being a respectable woman seek to dictate rigid rules around female sexual expression, her behaviour in public, her sexuality and her primary concern for care-giving in the home. However, when participants were asked about what behaviour was expected from a respectable Nigerian man, a much narrower set of ideas was advanced relating generally to the economic support of the family unit. The research findings show that pre-migratory expectations and attitudes to women's sexuality and behaviour are quite rigid. Women's expression of sexuality through dress was frowned at. For example, Participant 10 (known as Ngoo) is an Igbo woman married to a Yoruba man. She is between 40-50 years old and had lived in Ireland for fifteen years. She describes the expectations and attitudes of Nigerians towards a woman, her body and her sexuality:

'As a respectable Nigerian woman, we have different kinds of women. You know how to conduct yourself, you talk, you don't talk back, you don't talk if you are not talked to and you don't talk in public, , you know how to conduct yourself both in your dressing and in your manner of approach and if a man do not approach you, when men are in the midst talking you don't go in the midst and interrupt them and you are not allowed to er. your husband actually, the male dictate what you do basically... and you live by that.'

She outlined how certain behaviours brought disrespect to one's husband:

'So you don't wear mini, shorts, you don't wear trousers and you are not allowed to do those things because those are things that street women, those are the code of street people so you are not allowed to do that.'(Ngoo, 2015. Degree. Igbo)

When asked about Nigerian women in Ireland, Nigerian men were clear in their disapproval of what they perceived as shifts in appropriate behaviour. Albert, who has lived in Ireland for 15 years and is in the age category of 25-30 years, commented:

Women back home are more like respectful of themselves and more cultured' (Albert, 2015. Degree. Yoruba..)

David echoed this distinction between women in Nigeria and the new forms of behavior he observed in Nigerian women in Ireland.

'In our culture, women don't wear trousers at the time, it is a taboo for them to wear trouser. They don't wear mini skirt; it is not welcomed in the culture because a woman is respected highly and her body is the temple.'(David 2015, Doctorate, Ikwere)

It is interesting that the respondents often associate the gender roles of women with their behaviour, sexuality and dress. However, when asked about how a respectable man should behave, most of the participants simply mentioned that a man is a breadwinner or a provider. For example, when Ngoo was asked the same question, but this time with regards to men, she exclaims:

'Oh God (laughs) Excuse me that is a hard one. A man is the provider, he provides for your house, he makes sure everybody is fed, clothed; you (the man) are the breadwinner... playing with kids, the emotional needs of people are not into his consideration. As a man, those are not part of the things that are considered as your role, it is not important' (Ngoo, 2015 Degree, Igbo)

For Paul, men's roles were very clear:

'The right way a Nigerian man to conduct himself is to act as a man and to provide for his family... act as a man is that to lead the family in a right way and to call the family back if there is a problem, to settle grudges among the wife and the children that would be a good man' (Paul, 2015, Degree, Yoruba)

Regardless of gender, many of the participants concurred and emphasized the core responsibilities of the men:

‘The right way I will say a man should conduct himself in Nigeria should be; a man should be the head of the family, must be able to provide for the family, must be able to take care of the family, must love the family, the wife because the love thing is a kind of, it is a reciprocal thing, give and you take. Love your wife, that the thing yeah’ (Nna, 2015. Degree, Igbo)

‘the man is to love the family members, cater for their needs, provide for them, guarantee their material security, mental and psychological wellbeing, protect their interest... they have a lot of role to play to maintain stability of his family’ (Benjamin 2015, Doctorate. Tsekiri)

‘I believe that a father figure should always be protective; it could be financial, security, when a father is around, the family is supposed to feel secured, protected not just from physical harm but also the warmth of love’ (Nkiru 2015, Degree, Igbo)

When it came to the issue of fidelity, the gap between male and female roles was particularly wide. While men were socialised to expect women to modestly express their sexuality, the case was otherwise for men. For example, Fumilayo states:

‘The typical Nigerian man behaviour, they are ... I won’t say they are allowed to cheat. They don’t have many boundaries placed upon them when it comes to lifestyle. It seems like those men can do what they want basically, anytime and their wife will forgive them as long as they say sorry. Even if they don’t, they are providers so they are allowed to make mistake’(Fumilayo, 2015. Degree, Yoruba)

Women on the other hand are socialised to be less seen, dress moderately and to act as home-makers. The perception held by many of the participants is that a woman who wears a mini skirt or trousers or expresses herself confidently in public is seen by the community as less respectable and therefore suspect in terms of morality and perhaps even fidelity.

Most of the men who participated in this project resisted these elements of Irish culture while recognizing that the realities made some changes in gender roles in their community

inevitable. For example, for Nna, a male participant, this was about holding on to the core elements of tradition while embracing newer ideas although in a balanced way:

‘Okay before I came to Ireland my thought in this thing for Nigerian woman they should conduct themselves. They should not forget where they come from, all those eh the traditional way of treating their husband esp. when they are in a man’s place, they should not throw it aside just because eh embracing the western life. They should not let western life bring a kind of conflict between the way of life of a Nigerian and the way of life in the western world. They should at least try to marry these two things and that would help them to go a long way in their marriage. (Nna, 2015)

In summary, most first generation Nigerians were socialised into rigid traditional gender roles. The role of the man is ascribed as the provider, the protector and the decision-making autocrat, while the woman is his subordinate. The expectations of first generation Nigerians towards female gender roles are that the woman must fit into the traditional gender role and must confer to the man’s authority and control in order to be accepted as a typical respectable Nigerian woman. She must nurture both the man and the children. This said, some Nigerian women, and to a lesser extent Nigerian men, are involved in acts of gender role revision and reconstruction. Nigerian women in particular are aware of the limitations of more traditional gender roles and argue for more support and a more symmetrical division of labour with their spouses. However, there are still strong elements of continuity and contradiction clearly visible within the individual accounts provided by both Nigerian men and women.

