



Perceptions and Practices of Parenting among Nigerian Immigrant Fathers in Portugal

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Abstract

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The purpose of this study was to understand the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal, what cultural values they transmit to their children and how easy or difficult is it for Nigerian immigrant fathers to practice parenting. The aim was to understand if migrating to a new country with different culture and values brings changes in the way parenting is perceived and practiced by Nigerian immigrant fathers. This was a qualitative study among 6 fathers with children born here or who brought them to Portugal. This study fills the gap on migration from a specific African country, Nigeria, into a European country, Portugal, with insights on their experiences. The data was collected through in-depth individual interviews which were conducted in English with the aid of open-ended, semi structured questions. The research found out that Nigerian immigrant fathers perceived parenting as being the head of the family and provider. The research also found out that the Nigerian immigrant father's parenting style could not be incorporated into a single parenting style as suggested by Baumrind (1967), since it constituted of components of both the authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles. I also found that parenting for Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal was affected by native culture, children's reactions, Portuguese laws and norms and social support systems.

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List of Acronyms

CBN: Central Bank of Nigeria

DRC: Development Research Centre on Migration

IFRC: International Federation of Red Cross and Red

INE: Instituto Nacional de Estatística

IOM: International Organization for Migration

MIPEX: Migrant Integration Policy Index

NIS: Nigeria Immigration Service

NPC: National Population Commission

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

SEF: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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1. Introduction

This study sought to explore the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal. The research questions that guided this thesis are: how do Nigerian immigrant fathers perceive and practice parenting in Portugal?, What cultural values do they transmit to their children? and how easy or difficult is it for them to practice parenting?. The aims of the thesis are: (i) to understand how Nigerian immigrant fathers perceive and practice parenting in Portugal, (ii) to establish what cultural values they transmit to their children, (iii) to understand how easy or difficult is it for them to practice parenting, (iv) to fill the gap in knowledge on the profile of Nigerians residing in Portugal. There is a gap on studies concerning the practices of fathering among immigrants, to which this study provides insights. This is apparently the first study on Nigerians residing in Portugal, contributing to the knowledge on this section of the population in Portugal and therefore to social cohesion. The study made use of qualitative methodology, in which in-depth, semi-structured interviews were applied to characterise the process of fathering among Nigerians in Portugal.

This chapter provides the background and purpose of the study, which is followed by a discussion of research approach, the proposed rationale and significance of this research study and the main findings of the research.

1.1 Background and Purpose of the Study

Migration is considered an important phenomenon, evident throughout the history of mankind, playing a pivotal role in leading to the world known to us today (IFRC, 2011). According to the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) Glossary (2004, p.41), migration is, "A process of moving, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants". There are a array of components associated with migration and one of the components is parenting, especially when the parenting practices and values in the host country are different from the country of origin.

Every year thousands of people migrate to different countries for various reasons and according to the world migration report (2010) presented by (IOM., 2010), there are already more than 214 million international migrants in the world. International migration has increased over the last few decades (Rashid, 2004) and out of the many factors influencing migration, the economic factor is one of the most prominent reasons. The same factor does not exclude the Nigerian migrants (the study population), as the percentage of people moving out in search of employment and better opportunities are increasing every year. Estimates made by the World Bank Group indicates that 1, 117,901 Nigerian nationals are living abroad (World Bank Group., 2016).

Several research on Black African parent's migration to western countries, especially in Finland, have shown that they have had difficulties in terms of adjusting to the values, culture and practices of the new society, leading to conflict between them and their children (Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Ochocka & Janzen, 2008; Perälä-Littunen, 2007; Vuori, 2001). Black African parents in Finland face additional stresses associated with the Finnish language proficiency, changes in family roles and different cultural expectation about behaviour (Gonslaves, 1992; Lamberg, 1996), diminished occupational status, a tough climate, having a black skin colour, and prejudice.

The situation mentioned above has some similarities with Nigerian parents and children living in Portugal, as they share similar backgrounds and values, as highlighted in the studies above. The research questions that guided the research are: how do Nigerian immigrant fathers perceive and practice parenting in Portugal? What cultural values do they transmit to their children? And how easy or difficult is it for them to practice parenting?

1.2 Research Approach

The study was qualitative in nature with a case study design, comprising of 6 fathers who have children in Portugal and have lived here for atleast one year. The primary method of data collection was individual in-depth interviews, which were carried out with the aid of semi-structured questions. The interviews were conducted in English and in locations and time suggested by participants. Some other forms of data collection included observation and secondary statistical data. The data generated through in-depth interviews was transcribed and important themes were identified. The data was then analyzed using thematic content analysis.

1.3 Rationale and Significance of the Study

Understanding parenting issues is complex; it is even more complex in the context of immigration. In moving to another country, newcomer parents face a particular challenge, they lose the social structure that supported their parenting values, beliefs, and strategies, and they encounter a new culture in which these orientations are questioned (Ochocka, J and Janzen, 2008). Increasingly there is an interest in understanding parenting within the context of culture. Early attempts at synthesising parenting and culture often used existing Western models of parenting and attempted to apply their categories to non-Western immigrant communities. For example, scholars in the Baumrind school of thought have argued that some immigrants coming to North America fall into the authoritarian parenting style (Hall, 1977; Levine, 1980). There is a rich body of literature on transnational mothering, comparatively little is known about the fathering experiences of migrant men. This has been explained in terms of the assumed normativity of father-absence for breadwinning purposes (Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Yet, in advanced industrialized societies there is evidence of shifting norms around fatherhood, with a growing expectation for men to combine breadwinning with ‘active’ and ‘involved’ fathering (Hobson, B., & Fahlén, 2009). The research is an attempt to contribute to this significant yet under studied contributor to change in human lives within the context of migration.

The rationale for the study is primarily shaped and informed by the dearth of literature on the male perspective with regard to parenting in general and also within the context of migration. Literature on migration and gender relations seems to be lopsided in it’s focus on women although men are also a significant component. As Charsley & Wray, (2015) put it:

Migration scholarship has often lagged behind developments in gender studies. The importance of gender has gained increasing recognition, but this has predominantly meant a focus on women migrants. Only recently has a gendered lens been turned to the study of migrant men. Discourses surrounding migration in law and government, and in legal scholarship, remain characterized by neglect or dismissal of the gendered experiences of male migrants (p. 403).

The research attempts to contribute to this fairly new and understudied area of fathering among migrant men; exploring men’s perceptions and practices of parenting within families and

residential contexts. This study highlights on the macro issues of fathering and migration. It also shares the emotions manifested by migrant men (viz. Nigerians), which is poorly acknowledged and scarcely documented in the migration and gender literature (Montes, 2013).

The research has value for social work educators and practitioners as it highlights the gendered understanding of men within different contexts, that is, Nigerian and the Portuguese, which can contribute to an in-depth understanding and practice of fathering in other contexts too, for example, the West African population because of its socio-economic and cultural similarities. This increased understanding will help to inform and guide policy makers and researchers to engage in the field of parenting and fathering more effectively. The research provides an insight into how migration and fathering is a product of the social structures and not merely individual's activities.