4.10 Unchanged attitudes and expectations

The findings show that the post-migratory attitudes and expectation of Nigerians in Ireland towards gender roles exhibit elements of continuity. The Nigerians living in Ireland, and especially the men, still hold on to many traditional Nigerian family values, even though they

are aware of the egalitarian family structure of their host society. The findings show that most of the participants who are resisting a shift in gender role expectations and attitudes are women and men who are committed to Christian values and cultural traditions. The participants were asked who was the head of their family prior migration and who they think is the head of the family now. Irrespective of their variation in gender quality values, most of them agreed that a man is the head of the family, pre- and post-migration. These participants supported their resistance with scriptural verses from the bible. For example, various male and female participants insisted that the man is the head of the family, even after living in Ireland for an average of 11.7 years. It is obvious that neither the age category of the participants nor their tribes or educational qualification matters, as all participants resisted and justified their judgement with scriptural verses.

‘A man is the head of the family before I came to Ireland and a man is still the head of the family because that is how it is in the scripture.’ (David, 2015, Doctorate Ikwere)

‘Okay, a lot of ... well, from my perspective and the people I am living with, interacting with, they are mostly Christians so the mentality and ideologies will be based on their religious beliefs and ideas of the bible which is that a man is the head of the house and the woman is the subordinate one. Not like subservient like a co pilot but not in charge so the man is expected to be the protection of the family, the strong one, the one that is dependable em yeah that kind of thing.’ (Gabriel, 2015, Undergraduate sociology, Yoruba)

‘The woman should understand the place of a man. The place of a man is as the Bible describes it as the head of the family. If I am not going to go religious on you, I will say that the closest way that I can describe it is the captain of the ship. There can’t be two masters at a time. It is not possible to have two captains in one ship as the English man says. And if a clever woman knows that the husband is the captain of the ship that she is in the relationship. Relationship is a ship of some sort. If you understand that the captain of the ship means that he is able, capable, and ready and willing to steer this ship away from storm, tide and ship wreck and danger which means that you are going to need to trust his judgment and if you think that he is going the wrong way then as a woman, putting on your feminine cap, you need to show him not nag him.’ (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

‘Before I came to Ireland and after I came to Ireland, the man is the head of the family because it is a natural thing like I said before from creation. God created Adam and said till the land and be in charge and then now he created Eve and said be a supporter. So the man is always the head of the family and as a Christian I also believe that the man is the head of the family because St. Paul said that Christ is the head of the church as the man is the head of the family.’ (Alinco, 2015, Degree, Benin/Edo)

‘...Culture differs, the Nigerian men and women should adulterate their own culture and tradition and language because before God created you and gave you culture and tradition and language so don’t say because he (Irish) speaksI take his (Irish) own culture and make my own. No! Irish people had decided on how to live their lives and peg all their activities on it... so we must be careful when we try to learn and even change our tongue to speak their language, we must be very very careful because some people marry and start giving examples of the Irish marriage. What are you (women) doing? You (women) don’t want to cook because the women under the constitution are given the head in this country. You (husband or man) shout on them, they call it bully, you tell your wife to sit down here, and they call it bully... so when they come to Ireland, they know that the country gives them the head so they throw you out. Our own tradition they destroy it.’ (David, 2015, Doctorate, Ikwere)

Here, the men were asked specifically about what they understand of the changing gender roles in their own communities. The strength of their resistance and their reliance on religious and cultural constructs to support their arguments illustrates the durability of patriarchal ideology in this context. As covered earlier, Nigerian research suggests that the agents or structural forces that perpetuate gender inequality in Nigeria include religion, public opinion and cultural traditions (Anugwom, 2009; Arisi, 2011 ; Nwosu, 2012). Nigerian men certainly hold these values and defend them in the context of perceived changes within the Irish context.

However, there appears to be a shift among many of the Nigerian women interviewed. But this shift towards change is combated by a strong resistance from the men who accuse the women who defy the more traditional gender roles of denigrating Nigerian culture. For example, Alnico’s perception of Irish culture is that the ‘woman cuts the shot’. With this

statement, he is suggesting that Nigerian women are becoming like the Irish women and that African culture is by extension being diminished:

‘The Irish society has so much metamorphosed to a situation where the woman now cuts the shot. She decides on what happens even in the family and few times, I have heard one or two of my Irish friends jokily say, ‘I have to ask the miss for permission to do this or do that.’ But whereas in African society, it should be the woman saying I have to ask my man but here it is like you have to ask the woman for permission to do whatever or anything. Or if anything is affecting the family sometimes, even some women make decision, they don’t bother to ask the men and when the time come, she says, I decided to do what is best for the family and if you talk too much, that is the door.’ (Alinco, 2015, Degree, Benin/Edo)

David also complained about Nigerian women threatening core Nigerian cultural values and stated that in some cases the men are no longer respected:

‘Right now, we don’t know God; women don’t want to be respected. The culture had been adulterated so that is where we are. The culture has been adulterated. Things are not working the way it should work. There is no respect for men... they (women) don’t respect the marriage institution something like that. They come in as equal partner with the man while the bible say that the man should be the head of the family and respect the wife.’ (David, 2015, Doctorate, Ikwere)

One of the female participants, Nkiru, states that men are resisting change simply because they assume that Irish society has changed their women. But she also believes that living in Ireland has forced Nigerian men to also shift their gender role expectations slightly. She states:

‘It was difficult for all of them because they have to get involved in cooking, cleaning, changing diapers and minding the baby. Most of our men, they hate the fact that Europe had changed you (women) so because of that they close their heart. They don’t want to see that Europe had changed you. I accept that but did it change you because of the environment you find yourself without help? You (women) can’t cope and I want to be the first to say it, I can’t cope and if that is being a bad woman, I agree after all they don’t give trophy so I can’t cope. I can’t cope!’ (Nkiru, 2015, PostgradDegree, Igbo)

Nora sees being head of the family as a shared role. For her, there is no one head of the family but two. She argues:

‘I will say he is the head and I am the head because I have my own role to play because what I do is enough to make me the head too. I know he plays his own roles as well but he is the head in that aspect and I am the head in mine. So we are two heads.’ (Nora, 2015, Igbo)

When asked the same question, Blessing simply replied:

‘You want them (husband) to divorce us?’ (laughs, then remains silent) (Blessing, 2015)

Overall, the Nigerian women in this sample recognized the opportunities that were available for some gender role reconfiguration. These women are negotiating paid jobs with their roles of mothers and in practical terms they seek to gain additional support from their partners while retaining many of their core values of what a Nigerian woman should be. As evidenced by the interview data, Nigerian women critique the way that many women in Nigeria are treated and also offer a catalogue of complaints regarding the lack of assistance and substantive help their own men provide. However, as is perhaps understandable, they offer criticism in a general way about their community and are careful to avoid direct critique of their own male partners. They are aware of the egalitarian values prevalent in Irish society but still have to carry out the household duties and, in reality, experience high levels of stress and crisis that prompts them to push for change. Nkiru, who is a mother of five, states:

‘There are things you fight for right? You fight for everything, it will be difficult, people will talk, thing will happen but once in your heart, you know what you are doing and you are at peace with your mind, you don’t care. Whoever it is will get over it that is the way. I feel like I say to you, I work full time, I do other things, I look after my kids but once I can’t do, I can’t do.’ (Nkiru, 2015, Degree, Igbo)

However, not all of the Nigerian men interviewed are rigid in their attitudes and expectations of gender roles and gender relations. One of the participants is unique in his exposure to feminist ideas- Benjamin, a doctorate holder from Tsekiri, describes how his interaction with Irish society and his work with a feminist organisation in Ireland had enabled him to shift his expectations and attitudes towards women and gender relations:

‘Some men have actually transited and are now activist and feminist. I believe that women should be given a pride of place in the society because they have a lot to contribute to the wellbeing of the society. I don’t subscribe to male domination. My culture is very retrogressive, it is very, very unproductive, it kills talents, and it does not encourage positive transformation. It is very backward. You get the point, it is high time that culture underwent rightful transformation and imbibe an element of equality and cater for the freedom of women. I no longer subscribe to that culture of patriarchal by men because I am an activist... I believe that women should be given their freedom.’ (Benjamin, 2015, Doctorate, Tsekiri)

However, despite recognising that women experience discrimination, he still maintains that a man is the head of the family. He states:

‘Having said all of this though it is important to maintain a structure of authority in the family. A man is still the head of the family.’ (Benjamin, 2015, Doctorate, Tsekiri)

4.11 Situational Conflict: the role of the State and welfare system

The research findings of this study also show that Irish state immigration policies have impacted on the Nigerian family structure in several ways. Most of the participants who were interviewed had the perception that Irish state immigration policies, social welfare and child benefits had influenced the gender relation dynamic between Nigerian men and women in

intimate relationships. For example, Benjamin described in detail how the process of migration reshaped the gender relations in his family:

‘Most Nigeria women came here ahead of the husband and they came with advanced stage of pregnancy and when they had their baby, they were given residency status on the basis of having Irish children. On that basis, they were able to apply for family reunification for their husbands and many of the have people (work) experiences in different vocation in their country in Nigeria. So they were working and fending for their families. They were playing the roles that their husbands use to play while back home. When their husband came over, they saw that the role had now been reversed. Their wives were working and they were not. You get the point, so they felt threatened. You know, they felt that traditional patriarchal role bequeathed to them by the society had now been taken away from them by their wives. So they felt they were not comfortable with this and that was a source of domestic eh eh bad blood (violence or tension) between the spouses in the family.’ (Benjamin, 2015. Doctorate, Tsekiri)

The structure of the Irish immigration regime worked to feminize migration and set a precedent where Nigerian women were thrust into roles that in turn complicated and reconfigured their more traditional gender identities and relations. Some of the respondents believe that, in an effort to cope with the restrictions of the Irish immigration system, some of the Nigerians in their community opted for choices including marriage of convenience. Many of the respondents - although mostly the males - argued that this phenomena is leading to conflict, separation and divorce within the Nigerian community. For example, Benjamin talked extensively about Irish immigration laws and the marriages of conveniences that occur as a result of rigid borders:

‘Tension, tension in the family and because of that many African families had split. Many Nigerian family had split and also there were cases where some Nigerian men who were married and who came before their wives and because their asylum application failed, they had to marry Irish nationals in order to regularise their stay. You know, and they told them lies that they were single and some of them had children for them. Some of them entered into relationship not just with Irish women with residency status but also African women with residency status. So they used these women to acquire residency status in the country only for their real wives to join them later on with their children so this also caused tension. In fact Nigerians men were mostly the people that behaved in this way. You get the point. So when their real

wives came over with their wives, many of the marriage scattered and they were torn apart.’ (Benjamin, 2015, Doctorate Tsekiri)

An assessment of the implications of Irish immigration policies for migrants does suggest that state policies and provisions have created poor choices for many migrants (Fanning 2008; Fanning and Mutwarisbo 2008). Other aspects of Irish State policy, such as the provision of child benefit, featured in many of the participants’ analyses of what they perceived as strain and conflict between Nigerian couples in Ireland.

‘The child benefits according to some family cause a lot of confusion. If they don’t understand but for me it doesn’t cause confusion because I believe that the man, they should not be putting his eyes on this payment, because that child benefit is meant to train the children and buy their clothes.’ (Cyrina, 2015, Edo/Benin)

Who is entitled to and controls the social welfare benefits and child benefit are other sources of conflict in many Nigerian families. Participants suggested that clashes about access to and control over state benefits had on occasion ended in significant family conflict and in some instances domestic violence. For example, Albert, an accountant who had lived in Ireland for more than ten years, lamented that the state benefits were in fact encouraging Nigerian women to leave their partners:

‘If you look around there are so many single parents. The reason why is that women now feel like they can live without husband and they can still survive whereas back home (Nigeria) women as they say it... it is not like they cannot survive without work back home but I kind of feel like now the women they know that if I am (woman) a single parent, I probably will get more anyway so I can get that social benefit, I can get that welfare so people feel like they don’t need husband... in a way it is a woman’s country here but it is more like a men’s world in Nigeria.’ (Albert, 2015, Degree Accounting, Yoruba)

A female participant, Reikki, commented that the social welfare system did provide important supports but also complicated relations between Nigerian men and women.