This research brings out through the male perspective, how both men and women are limited by society at large; this provides impetus to all those working towards an egalitarian society to understand men's perception and ensure their active participation in all aspects of parenting. In a nutshell, this research project looks into how Nigerian men in Portugal understand and carry out parenting in their everyday lives. It also explores if their perception and practice of fathering has changed after migrating to Portugal. Since the study focuses on Nigerian migrant men in Portugal, it also looks at how they are placed in relation to the Portuguese society and the outcome from the meeting of these two different cultures. The study also navigates the factors contributing to this change in their understanding of fathering in the context of migration, and their participation within the household.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The presentation of the study on "Perceptions and Practices of Parenting among Nigerian Immigrant Fathers in Portugal" is organized in six chapters, beginning from this first chapter. The second chapter covers an extensive review of literature on the theme of parenting and fathering in the context of migration, including Nigerian emigration, fatherhood and immigration, fathering styles, fathering among the Yoruba of Nigeria, fathering in Portugal and statistics of Nigerians in Portugal. The third chapter elaborates on the theoretical framework used in the conceptualization and analysis of the study, namely theoretical key issues based on the

labor migration theory, ecological systems theory and theory of parenting styles and fathering and migration (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), (Baumrind, 1967). The fourth chapter provides a detailed account of methodology of this research and gives information about the research strategy, sampling strategy, research design, data collection techniques, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. The fifth chapter includes findings and discussions relevant to those findings in light of earlier studies identified through the literature review. The final chapter concludes the study and suggests avenues for further research.

2. Literature Review

This study follows the personal narratives of Nigerian migrant fathers from their West African state of origin and settlement in their destination country, Portugal. To better understand the topic of this dissertation, perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal, I present a synthesis of the literature published on fatherhood and immigration, fathering styles, followed by fathering among the Yoruba of Nigeria, fathering in Portugal and then focus on Nigerian immigrants in Portugal. The literature used in this review falls into two major categories: 1) scholarly academic contributions, and 2) reports and statistics conducted by national and international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Because of the vastness of the literature on parenting among migrants, the review of the literature in this study is selective. It focuses on major recent work and points out continuing gaps, such as cultural issues in fathering among migrants. In order to delimit the review, the study focused on heterosexual and biological fathers. According to the report published by SEF in 2018, it is estimated that there are 508 (326 male and 182 female) Nigerian residents living in Portugal. It is worth noting, that these data refers to individuals holding legal status, without estimating the actual number of Nigerians living in the country, since some are estimated to be in irregular situation, concerning their entry, stay or employment in the country. Although these studies do not specifically focus on migrant fathering experiences, they give indications that migration affects women and men differently. It is therefore important to investigate on migrant fathering experiences, as it can give us important clues to explain the differences in effects of fathering and mothering from the perspective of an immigrant. The study gives voice to Nigerian migrant fathers' perceptions and practices of their roles and values in family life in Portugal.

2.1 Fatherhood and Immigration

Contemporary immigration is a global phenomenon changing the social ecology of entire societies (Kandel, W. & Massey, 2002; Massey, 1995). The importance of the family in immigration is vital (Alvarez, 1987; Mincer, 1978; Rumbaut, 1997). Many studies have found that the immigrants' primary motivation is to provide a better life for their children (Suarez-Orozco, C. & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Families tend to cluster together in ethnic communities that

remain family centred (Parrillo, 1991). Families provide the security and emotional reliance to sustain immigrant endeavours in a new and potentially antagonistic culture. Compared with the relatively limited range of studies on children and women, the impact of immigration on fathers has received even less attention (Shimoni, R., Clark, D. & Este, 2000). For example, immigration is perceived predominantly in the literature as a source of stress and a risk factor for families and children (Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Minde, T. & Mok, 1987; Bourgois, 1998; Espin, 1992; Roer-Strier, 2001). It is also viewed as a factor that undermines a father's capacity to implement his fathering role (Suarez-Orozco, C. & Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

The classical immigration literature links risk factors with 'culture shock'. The multi-sourced stressors that the acculturation process in the host country may impact on families are associated with psychological and cultural crisis, deterioration of health, social difficulties, and emotional and physical burnout. The authors Hernandez, M. & McGoldrick, (1999) claim that immigration initiates a process of extended change and adaptation in all domains of a parent's life. These changes include adjusting to a new home, social environment, language, culture, place of work, and profession. Often, economic, social and familial support systems are undermined. Under such circumstances, parents' physical and psychological health, self-image, ability to withstand stress and anxiety levels may all be challenged. Although many immigrant fathers are unemployed for some time and are ostensibly more available to their children – the role changes, lack of experience in certain parental functions, and crisis brought about by cultural change often impair their paternal functioning.

Sluzki, (1992) states that children's rapid integration and wives' early incorporation into the host labour force may represent a threat to fatherhood status and family stability. The decline in self-esteem due to unemployment, poverty, and loss of social status has been linked to higher rates of depression and sense of acute feelings of grief, loss, guilt, isolation and marginalization, increased alcohol intake, and a rise in punishing and neglectful behaviour towards children (Gilan, 1990; Grinberg, L. & Grinberg, 1989; Robertson, 1992; Shimoni, R., Este, D. & Clark, 2003; Skolnick, A.S. & Skolnick, 1992).

Acculturation has been defined as a social and psychological process that is characterized by immigrants' acceptance of new mainstream culture (Berry, 1997). A study examining the relationship between acculturation and fathering practices amidst Indian immigrant families in

Pennsylvania discovered that the least acculturated families were the least involved with their children (Jain & Belsky, 1997). Other research, however, has found just the opposite. Coltrane, Parke, & Adams, (2004), demonstrated less acculturated Mexican-American fathers were more likely to supervise their children and to engage with their children in more feminine-typed activities than more acculturated fathers. Researchers have also found that acculturation among Latinos is related to higher parental stress, which in turn may be related to harsher and more punitive parenting behaviors (Dumka, L.; Prost, J. and Barrera, 1999). Nevertheless, compared with the range of studies on children and women, the impact of immigration on fathers has received very little attention. This lapse is still another manifestation of the general neglect that fatherhood research still has.

Another study conducted by Berckmoes & Mazzucato, (2018), on resilience among Nigerian transnational parents in the Netherlands revealed that there appeared to be two main strategies through which parents resolve tensions in this area. The first is to cherish or invest in one's ethnic or cultural background. The main resources employed to this end are childhood memories and teachings and regular contact with people, institutions or art that represent one's background. The second, contrasting strategy is to construct an identity and sense of belonging in ways that challenge national boundaries, for instance by emphasizing one's shared race or religiosity. In other, alternative constructions of identity and belonging, spatial notions remained important. Yet, instead of national boundaries, parents referred to broader categories like 'Africa' and 'Europe' and 'abroad' when alluding to their background and place in the world.

The quantitative findings from a study of a similar group of respondents (Haagsman, K., 2015; K. and V. M. Haagsman, 2014; R. K. Haagsman, 2015) show that transnational parents mediate their subjective sense of well-being through their relationships with their children abroad. These findings fit in with the second tension mentioned in our qualitative interviews, namely that of 'doing family' while spatially separated. Rather than seeing family as a given, 'doing family' refers to the active ways in which people continuously construct and maintain 'family'. Family structures, roles, rights and responsibilities require constant renegotiation, especially when family arrangements differ from the normative frameworks (Strass et al. 2009: 167) and this can put pressure on relationships.