‘The social welfare system allows you to be fed and supported by the state, the family welfare system make allowance for your family to support you.... which means that she can easily have an income of 1000 Euros and the man have nothing. The man becomes dormant and insignificant and then what does in that kind of situation is that the woman begin to be nasty. They don’t do what they are supposed to do. They become antagonistic and in some cases some men are actually abused by their wives. All sort of lies are told about the man and the woman end up having boyfriends outside the house which are not things that are common in Nigeria ...since the role reverse and the money is flowing from the woman’s end, this time as supposed to the man’s end. And of course, they also have the child benefit which is a problem which people are always fighting about.’ (Rekki 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

Rekki also discussed the possibility that Irish state policies could be creating not only conflict within the family but also contributing to women or men having to continue living in situations of domestic abuse because they are unable to leave. She narrated her challenges in Ireland when she was on Stamp 3 (dependent spouse of a work permit holder):

‘The only thing was when I came initially; I was not on work permit. The man was on work permit in Ireland. In Ireland as it is now only one person gets a work permit and if the relationship breaks down, the partner is in trouble and the partner then lives in the relationship like a slave until you know, you don’t get to eat until the man decides you are going to eat or whoever have the work permit decides you are going to eat. You know, you are almost raped in your own relationship because you have to depend on them (work permit holder) to feed you and people (partners without work permit) are beaten. You get beaten, maltreated and because of the stigma, the shame of reporting abuse, a lot of families do not report abuse. I work with a lot of migrant families who are in this situation who cannot talk or report the abuse and who don’t want people to know about it. I spend hours and hours on the phone with them and of course, you get victimised for providing support to people like that by the church and the community of the people you are providing support to.’ (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

The accounts of Rekki, Benjamin and Albert highlight the issues covered earlier in the literature review by Cheng (1999; Boyd and Grieco 2003; and Pillinger 2007), who believe that the gendered implications of migration policy, although unacknowledged, can have significant implications for migrant women (Boyd and Grieco 2003). These authors acknowledge that female migration is increasing and that women are becoming breadwinners (Cheng 1999). However, migration does not necessarily liberate women due to the structural forces which they experience (Pillinger 2007). For example, as indicated by one of the participants above (Fumilayo), a Nigerian woman who is not married has little or no respect within her community. Hence, she is under pressure to marry. While state benefits offer some form of independence, they can also create forms of strain and for most Nigerian women, being married is a desirable status that can lead to exploitation and vulnerability.

It is notable that although social welfare and child benefit payments are a source of conflict within Nigerian families, there are often mixed signals regarding who has control and access and who should be the main provider. Nigerian men are expected to be breadwinners, but social welfare is not considered by Nigerian women as the man's source of income. It appears that most women consider the social welfare as their own source of income for the family while Nigerian men understand any income that the family receives should be controlled by them. For example, Rekki tries to capture what she perceives as the tensions and contradictions that characterize the conflict between traditional gender roles and becoming dependent on state welfare: She states:

'You find out there still what the government call family income support which means that your family income is not enough you are living under a poverty level and so you are expected to have some support. And so the perception that the man is completely going to look after the family changed and where that does happen, then the man and I mean the Nigerian man now because I think that in Irish situation it is fifty - fifty- bring your money and I bring my money... as far as the Nigerian community is concerned you find that the man where he cannot provide this thing anymore become ostracised so

it is still the thinking that despite the fact that there is still the child benefit, the family income support, the woman still expect that the man must be fully responsible for all the other bill and this causes problem in the family and eventually you find out that the man can no longer cope and he moved out of the house or he start beating his wife or his spouse.’ (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

The interview data suggests that many Nigerian families in Ireland are experiencing a high level of family conflict, and that domestic violence is prevalent. As well as this, there is a general sense that men have become dislocated from their traditional roles, particularly as a result of either immigration policies, unemployment and/or reliance on social welfare, and that the Irish state empowers women with some financial power. This increases the bargaining power of Nigerian women. However, these women can be confronted with a powerful resistance from the men and women who are gate-keeping their traditional Nigerian culture and gender role traditions. These efforts to shift to less traditional gender roles in turn prompted some accusations that women are abusing this power. Some Nigerian women and many of the Nigerian men suggested that the pendulum has swung too far in the other direction and now Nigerian women are abusing the system in different ways; for example, such as calling the police to place pressure on their husbands to leave. In one of the interviews, the accusation was made that some Nigerian women were in fact physically and psychologically abusing their male partners and that, in a form of role reversal, it was actually the Nigerian women who were initiating separations:

‘Well, I would not say separation is common but I will say it is worrying. The trend is worrying enough and it is happening to even the most unlikely family because the government supports the women.’ (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

‘Yeah there has been instances that maybe one or two friends had mentioned to me before where the woman is psychologically torturing and abusing the guy, he would not come out and say that my wife is slapping me or beating me up at home because it is unheard of that a woman should be beating up a guy or slapping a guy, so the guy just takes it. Maybe the woman is doing that to get rid of the guy but the guy was not getting it so the woman resolves to more violent and calling the Gardas to kick him off.’ (Alinco, 2015, Degree, Yoruba)

Here, any efforts to assert control or separate from husbands were characterized in highly-negative terms. These remarks also suggest a limited understanding of domestic violence and an overall discomfort with the increasing levels of power being given to the females in the Nigerian community.

It is clear that Nigerian men and women face considerable challenges as they negotiate their relationships within the Irish context. For both genders, structural issues such as exposure to racism, discrimination and the experience for some of downward mobility certainly complicated their efforts to settle in Ireland, pursue their careers and maintain stable family lives. Many of the participants detailed a loss of status and experiences of racism since arriving in Ireland:

‘Actually, for some places that I applied for work, I usually mentioned in my CV that I was a graduate but I remember in a particular occasion, I went to FAS and the FAS officer that interviewed me told me that people like you usually do the porter work and security you know. I am telling the truth that was what he told me. I was shocked and surprised. I told him that I have a masters but he said, ‘I know but to be realistic to you, it cannot be possible to get a job in that particular area. Okay maybe later, you could get a job in your chosen profession’ that was what the man told me and it sank in. The message sank in.’ (Benjamin, 2015. doctorate Tsekiri)

For many of the male Nigerians interviewed, the loss of status and the experience of racism proved difficult to cope with.