2.2 Fathering Styles

Foremost was the view emphasizing the father's role as primary breadwinner and the mother's roles as homemaker and child care-giver. (Seward, 1991). The authors Colman, A., & Colman, L. (1981), concerning the changing concept of fathering, present four archetypes of approaches to fathering drawn from legends, literature, dreams, paintings, as well as personal and clinical experiences, namely: sky fathers, earth fathers, royal fathers and dyadic fathers. It is worth noting, that the concept Royal (Sky) fathers is related to authoritarian parenting style, because royal fathers are associated with high level of demand or control but low level of responsiveness. Dyadic (Earth) fathers are related to authoritative because they are associated with low level of control but high level of responsiveness as advanced by Baumrind, (1967). The archetypes are not mutually exclusive or permanent, as many fathers may combine aspects of two or more of these or change their approach over time.

Men who take the traditional approach to the status by achieving success outside the family but are more distant yet powerful within the family are termed Sky fathers (Colman, A., & Colman, L. 1981). The authors Hewlett, B. S., & Macfarlan, (2010) overview of small-scale societies labels these fathers as "distant" with a primary concern with the roles of disciplinarian and provider. Fathers who are active in both the direction and details of child care within the family become the ongoing nurturing provider and are called Earth fathers (Colman, A., & Colman, L. (1981). The authors Hewlett, B. S., & Macfarlan, (2010), categorized these fathers' behavior as "intimate", characterized by strong attachments and frequent care giving interactions with infants. The father who successfully combines both sky and earth father approaches may follow two different paths.

The Royal father assumes complete control of every aspect of the family and child's life with a spouse, if present, being subordinate to his supreme authority. In contrast, the Dyadic father chooses to balance the two approaches by attempting a partnership with his spouse. The authors Hewlett, B. S., & Macfarlan, (2010) also refer to "multiple" fathers where several men, including biological and social fathers and others, share responsibility for children.

The authors Gray, P. B., & Anderson, (2010), contend that additional non-maternal childcare is necessary universally and that fathers most often are expected to provide this care. Across known

cultures, fathers most often were expected to be the key providers for the family, while women tended to handle routine home duties and the daily care and nurturance of the children. But many exceptions have been documented in non-Western cultures, especially in small-scale societies. Some have very different prescriptions including mothers as providers and fathers as child caregivers (Hewlett, B. S., & Macfarlan, 2010).

Arguably, the most powerful influence on parenting practices is one's personal experiences in family life while growing up (Hawley, 1981). Adult development and fathering styles are influenced by the legacies of fatherhood passed down through the generations, as has been well documented (Pittman, 1993; Popenoe, 1996; Snarey, 1993). In the four decade study of father-child inter-generational relationships, (Snarey, 1993) found that patterns of paternity related to men's status during mid-life.

An analysis of the fathering styles in Phillipines, revealed that new kind of parenting role has been identified for decades among Filipino fathers (Medina, 2001). The author Medina, (2001) describes modern roles of Filipino fathers as becoming more supportive and nurturing than in the distant past. These roles have got to do with their warm and supportive relationship with their children, while taking the role of authority figure and disciplinarian at the same time. He goes on by saying that Filipino fathers were also involved in other parenting activities or practices such as playing with their children, assisting in their homework, storytelling, accompanying them going to and from their schools and even simple walks with them (Medina, 2001). This was supported by the works of (Harper, 2010) involving 133 Filipino fathers when they are found to do roles such as helping children doing homework, joining in leisure activities with children, going to church activities with children, working on certain projects together, etc. Tan, (1994) also proves this by discussing his findings that Filipino fathers who have reached higher levels of educational attainment or their respective professions are found to be spending longer hours each day in certain routine tasks such as housework and child care.

2.3 Fathering among the Yoruba of Nigeria

The Yoruba tribe of South-western Nigeria style of parenting, like many sub-Saharan African cultures, is based on three responsibilities: hard work ethics, maintenance of discipline, and social etiquette built on respect for elders and their views about how to tackle life experiences.

(Babatunde, et.al., 2011). The definition of role as a set of culturally defined rights and responsibilities, related to expected behavior patterns, obligations and privileges squarely agrees with Yoruba parenting purpose. The core basis of the understanding of these responsibilities is a religion-based understanding of worthwhileness of existence and remembrance after death. Yoruba see the child as the most important measure of parental success in life and the only proof of resurrection. (Babatunde, et.al., 2011).

The Yoruba parenting role is divided into two complementary parts: discipline and comfort. The father is the right hand of discipline. He accepts the role of being the parent who imposes harsh discipline when necessary on the child. The mother is the left hand of comfort. This is one of the very few occasions when the symbolism of the left hand is auspicious and very necessary to the social fabric of Yoruba parenting. The goal of discipline is to reform, correct and reinstate into a situation that can lead to improvement. That is why the Yoruba repeat, *Ti aba fi owo otun ba omo wi, afi tosin faamora* (when we use the right hand to flog the child and he cries, then we use the left hand to bring him close and comfort him or her).

More importantly to parenting is a balancing exercise between the complementary roles of the father and the mother. That role among the Yoruba is conceptualized in the categories of the right hand and the left hand. The father is the right hand of punishment. The mother is the left hand of comfort and reason as to why the punishment was necessary so that the child may become a useful member of the society (Babatunde, et.al., 2011).

2.4 Fathering in Portugal

Like most of Southern Europe, Portugal has until recently espoused family life that was clearly organized by gender differentiation with man as the main, or even sole, economic provider, and women as primary care-givers, with family organization as their central roles (Aboim, 2010). In the last few decades the gender dynamics and familial roles have shifted; principally due to political and economic changes, with increased participation of women in the workforce outside of the home (Cabrera, N., Tamis-LeMonda, C., Bradley, R., Hofferth, S., & Lamb, 2000). Although the traditional ‘male breadwinner and housewife’ dichotomy remains a Portuguese family pattern, it is no longer viewed as the ideal, being often associated with low educational levels and lack of employment opportunities (Escobedo, A., & Wall, 2015). It should be noted

that Portugal is one of the EU countries with the highest number of women with preschool aged children who are working full time outside of the home (Aboim, 2010). In this context and with progressive change on how gender roles are perceived (women as having fulfilling careers and men as able care-givers) it has become the “new modern” to share economic, as well as domestic and parental responsibilities (e.g., Cabrera, N., Shannon, J., Mitchell, S., & West, 2009; Raley, S., Bianchi, S., & Wang, 2012).

Like other European and North American countries, caregiving is a newer domain in which men actively participate, and when compared to motherhood, parenthood is culturally less well defined. Several studies show that fathers are less involved in engagement activities than mothers (Craig, 2006; McBride, B. A., & Mills, 1993). In Portuguese two-parent families, studies show that mothers are more involved in caregiving as well as in play, and seem to be more sensitive during interactions, when compared to fathers (e.g., Fuertes, M., Faria, A., Beeghly, M., & Lopes-dos-Santos, 2016). However, others studies have shown that, although less involved in childcare, and particularly in family management; fathers are just as active in play, teaching/discipline and outdoor leisure activities (e.g., Monteiro, L., Fernandes, M, et al., 2010; Torres, N., Veríssimo, M., Monteiro, L., & Santos, 2012; Torres, N., Veríssimo, M., Monteiro, L., Ribeiro, O., & Santos, 2014).

2.4.1 Portuguese Commitment on Integration of Immigrants and Family Reunification

To understand the context on fathering among immigrants in Portugal, it is important to know the public policies in the country, namely concerning the family reunification. If the policies on reunification of families are favourable to the immigrants, it will be easier for the immigrants to bring their spouses and children, otherwise very stringent policies will keep the immigrant families apart.

Immigrants in Portugal enjoy some of the most favourable policies designed to integrate them better in the society according to Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX., 2011). MIPEX is one of the most extensive guides on immigrant integration which measures integration policies in 31 countries in Europe and North America in seven policy areas of labour market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality and

anti-discrimination (MIPEX., 2011). These policies are measured in relation to the highest standard set in terms of providing equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities to all residents where each country is presented with a score in the above mentioned policy areas. The higher score represents close proximity to the highest standard conceived from Council of Europe Conventions or European Union Directives (MIPEX., 2011). MIPEX III provides a good indication on the efforts made by 31 countries in terms of integration of migrants which then makes it possible to compare these countries, monitor their integration strategies and help in improvement of integration policies.

The MIPEX III results for Portugal are impressive with an overall score of 79 out of 100 and is ranked 2nd amongst the 31 countries only below Sweden which has an overall score of 83 (MIPEX., 2011). The (IOM., 2013, p.250) understands their earnestness as it mentions, "despite the serious economic crisis, the Portuguese government has maintained a strong commitment towards immigrant integration" and speaks of the government's aim of developing measures to promote citizenship rights, inclusion and duties in the areas of education, employment, professional qualifications and housing. This suggest that immigrants in Portugal are well protected by law and are provided equal rights and opportunities as compared to other European and North American countries making it a preferable destination for immigrants to live, work and study in (MIPEX., 2011).

Special mention should be given to Family Reunification Policies in Portugal, as it received the highest score in MIPEX III, with 91 points, making it the most favourable country for immigrants who wish to bring their family in the host country. The legislation in "Portugal recognizes that living in a family is a starting point for integration in society, even during the recession" (MIPEX., 2011, p.161) and has minimum requirements to allow family reunification and promote integration in the society. The Portuguese immigration law of 2007 ensured family reunification as a universal right for all qualified for family reunification. There are some provisions as well where family reunification is allowed for the immigrant's parents, as well as children above the age of 18 provided that they are depending on the immigrant. The documents which are required to apply for family reunification includes: certified copy of family relationship, evidence of availability of housing, evidence of sufficient means to provide for family and criminal records (ibid.). In a study of family reunification being a barrier or facilitator

of integration of immigrants, it was found that even though the concepts of integration were different for the migrants, they all mentioned that having their family was a pre-condition for integration and highlighted the positive impact of reunification in various levels of their lives, as researched by Oliveira., et al, (2012).

Likewise, the access to Nationality Policies in Portugal received the highest score in MIPEx III, with 82 points, ensuring that the immigrants have the provision to become a Portuguese citizen if they wish to, given that all the requirements are met. Immigrants are granted the right to nationality through naturalization if: they have resided in Portuguese territory for at least 6 years with any type of residence permit except a short stay visa; have sufficient knowledge of the Portuguese language, have reached adulthood or being of age according to Portuguese law and have not been found guilty of a crime punishable with a maximum prison sentence equal to or greater than three years under Portuguese law (ACIDI, N.A).

2.5 The Context of Nigerian Emigration

The history of labour migration in Nigeria dates back to four eras of slave trade between 1400 and 1900, when over 12 million slaves were exported from west, west-central and eastern African countries (Nigeria inclusive) to European colonies, in the Americas in the 15th century (Mberu, B. U., & Pongou, 2010).

After Nigeria's 1967-70 civil war, it experienced almost 30 years of dictatorship and during the 1980s, economic deterioration. Democracy was reinstalled in 1999 but civil unrest remained. Since 1999, more than 10,000 people have been killed in violent riots as a result of poverty, great inequality, misrule and conflicts related to ethnic and religious differences (Carling, 2006). The greatest religious divide is between Christians in the South and Muslims in the North. This conflict escalated when the Islamic part of the country installed Sharia law in the early 2000s. Following Nigeria's independence in 1960, large migration flows from Nigeria outside of the African continent began. At first, the emigrants were primarily elites who wanted to obtain an education abroad and return to Nigeria. However, because of political instability and economic downturn in the 1970s and 1980s, emigration increased significantly and included lower-skilled migrants searching for better job opportunities. Larger flows of migration to Europe began in the 1980s and 1990s because of the economic downturn, the corrupt and violent military regime,

high inequality and increasing poverty, which led many highly educated Nigerians to migrate to the North (Carling, 2006).

2.5.1 Nigerian Emigration over the Last Decade

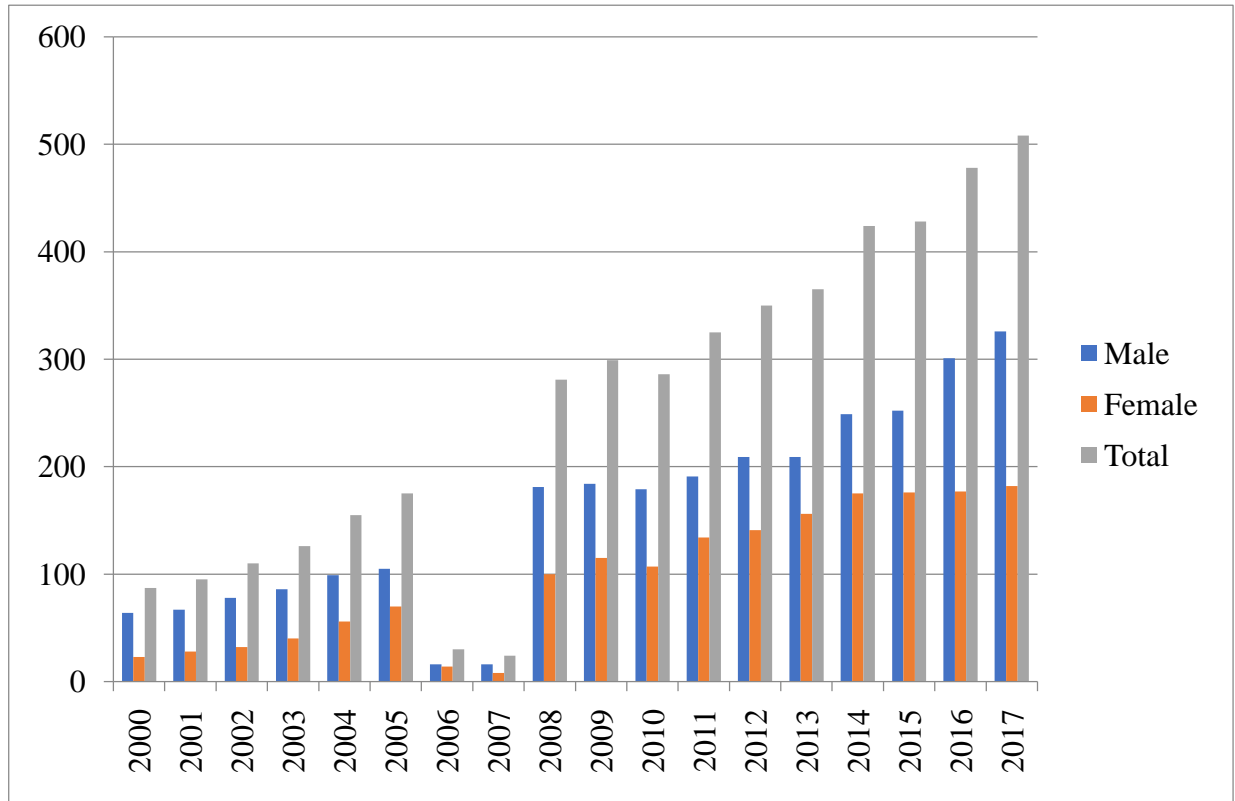
Although Nigeria is traditionally an important destination for migrants in the region, there are more people emigrating from, than immigrating to Nigeria. The net migration rate (per 1,000 people) has increasingly become negative in recent years, decreasing from -0.2 in 2000 to -0.3 in 2005. (Development Research Centre on Migration, 2007). Estimates made by the World Bank Group indicates that by 2013, 1, 117,901 Nigerian nationals were living abroad and the top destination countries in 2013 included: the United States, the United Kingdom, Cameroon, Ghana, Italy, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Spain, Germany and Gabon. (World Bank Group, 2016).