‘The third challenge was how to deal with racism because I encountered. I had experience of racist abuse on so many occasion and it difficult to grapple with it. You know, compared to the situation back home where everybody, no body care where you came from, we have white people living in Nigeria in my country and we respect them, even some of our people worship them, they idolise them but when we came to Ireland or to the western world, the experience is reverse. I find it difficult.’ (Benjamin, 2015, Doctorate, Tsekiri)

However, Nigerian women also experienced racism and felt undervalued by Irish society:

‘A lot of Irish people don’t like migrants to sound that they know anything in their brain. They don’t like the migrant being like they know anything. I have been in Ireland for 16 years and a lot of my Irish friends are wonderful people but there are some of them who don’t know Jack. They can’t tell their right hand from their left hand and as a migrant, they expect you to shut up when they are talking...in fairness. We were brought into this country by a technological company in Bray and to get here and to be made to feel second class citizen, like people who don’t matter or people who don’t know what they are talking about.’ (Rekki, 2015, Doctorate, Yoruba)

It is clear that the relatively well-educated participants of this study struggled with what they perceive as a host society that understands them in limited terms.

4.12 Influence of migration: parenting styles:

Another interesting finding identified by this research is that the first generation Nigerian parents interviewed in this study also experienced challenges associated with parenting styles and the socialization of their children. It appears that most Nigerian parents are struggling with parenthood in a western society. The Nigerian immigrant families in Ireland are not only experiencing a change in the power dynamic between men and women in intimate relationships, but there also appears to be an additional dynamic between parents and their children. Most of the Nigerian parents interviewed and participants in the focus groups in this

project declared a conflict of interests in raising children between them and the State, or between them and their Irish neighbours. For example, when she was asked to compare the parenting practises of Nigerian women to those of Irish women, Nkiru, who is a mother of five and has lived in Ireland for ten years, lamented that Irish women do not control the behaviour of their children, particularly of their female children.

'I don't know about Irish women and how they raise their children. I have friends but we don't discuss personal stuff. I go to visit them like they do; an hour visit and I think they are ok. I think where the problem is that their kids especially the girl, they don't control them. Maybe I am biased because of my orientation. Their girls seem to be rough like boys, wandering in street in corners and hugging and kissing boys in public.' (Nkiru, 2015, Degree, Igbo)

What this statement suggests is that the Nigerian women living in Ireland continue to parent their children based on traditional Nigerian gender socialisation norms, which often mean that 'a girl is to be seen not heard.' This also represents an example of the marked boundary between Nigerian women and Irish women.

The perception of the participants in this study is that the Irish State has empowered children with too much power, which marginalizes their parenting styles. For example, according to Nkiru:

'The society doesn't also help it here like the right they give to kids and the things they take away from parent you know. You shout at your child and the child runs away, go to the government and they take the child away from you. They don't give you the right. I am not saying you should smack them but certain rights are taken from us and the kids know and capitalize on it.' (Nkiru, 2015. Degree. Igbo)

4.13 Brief summary of findings

In general terms, Nigerian men and women within Irish society experience distinct challenges such as difficulties in finding employment, devaluation and recertification of their

qualifications, having to work in low-paid and low-skilled positions and suffering as a result of racism. Nigerian men and women also then struggle with the dynamic of patriarchal gender values and norms imported from their home country. It is certain that there is no linear finding as to whether the attitudes and expectations of most Nigerians who participated in this study were influenced by migration; rather, what I discovered is complex and contradictory. The findings of this research suggest that some of these men and women are changing, while others - both men and women - are resisting change. The Nigerian men and women who participated in this project were influenced in various ways. For example, while some of the female participants were found to be open to bargaining or negotiating for the participation of their male spouse in household work, others were not. Also, some female participants seemed to want freedom from the control over their sexuality and behaviour, while others did not. However, a common attitude that was found towards gender relations within the Nigerian family is that the man should be the head of the family, although certain participants are beginning to query the relevance of letting this role affect the dynamic of the family.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCERNS

This study explored the gender role attitudes and expectations of first generation Nigerians living in Ireland and how migration influenced their gender role expectations and attitudes. The study data was collected by interviewing nineteen Nigerian-born men and women residing in various parts of Ireland. They were interviewed face-to-face by the researcher, using a semi-structured interview method with open-ended questions. I must acknowledge that my sample is small, as I only managed to interview 19 Nigerian men and women. As well as that, my research findings discovered patterns which are not generalisable but indicate some important processes and dynamics within the immigrant Nigerian community in Ireland.

5.1 Key themes and findings emerging from the study

The pre-migratory experiences of the Nigerian men and women who took part in this project might vary, but the overall experiences show that most men and women were socialised to fit into the 'breadwinner' and 'caregiver' gender models. Thus, in Nigeria, women are expected and expect to submit to the husband as the family leader who provides for the family, makes the financial decisions and determines the dynamic of the relationship. The man is the Lord who must be served and any failure of the woman to adhere to his rules can result in disciplinary behaviours, which can include physical violence towards the wife (Anugwom 2009; Ogege 2011; Nwosu 2012; Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014;). Nigerian women must submit to their husbands and behave in a demure fashion, while Nigerian men enjoy the privileges attributed to this way of life, which increase if they are also the first son in their family. These

male privileges, such as priority to education and other cultural traditions which are imbedded in the social institutions of Nigeria, promote men's upward social mobility while relegating women to the background. The consequence of this is an immense gap in gender equality in Nigeria (Ojobo 2008; Anugwan 2009; British Council Gender Report 2012; Nwosu 2012 and Ejumudo 2013; Agbegunde 2014).

Some of the common themes that emerged in this study include the capacity but also the limits of reconstructing the gender roles and gender relations beliefs held by Nigerian men and women in Ireland, and the complexity and continuity of the breadwinner and the caregiver models in the context of migration. Other themes that arose in the work included how broader interactions with a host society, including experiences of racism, stereotypes, discrimination and poor opportunities and access to labour market, had implications for the internal relationship dynamics between immigrant men and women. These themes are related to the broader societal and cultural constructions of gender and race in Ireland, Irish State policies on immigration, working conditions and State policies relating to family support. The findings of this study are in line with other research, such as the work of Nghe, James and Lowe's (2003) work, which identified patriarchy, the breadwinner and caregiver models, racial discrimination and lack of access to the labour market as factors influencing the gender role expectations and identities of Vietnamese men living in the US. In their work, Nghe et al. (2003) found that Vietnamese men were socialised to become family providers, to maintain family obligations, to secure a hierarchical family structure as head of the family and to refrain from emotional expressivity. Notably, Vietnamese men's gender socialisation, similar to that of the Nigerian men in this study, had an important impact on their broader experience of migration and integration into American society. And although this study assessed the implications of migration on gender roles, it is important to note that gender role

socialisation itself works as a factor in the overall experience of settlement in a host society. The difficulties and tensions experienced by Nigerian men and women are also echoed in other studies on Iranian men in Canada (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale and Chinichian, 2011). Shirpak et al.'s (2011) research found that Iranian-born immigrant men living in Canada struggled to accept what they perceived as a loss of power and authority, whereas Iranian-born women did experience a degree of change and argued for a form of liberation as a result of their settlement in Canada. The Iranian women living in Canada also took on a larger role in providing income for the family, and while over time Iranian men began to participate more in the household chores, they still found it difficult to deal with having to depend on their wives for finances. It can be argued that the Nigerian men living in Ireland seem to have resisted additional responsibility in domestic chores, but do also find it difficult to accept any dependence on their wives' income.

The key finding of this study is that migration to Ireland has created a context where Nigerian men and women have retained some core elements of their traditional gender role socialization, while at the same either reluctantly or pragmatically incorporated dimensions of less traditional Irish gender roles into their own roles. Notably, most Nigerian men and women maintained a commitment to some of the main beliefs that support the division of labour between the breadwinner and caregiver roles, the gender roles that were a core feature of their socialisation in Nigeria (Anugwom 2009; Ogege 2011; Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014). This commitment persisted even after the men and women migrated to Ireland and lived for an average of 11.5 years in Irish society. Some of the central tenets of this model include the belief that a man is the head of the family and the woman is the subordinate (Crompton 2006). The breadwinner role encompasses the position of the financial provider, the

disciplinarian, the decision maker and the leader. The caregiver role encompasses the home maker, the emotional supporter and the nurturer. While this characterisation emphasises the ideal typical definition of these roles, in reality men and women negotiate and interpret these role expectations in the context of everyday life. As such, this study found that while these gender role prescriptions were both claimed and to an extent practised by Nigerian men and women in Ireland, subtle but important tensions, contradictions and shifts were also evident.

The study found that the Nigerian men and women living in Ireland exist on a continuum between traditional and more modern ideas and practices around gender roles and the division of labour. Importantly, this research indicates that some of the role expectations of the men and women intersect; for example, both roles have the responsibility of disciplining the children and both contribute to the family in the role of the provider (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014). What is notable is the durability of their gender role prescriptions, particularly those of the Nigerian men. For example, the attitudes of Nigerians living in Ireland in general support the idea that a woman's primary role is to be a caregiver, even if she is also working outside of the home. The interview and focus group data show that Nigerian families in Ireland rely on dual incomes from both the man and woman to survive. Therefore many Nigerian women, and the majority of the research sample, participate in the labour market; however, at the same time they are also expected to manage the home.

It is also important to note the theme of continuity that arises in the interview data; there is evidence that Nigerian families have always been dual income earner families both prior and after migration (Yusuff and Ajiboye 2014). In Nigeria, the women had also supported the family financially in some capacity, while primary taking care of the home. In effect, this finding supports the durability of traditional values, ideas and attitudes regarding gender roles. It also supports some of the principles of classical theories on gender role socialisation.

However, participants also provided evidence of the variability of gender roles and the stresses and strains of negotiating gender roles in transition in a new context, which remains challenging even over time. These strains are exacerbated by migratory experiences such as difficulties in accessing the labour market for decent jobs, particularly for men (Ejorh 2012), and the absence of relatives or the resources to fund home help or pay for childcare support. The absence of a wider family support network and live-in home help in the area of childcare provision was identified in particular by Nigerian women as a significant source of stress and burden.

5.2 Nigerian men in Ireland

Most of the Nigerian men in the sample remained resistant, challenged and found it difficult to accept a departure from their pre-migratory gender role socialisation. However, some of the men interviewed had accepted the connection between gender role socialisation and inequality for women, but were less able and willing to change their behaviour. However, the realities of unemployment for Nigerian men and the increase in education/ work opportunities for Nigerian women have forced a degree of change that may not be openly acknowledged by Nigerian men in their public representation of their roles in their families and communities.

Studies show that, in a bid to control his wife, a Nigerian man may also involve the wider community to negotiate a situation where a wife is refusing to follow his rules. This study shows that the forces that promote this model of relationship in Nigeria can also be found at play in the Nigerian community in Ireland. Notably, there exist a group of Nigerian men and women who are eager to act as gate-keepers for more traditional Nigerian culture, which includes policing the boundaries of Nigerian gender roles. This policing is often supported by

biblical references understood as important guidelines for traditional Nigerian norms on gendered behaviour. Nigerian men construct internal boundaries between good Nigerian women and those who have 'strayed' into more Irish ways of behaving. The involvement of the wider immigrant community in policing women in particular and/or intervening in marital issues has been identified as a feature for other immigrant families from traditional gendered contexts when they settle in a more gender egalitarian society (Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale and Chinichian, 2011).

5.3 Nigerian Women in Ireland

For Nigerian women, there also exists a continuum of commitment to older ideas and practices of gender role socialisation, and the capacity and willingness to adopt less traditional ideas and roles, as exhibited by their host society. Again, this is a complex picture where Nigerian women in Ireland mark the boundaries of Nigerian femininities in contrast to Irish femininities. Nigerian women's critique of parenting particularly by Irish women, served as an important boundary marker between Nigerian motherhood and Western or Irish parenting. However, compared to Nigerian men, they are much more open to the idea of a more egalitarian family structure and more critical of the burdens associated with traditional gender norms. Although these women, based on their religious beliefs and cultural socialisation, still allocate the position of authority to the man as the head of the family, they are now *bargaining for autonomy* in various areas of their lives, such as managing their own income, which includes the child benefit received from the Irish government. In addition, some of the women in this study are bargaining for more participation by their husbands in household tasks, particularly in situations where both of them are working in paid jobs outside of the home. The descriptions of the battles that this bargaining and negotiation has

caused imply that Nigerian men still expect their wives to work outside of the home and to then return home to manage the household by themselves. In some situations the woman is the only earner while the husband stays at home, but the husband still expects her to return from work and fulfil 'her obligation as the wife' by doing the household chores.