Although it is difficult to obtain information on the skills level of emigrants, there are some indications that the propensity to emigrate is particularly high among the highly skilled. According to the latest estimates in 2000, 10.7 per cent of the highly skilled population who were trained in Nigeria work abroad, mostly in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. In OECD countries, Nigerians appear to work predominantly in the health sector (21%), followed by the real estate and wholesale sectors (both with 12%) (Docquier, et al, 2006). There has been a marked increase in the number of Nigerians emigrating for educational purposes. From 2000 to 2006, the number of Nigerian students abroad more than doubled, from 10,000 to 22,000 (UNESCO, 2008). According to the latest data available from the World Bank, (2017), the inflow of remittances to Nigeria increased from USD 17.9 billion in 2007 to USD 25 billion in 2018. In 2018, remittances accounted for 6.1 per cent of GDP.

2.6 Nigerians in Portugal

There was an increase in the number Nigerians nationals residing in Portugal from 2000 to 2005. In 2006 and 2007 there was a decrease, probably because they migrated to other European countries or because they were not documented with residence permits. From 2008 there was an increase till to date. By 2017, there were 508 Nigerian national residing in Portugal, with more males (326) than females (182).

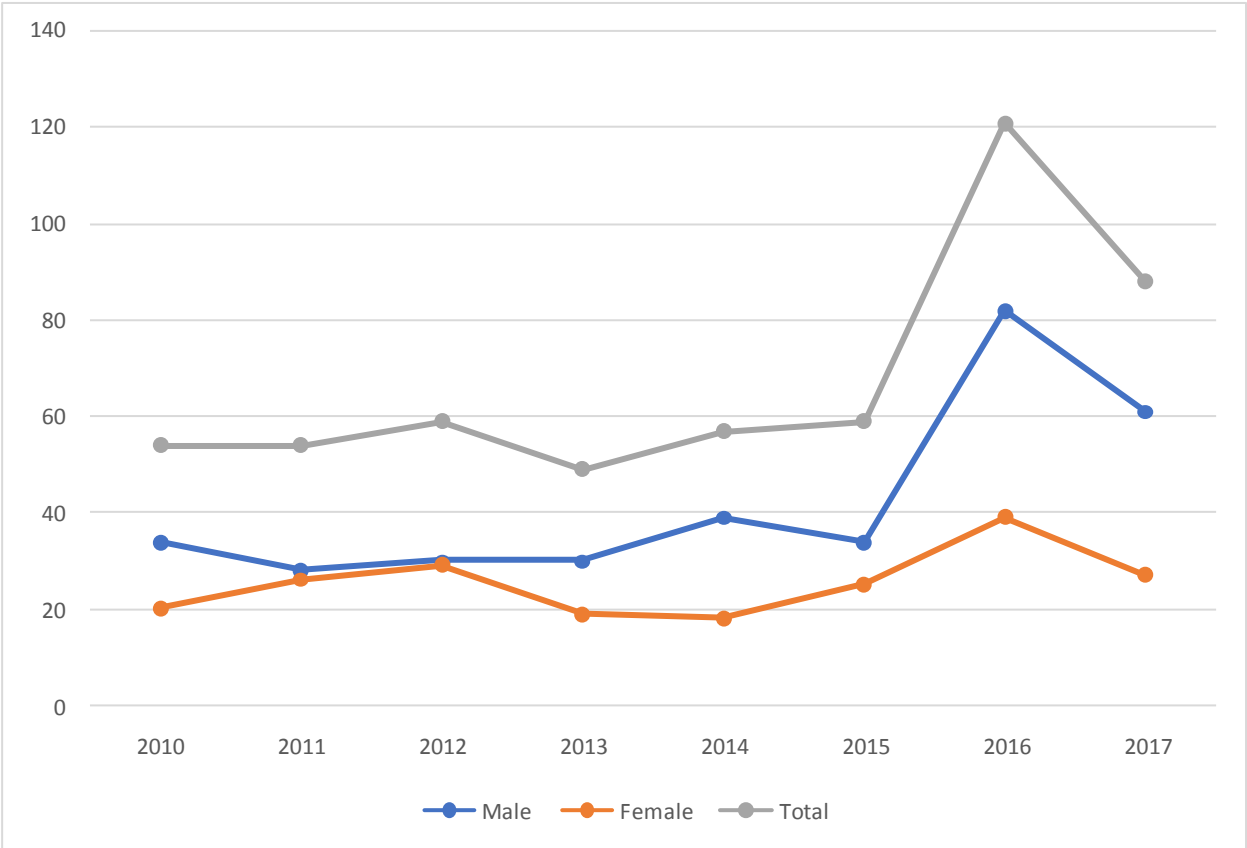
Figure 2.1. Statistics of Nigerian Population in Portugal, 2000 – 2017



Source: (SEF Report, 2000 – 2017)

There was an increase in the number of Nigerian migrants coming to Portugal from 2010 to date as indicated on the graph below. This can be attributed to the favourable Portuguese immigration law of 2007, which ensured family reunification as a universal right for all qualified for family reunification, thus allowing more migrants to come to Portugal and later reunite with their families members.

Figure 1.2: Statistics of the Inflow of Nigerian Migrants to Portugal, 2010 – 2017



Source: SEF Report, (2010 – 2017)

3. Theoretical Key Issues

3.1 Introduction

This study which investigates the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian migrant fathers in Portugal, is guided by three theoretical frameworks: the labour migration theory, ecological systems theory and Baumrind theory of parenting styles.

The phenomenon of world migration has been studied under various disciplines of social science with several theoretical perspectives evolving as a result, but, there is general consensus among researchers that a comprehensive migration theory does not exist, as they have evolved in isolation to each other (Haas, 2008). Taking into account the various dimensions of migration such as social, cultural, economic, political, gender, demographic dimensions to name but a few, Massey, et al. (1993) acknowledges that one discipline alone might not be able to explain the complexities and diversity of migratory process. Hence, it is advised to cover the migration studies using an interdisciplinary approach to offer proper understanding of this process. One dimension in migration is parenting among migrants as it creates a unique set of challenges to parents and children, which can either lead to conflicts and differences between them in cases of not being able to cope with those challenges, or find a way to handle them creating stronger familial bonds (Deepak, 2005). This study deals with Nigerian immigrant fathers and focuses on how they raise their children, what cultural values they transmit in the host society and how easy and difficult is it for them to practice parenting, to which the theoretical key issues below are insightful:

3.2 Labor Migration Theory

Labor migration is one of the classifications of migration (King, R., et al., 2010). The flow of labor migration following World War II is attributed to the structural imbalances between the highly industrialized developed countries and the developing countries which are often described as poor nations (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). This was characterized by a phenomenon having a significant number of workers searching for employment opportunities which perfectly fit meeting demands for cheap labor in the developed and highly industrialized

(Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). People migrate and work overseas mainly because of the desire to increase economic security.

The authors Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., (2004) further, add and have an interesting argument by saying that there is then a transition, in terms of kinds of occupations, from the country of origin to country of destination that is associated with high rates of transition into low-status occupations for both men and women. However, they expect that despite the types of occupations overseas workers fill, they would generally still experience a rise in earnings that would contribute, in turn, to the improvement of their households' living situation back home (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004).

There are at least two identifiable theories related to labor migration and these are the micro-economic theory of immigration and household theory of labor migration (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). First, micro-economic theory of immigration posits that labor migration is considered as a rational response of an individual to differing economic opportunities (Oberg, et al. as cited in Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). They further add that individuals migrate in search of better income from areas of "human capital scarcity and labor abundance to places with capital abundance and labor scarcity". (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). This greatly contribute to the flow trend of migrants from poor developing countries to the highly industrialized, rich and developed countries (Gross, et al. as cited in Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004).

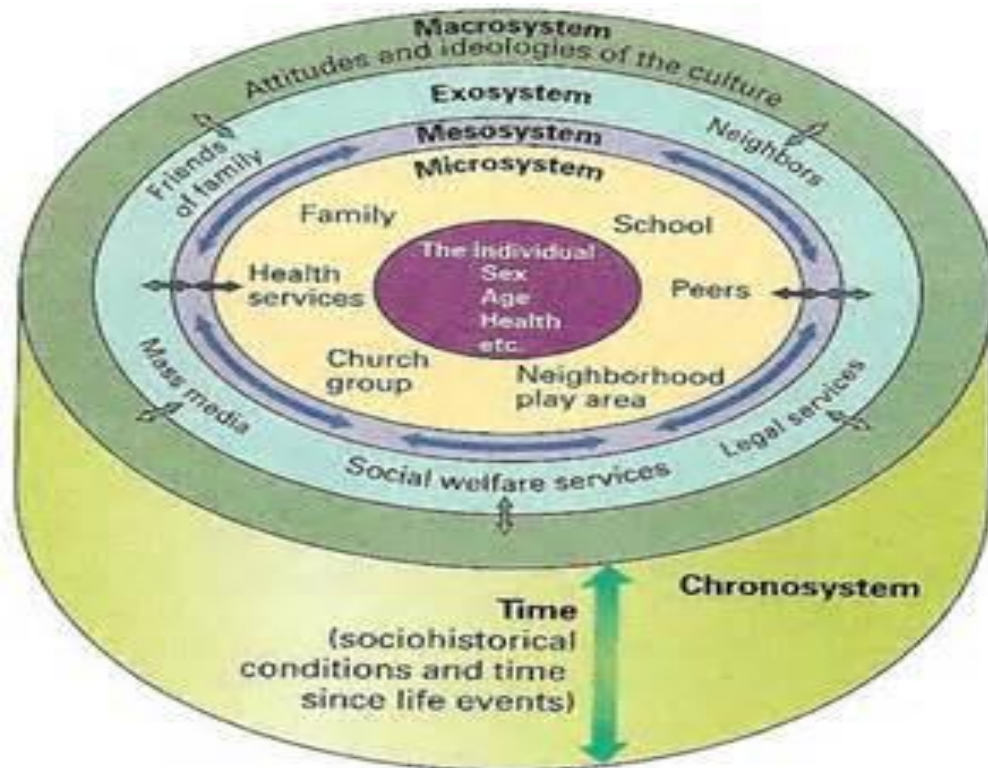
Another theory is the household theory of labor migration. This theory argues that labor migration is a strategy employed by the household units of migrant workers whereby family resources are apportioned rationally to improve the flow of income and to minimize the scope of risk economically (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). As a consequence, members of the household unit cooperatively act as one to minimize factors associated with potential market failures to gain more income and to minimize economic risks (Massey and Stark, as cited in Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). Household migration strategies vary considerably from society to society, (e.g to send the most productive members of the family, while the other members of the family are expected to search for employment in the local labor market and to help around the house) (Pesar as cited in Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). Often, overseas workers have no intention to stay parmanently in the destination countries, but to just

search for temporary jobs in order to help their respective families back home (Semyonov, M., & Gorodzeisky, A., 2004). This theory is very relevant in this study because it provides an understanding of the motives and reasons why Nigerians migrate from West Africa to Europe.

3.3 Ecological Systems Theory

The importance of family in the healthy development of a child has been well documented and Bronfenbrenner, (1986) mentions that the focus of studies done before him was mainly on "intra-familial" process of parent-child interaction, i.e. the emphasis for child development was given to the relationship between parents and children. But he was critical of this approach as he reasoned that there are external factors which affect the family and needs to be taken into consideration which he calls the "extra-familial" conditions accredited to the meso-system, exo-system and the chrono-system. This led him to develop the ecological systems theory in which the development of a child depends on five environmental sub systems (micro-system, meso-system, exo-system, macro-system and chrono-system) and their interaction with each other. He states that "The ecological environment is conceived as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (1979, p.3), showing the interconnectedness between the sub systems, illustrated in Figure 3.1

Figure 3.1: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory of Child Development



Source: <http://www.growingupinaustralia.gov.au/pubs/reports/krq2009/keyresearchquestions.html>

Micro-system: The micro-system constitutes the sub system closest to the child, which comprehends the relationship between the child and his/her immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The immediate environment generally includes family, peers, school and neighborhood. These are the areas or people who the child spends most of their time with in their day to day life. This is a bi-directional process where the components of the micro system can influence the behavior of the child and vice versa. For this research, the understanding of the interaction and relation between the child and the father represents an important part as it will provide meaningful insights regarding the child's behavior. The focus will especially be on the father - child relationship.

Meso-system: This system corresponds to the interaction between two or more micro-systems where the child actively participates.

Exo-system: The exo-system represents the social system which does not deal with the child directly, but might have indirect influence on them (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Macro-system: This system is comprised of cultural values, customs and laws (Berk, 2000) and incorporates the micro-system, meso-system and the exo-system (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). It is observed that the cultural values and customs influence the parenting practices among individuals, but, after migration, these parenting practices might be influenced by the values and customs of the present nation. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship between the macro system to the other systems, especially family and children.

Chrono-system: The chrono-system adds the dimension of time and emphasizes life transition and individual changes through time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The ecological systems theory was used by Paat, (2013), in his study of working with immigrant children and their families in an attempt to understand the family mechanisms affecting immigrant children's assimilation trajectories. He argues that "immigrant families do not exist in isolation but are imbedded within a larger social structure interconnected with other social institutions and social domains" (ibid. p.955). He tries to explain the relationship between the immigrant and the sub systems of the ecological systems theory. He considers the use of the theory of segmented assimilation and explains three different pathways of assimilation for the second generation of immigrants which are: upward assimilation, downward assimilation and upward mobility combined with persistent bi-culturalism. The upward assimilation would represent the immigrant being indistinguishable from the mainstream society over time as "they lose most of their cultural distinctiveness" (ibid. p.957). The downward assimilation is associated with social stagnation for the immigrant with them not being able to associate with the host culture. The upward mobility with persistent bi-culturalism is associated with the immigrant being able to balance between the two worlds with the acquisition of linguistic skills and customs. These three dimensions are then understood in relation to micro-system, meso-system, exo system, macro system and chrono system as Paat, (2013) explains how immigrant family process takes place.