Overall, the interview responses of both Nigerian men and women exhibit a clear sense of frustration and stress at managing the expectations of their partners, communities and the realities of living in Ireland as an ethnic minority.

5.4 Gender role shifts and their implications for relationships

It is clear that migration has had a significant influence on immigrant family relationship dynamics and acts to challenge the gender role expectations and attitudes held by both Nigerian men and women (Dion and Dion 2001; Yan 2001; Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale and Gilmartin et al 2008; Chinichian 2011; Gilmartin and Migge 2015). As described by the participants of this study, the challenges surrounding migration and the ways in which the Irish state vindicates women's rights (in comparison to Nigeria) - experienced in concrete terms such as the provision of child benefit - became sources of strain and contest within their intimate relationships. For Nigerian men in particular, who associated their identity with their control over the financial resources of the family, this provision of support directly to their wives is seen as a challenge to their authority. The men's sense of disquiet was added to by feelings of dislocation, due to a perceived gap between their educational credentials and either their lack of employment or current job status. For example, one of the participants of this study holds a doctorate and yet had to work in the care profession, an experience which

had negatively impacted his ego and self-worth. This was further exacerbated by the fact that he was experiencing discrimination in the workplace, a common migrant experience which is supported by other research (Farrell and Watt 2001; Barret and Bergin 2007; Ejorh 2011; ENAR Shadow Report; Fanning and Mutawarasibo 2007). For many Nigerian men, living in Ireland challenges the male privileges and authority that they were used to having in Nigeria. Nevertheless, this study shows that at least some of the men interviewed (a minority) did work to keep harmony within their families, rather than outright resisting these changes in an authoritarian fashion. There is evidence that some of the men interviewed were working on their relationships and negotiating with their wives with regards to household responsibilities and monetary issues. However, the majority of the men interviewed remain adamant and non-negotiable with regard to adapting to a significantly more egalitarian family structure. Many of the Nigerian women interviewed suggested in indirect ways that at times these tensions and strains were experienced in terms of relationship breakdown and physical and emotional punishment of women. Nigerian men attributed marital conflict and breakdown in their community in part to Nigerian women who had shifted too much towards 'western' gender roles and behaviours.

In summary, migration influences the gender roles attitudes and expectations of Nigerians in intimate relationships in both positive and negative ways, offering opportunities for gender role reconstruction for both Nigerian men and women. This also has implications for the greater gender parity within the community in general. However, with these opportunities also come forms of retrenchment and experiences of conflict. The consequences differ, depending on the approach taken by the Nigerian men and women. These can be placed in two categories:

1. The Nigerian men and women whose attitudes and expectations are shifting and who are willing to modify their attitudes and expectations to suit the current situation in adaptation to the host society's values;
2. The Nigerian men and women who have the most difficulties with adaptation and are the most resistant to change.

Firstly, migration creates a favourable condition for Nigerian women's egalitarian values to emerge and empowers them within and outside of the private setting. This is because certain structural forces such as Irish institutions and the Irish State's provision of child benefit and social welfare have egalitarian values which promote equal partnership between a man and woman. However, this does not entirely liberate Nigerian women, because they are also disempowered through state policies that create a structural barrier to their achievement; for example, Pillinger (2007) mentions that migrant women experience additional barriers, due to the intersectionality of their race and gender. This study shows that the Nigerian women who took part are indeed confronted with limitations in Ireland; firstly, they experience gender discrimination, which is still evident in the Irish society and which also affects Irish women; secondly, they experience an additional layer of discrimination as women of colour, and thirdly, as women of colour from a Non-EU country.

This category of men and women who appear to be experiencing a shift in their gender role attitudes and expectations are more willing to share responsibilities within the home and appear to be more open to equal partnership, which requires partnership in decision-making within the family. In other words, migration influences men's attitudes and expectations by giving them an opportunity to learn new skills such as cooking, child minding and housekeeping (Dion and Dion 2001). For a minority of Nigerian men who had some exposure to specific gender equality ideals, Irish society had provided the context for them to

reconsider some of their traditional beliefs. With regards to women, migration allows them to practise the reverse role of becoming a financial provider of the family. The women who may have been in smaller entrepreneur roles in Nigeria and whose incomes were limited now have better opportunities in service provision jobs in Ireland, which are also regarded as being more prestigious.

The study findings show that the men and women in this first category experience a more stable power dynamic within the family. They are able to negotiate issues within the family and the effect of conflict within the home is kept to the minimal. This category of Nigerians also appear to have had a family background which was perhaps less patriarchal than that of other participants.

However, migration influences the attitudes and expectations of Nigerian men and women in the second category in a challenging way. The men and women in this category are experiencing difficulties in shifting their strongly-held gender role expectations and attitudes, and are unwilling to negotiate new issues that arise within the family. However, this study found that, overall, Nigerian women are more willing to adopt a more egalitarian family structure compared to the men, who are more disinclined to let go of the privileges, family structures and gender roles that they were used to in Nigeria.

5.5 Conclusion

To summarise, the study findings show some contradictions. Also, the researcher did not find that migration induced a straight-forward path towards liberated women; rather, the reality is a complicated uneven contradictory trajectory towards equality, with women bargaining with their partners for a degree of autonomy. Finally it is important to recognise that the context

within which Nigerian men and women have settled in is not a gender utopia, but rather a society inscribed by gendered institutions and practices that continue to reproduce gender inequality for all women who live in Ireland.

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APPENDIX

Recruitment Advertisement

A postgraduate researcher from the Department of Sociology, Maynooth University, Co. Kildare is looking for Nigerian women and men living in Ireland and aged between 18 to 65 years to participate in her study.