3.4 Parenting Styles and Migration

Baumrind, (1971) first conceptualized three types of parenting styles: (1) permissive parenting, (2) authoritarian parenting, and (3) authoritative parenting. These were later categorized by Maccoby, E. E., & Martin, (1983) along the two dimensions of "demandingness" and

“responsiveness,” resulting in the additional style of (4) neglectful parenting. “Demandingness refers to the standards and demands set by parents for their children (e.g. control and supervision), and responsiveness refers to parent’s response to and communications with their children (warmth, acceptance, involvement). Thus, neglectful parents are low on both demandingness and responsiveness and are unengaged in their children’s activities. Parents who are permissive are very accepting of their children, making few demands for mature behavior and allowing their children substantial self-regulation. By contrast, authoritarian parents are high on demandingness and low on responsiveness. Between these extremes are authoritative parents, who are high on both demandingness and responsiveness. Parents who are authoritative set clear standards for mature behavior while simultaneously encouraging autonomy in their children” (Pong et al. 2010, p.62).

The two-dimensional conceptualization of parenting styles has since become the “gold”-standard approach, as it has proven to be robust under various operationalizations and using various instruments of measurement. It has been used not only to analyze parenting in different family and social status settings, as it has also been used for explaining parenting in immigrant families as well as cross-cultural variation in parenting (Nauck & Lotter., 2015). Explaining differences in parenting styles can be based on two sets of theoretical arguments. The first set of arguments is based on structural, cultural and situational preconditions, such as variations in the family setting and in the positioning in the societal status system (structure), the ethnic identification (culture), and the belonging to a migrant minority or to the residential population majority (situation). The second set of arguments is based on the assumption that parenting styles are a core part of parental investment strategies into the future welfare of their offspring. These investment strategies are based on their perceived instrumentality, i.e. the perceived costs and benefits of long term investments such as schooling. The theoretical model thus assumes that these investment strategies mediate the relationship between the structural, cultural and situational preconditions and parenting styles (Nauck & Lotter., 2015).

The theoretical argument related to family settings is based upon several assumptions about the availability of parental control. First of all, two-parent families are thought to have more means to control their offspring than single-parent families (Astone, N. M., & McLanahan, 1991). Accordingly, one may hypothesize that strictness and supervision is more salient in single-parent

families and that they will be characterized by a lower proportion of self-perceived indulgent and neglectful parenting styles.

The theoretical argument related to social status is derived from the tradition of class specific socialization styles (Chan, T. W., & Koo, 2011; Kohn, 1977). The assumption is that class-specific work values are transformed into parental preferences for their offspring's characteristics and into specific forms of parental discipline. As middle-class occupations involve high work complexity and require a high level of job identification, creativity, and self-reliance, these work values are transformed into a parenting style of indirect control, enhancing early moral autonomy and high emotional involvement. And as working-class occupations are routinized and closely supervised by others, they require conformity to authority and discipline, and so these work values are transformed into a disciplinary style of direct control and distance between generations. Accordingly, one may hypothesize less acceptance and involvement in working-class families and higher proportions of authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles.

The theoretical argument related to cross-cultural differences is derived from the tradition of classifying cultures according to basic value dimensions (Hofstede, 1980; Trommsdorff, 2007, p. 460 ff) and to how they are transformed into culture-specific "lay theories" of child-rearing and human development (Super, C. M., & Harkness, 1997). Parents structure the environment of the child and act according to these subjective child-rearing theories. Specifically, the assumption is that in terms of their respective subjective theories, parents from collectivistic cultures differ from parents from individualistic cultures.

In contexts in which individualism is emphasized, parents pursue children's independence as an important socialization goal and highly value individuality and self-expression. On the other hand, children's dedication to their family and social in-groups is a crucial socialization goal for parents living in cultures in which interdependence is emphasized because group harmony and self restraint are highly valued. (Ziehm et al. 2013, p.1).

It has been repeatedly argued that parents from collectivistic cultures show higher levels of strictness and supervision than parents from individualistic cultures and more pronounced intergenerational distance based on respect and authority (Kagitcibasi, 2005, 2007; Pong et al., 2005). Accordingly, Chinese adolescents in the United States were significantly more likely to

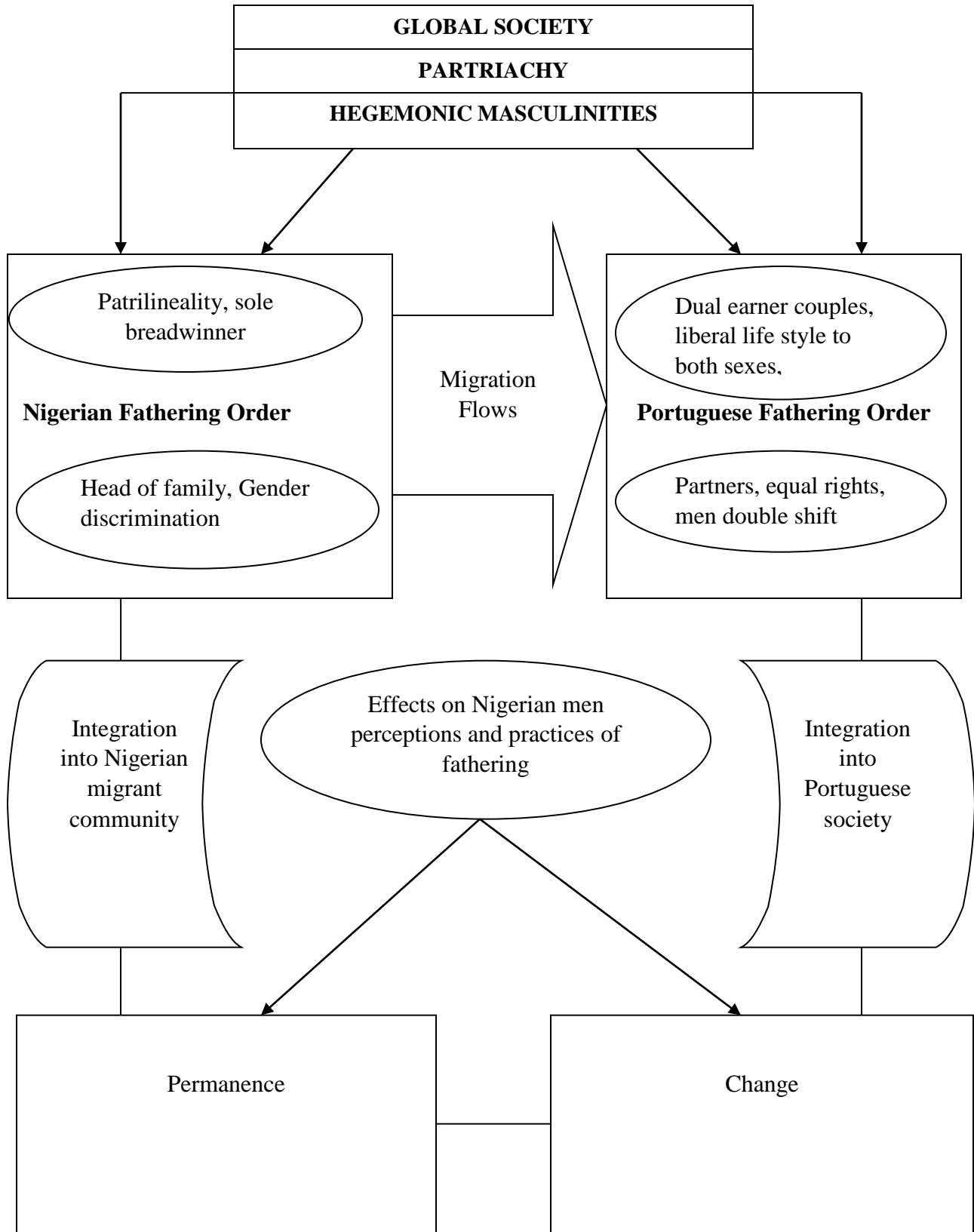
rate their parents as authoritarian as compared with European American adolescents (Chao, 2001), and Asian parents were more reluctant to share decision making with their children than European parents (Kao, 2004). European American mothers and Asian American mothers also differed in terms of their contribution to fostering schooling and learning. Whereas European American mothers follow a “facilitative” model of parenting, Chinese American mothers view their contribution to their children’s learning as a more direct mode of intervention, tutoring, and training (Chao, 1996, 2000).