The study aims to explore what Nigerian men and women think about the role of a man or a woman in the family or within an intimate relationship among Nigerians. It will investigate whether the role a man or a woman is expected to play in the family or relationship has changed and what might have caused the changes.

To participate in this research, you must be a first generation Nigerian who has lived in your country of origin prior to arriving in Ireland. You must be currently living in Ireland and for at least three years. Taking part in this project is voluntary and entails being interviewed and recorded.

If you are interested to contribute to this research, please do not hesitate to email me at MARIA.ONYEMELUKWEUCHEM.2009@nuim.ie

Participating in this research gives you an opportunity to include your voice in the issues that concerns you and your country Nigeria. This research involves voluntary participation and no payment is given to participants.

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARTICIPANTS

My name is Maria Onyemelukwe. I am a postgraduate researcher currently undertaking a Master of Literature (M Litt) in sociology in the Department of Sociology, Maynooth University, Co. Kildare.

My contact details: Tel: 01 7083659. Email: MARIA.ONYEMELUKWEUCHEM.2009@nuim.ie

My research is titled, 'An Exploration of Gender Roles attitudes and expectations in Nigerian Immigrant Families in Ireland.' This research aims to explore how Nigerian men and women understand their roles in family life and what they think about how men and women should behave. I want to understand if living in Ireland has changed how Nigerian men and women think about their roles in family life, relationships and the wider community. I am particularly interested in what reasons there maybe for any changes including how the experience of being a migrant and or the policies around migration may be important in understanding any changes in how men and women understand their roles.

You can contact my supervisor Dr. Pauline Cullen should you have any concerns about this research at this address: Auxilla, Department of Sociology, Maynooth University, Co. Kildare. Tel: 01 7086591, Email: Pauline.cullen@nuim.ie

You are free to I) not participate, II) participate but decline to respond to any question you consider sensitive, III) withdraw from the project at any time. Should you experience any personal stress before or after this project, and you feel need to talk to a family counsellor, please call my number and you will be advised on support services to contact.

I will be interviewing you for at least forty-five minutes and the interview will be recorded with a Dictaphone. I shall write up notes from our conversation and all information given to me will be handled with the strictest confidentiality. You will remain anonymous throughout the content of the report. The transcript will be stored securely in locked drawers. A downloaded softcopy of the interview will be stored in an encrypted computer for the duration of the research and solely for research purposes. These data would then be shredded when in paper form or overwritten if in written copy. The result of this interview will be in my report or thesis which will be submitted to Maynooth University.

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process, please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at research.ethics@nuim.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

'It must be recognized that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.'

Participant – please complete the following (Circle Yes or No for each question)

Have you read or had read to you the Plain Language Statement Yes/No

Do you understand the information provided? Yes/No

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? Yes/No

Have you received satisfactory answers to all your questions? Yes/No

Are you aware that your interview will be audio taped? Yes/No

Signature:

I have read and understood the information in this form. My questions and concerns have been answered by the researchers, and I have a copy of this consent form. Therefore, I consent to take part in this research project.

Participants Signature:

Name in Block Capitals:

Witness:

Date:

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

1. Tell me about your self
2. How would you describe yourself, a typical Nigerian man or an African- Irish?)
Female: (a Nigerian woman or an African-Irish
II. Why or why not?
3. Tell me about your experience growing up in Nigeria as a boy (or a girl)
4. Before you came to Ireland, what are the behaviours that you would consider as the right way for a respectable Nigerian woman to conduct herself?
 - ii) Can you think about whether these ideas have changed since you have lived in Ireland?
 - iii) In your culture, what are the behaviours that you would consider as the right way for a man to conduct himself in Nigeria?
 - iv) Now that you have lived in another culture, what do you think about the right way a man should conduct himself?
 - v) Tell me what caused the change in belief about what you consider as the right way for a man to conduct himself (or why it did not change)
 - v) What framed your beliefs and expectations about how a woman or man should behave before you came to Ireland?
5. What do you think are the responsibilities of a father to her family?
 - ii) What do you think are the responsibilities of a mother to her family?
6. Who do you think is the head of the family before you came to Ireland? ii) After several years of living in Ireland, who do you think is the head of the family and why?
7. Before coming to Ireland tell me the type of jobs that you thought a woman or a man should be doing?
 - II) What do you think now?
8. What influenced your beliefs about the kind of a job a woman can do when you were in Nigeria?
9. So when you arrived Ireland, what was your experience with regards to the job you did?
10. Tell me how you felt working in that position
11. How had the jobs you had done in Ireland impacted on your responsibilities as a father (or mother for female participants)?
12. Would you please tell me your experience as a Nigerian mother living in Ireland; what is it like?(or as a Nigerian father for male participants)

13. What would you think of the role of motherhood for Nigerian women in Ireland in comparison to Irish mothers?
 - ii) What are your reasons for thinking that?
14. Tell me some general beliefs about your culture in Nigeria with regards to a man and a woman in a relationship
 - ii) How would you describe the relationship between a man and woman in the Irish society?
15. Looking at the situation in Ireland among Nigerians from your cultural background, would you explain how some of these general beliefs change or did not change?
16. What would you say is the reasons for the change (or lack of change)?
17. How would you react to a father carrying out the duties of a mother?
18. What would you think if a mother was carrying out the duties of a father?
 - ii) Before you came to Ireland, what would have been your opinion on that?
19. In your opinion, what are the expectations of parents from their son? ii) Daughter?
20. What are your challenges fulfilling that expectations living in Ireland?
21. Having explored your challenges what are your own expectations of your male or female children?
22. How do you share domestic work among your children?
23. Tell me a story about your first three challenges when you came to Ireland?
24. What would you say changed since then? ii) And why?
25. How would you relate these challenges to the Irish immigration laws?
26. How would you say the Irish immigration policies affected most Nigerian families?
27. In what other way would you say that the Irish immigration policies affected you or your family?
 - ii) What solution would you suggest if you were given the opportunity by the immigration authorities?
28. Do you have any questions or suggestions on how Nigerian men and women in Ireland who are in a serious relationship can relate with each other?