The theoretical argument related to migrant minority status is based again upon assumptions about the availability of mechanisms of cultural transmission to the offspring outside of family custody. While members of the majority population find rich personal and institutional support in the transmission of parental cultural orientations and practices, similar opportunities for migrant families are scarce or have to be self-organized with high effort (and low probable effectiveness, given the low level of cultural and economic resources of migrants in Germany). For Turkish families, it was observed that migrant parents showed higher levels of authoritarian control and protectiveness than the native population in the receiving country and than non-emigrants in the country of origin (B. Nauck, 1989, 1997). Accordingly, one may hypothesize that Turkish and Vietnamese mothers show higher levels of strictness and supervision than native German mothers. More generally, one may argue that the meaning assigned to fatherhood is socially and culturally constructed depending on the context.

The Nigerian immigrants fathers in the my study did not adapt, authoritarian, authoritative, neglectful or permissive style of parenting per se, but rather incorporated all characteristics of the different parenting style, which could be concluded that the practice a dynamic style of parenting in Portugal.

The diagramatical representation below is an illustration of how migration influences fathering. It is argued that cultural values and customs shape parenting styles, following migration, Nigerian immigrant fathers had to re-adjust their fathering practices, because of the new cultural values, customs and norms in order to fit into the mainstream culture in Portugal, which in turn re-shaped their perceptions and practices of fathering.

Figure 3.2: Illustration of Theroretical Framework



4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand how Nigerian immigrant fathers living in Portugal perceive and practice parenting in the host society. This chapter describes the methodology for this research and begins by providing information about the research strategy adopted in this study and the reason for selecting it. It then explains the sampling strategy for this study and the characteristics of research participants, followed by the overview of research design, indicating the main steps in carrying out the research. It then explains the methods used to collect data followed by the framework for analysis of empirical data collected. The chapter then discusses the ethical considerations for this study and then states the limitations of the study.

4.2 Research Strategy

The research strategy for this study was qualitative, as it sought to characterise a process, that is, to answer questions related to how Nigerian immigrants fathers perceive and practice parenting; what cultural values they transmit to their children and how easy or difficult is it for them to practice parenting. Greater emphasis is placed on the participant's interpretation of their situation, in line with the epistemological position of 'interpretivism', which they have experienced "as the reality of their daily lives" (Schütz, et al., 1962: 59; in Bryman, 2012). The qualitative research is also generally grounded in constructivist philosophical position (Bloomberg, L. D., & Volpe, M., 2008), as the social actors are in constant interaction with the social world and as Bryman, (2012) mentions, the actors construct their own realities and understand it through interaction ensuring they are in constant state of revision. This suits the purpose of this study as well, as the immigrant fathers are in interaction with a second society and new culture and these exchanges between them determines their current reality which is better understood when it comes in the form of narratives, experiences and instances from them themselves which provides richness in data.

The choice of qualitative methodology in this study also stems from its grounding in data creation methods that are flexible and sensitive to the social context of its application as opposed to the rigid, structured, and standardized methods obtainable in quantitative methodology. In

addition, qualitative methodology offers a contextual understanding of rich details of data and generates the opportunity for a more holistic analysis and explanation of data than would be made possible by other approaches (Mason, 2002). Qualitative research is increasingly essential to contemporary social research because of its ability to view the phenomenon studied holistically (Wiersma, W., & Jurs, S., 2005). This becomes necessary as complexities of human life cannot be captured in a parochially structured pattern of study inherent in some quantitative research methods. This method also enabled me to operate in a natural environment in relating with human beings whose dispositions change within different contexts and in response to varying stimuli. It enables flexibility in design since in reality, social phenomena in the world are flexible and their study and predictability should as well be flexible.

4.3 Sample Strategy for the Study

The sampling procedure for this research was purposive sampling, as its strength lies in selecting cases which have rich information concerning the research questions (Patton. M.Q., 1990; in Coyne, 1997). Keeping in mind the purpose of the research and the characteristics of the participants required for the study, the individuals were approached through key contact first and later, these participants proposed to other potential participants who fulfilled the criteria for the research, thus representing a snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012). The research participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- The participant must be from Nigeria and living in Portugal.
- The participant must have a child or children in Portugal and should be 18 years and below.
- Both the parents and the child or children must have lived in Portugal for at least 1 year.

Nigerian fathers are the study population for this research. The selection of male parents in the sample is both a reflection of their willingness to discuss familial and gender relation issues and reflects the lack of a rich body of literature on immigrant fathers from West African sub-region.

The sample universe for this study was Lisbon Metropolitan Area, as an estimated 56% of total Nigerian population is living here (SEF, 2017), which made it comparatively easier to find fathers among large group of population in Lisbon than in other cities. The intended sample size

for this study was 6 families and the data was collected through 6 in-depth interviews, with the aid of semi-structured questions conducted with the fathers, each of them belonging to different families. Fathers were contacted directly physically and by phone and their consent was secured. The interviews were conducted in the municipalities of Sintra, Loures, Amadora, Azambuja, and Lisbon.

4.4 Overview of Research Design

The study employed a case study research design in order to generate detailed narratives about parenting experiences among Nigerian immigrant fathers. As Bryman, (2012) mentions that it is certainly true that exponents of the case study design often favour qualitative methods, such as participant observation, because these methods are viewed as particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case.

The following steps were undertaken in conducting this research:

- The first step was to identify the issue of migration, parenting and fathering which was carried out by review of literature about these topics.
- A research proposal was developed and presented to the supervisor by the end of January 2019 and after the proposal had been accepted, further plan of actions were developed which began with further review of literature focusing on differences in parenting, fathering, culture and values between African countries and Western countries and migration.
- Theories relating to parenting and fathering styles and migration were reviewed to provide a strong basis for analytical framework.
- The literature mainly consisted of books, scholarly articles, reports, journals and dissertations and was mostly accessed through ISCTE-IUL and University of Gothenburg library while some of the articles were provided by professors from ISCTE-IUL. There were interactions with key contact, a church leader who facilitated access to the Nigerian community. I explained to him about the research and the characteristics of the participants for the research.

- To gather statistical data regarding Nigerian population in Portugal, the Immigration and Borders Services - SEF, portal website was accessed.
- An interview guide with semi structured questions was developed and potential research participants were contacted through key contact in mid February and an exploratory interview was conducted.
- In-depth interviews were completed by the end of March with 8 families through snowball sampling but only 6 interviews were recorded as 2 participants declined to participate in the study.
- Transcription of the interviews and content analysis of interview data as well as statistical analysis of secondary data was conducted.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

4.5.1 Primary Data

The data collection method consisted of in-depth interviews based on the interview guide, with open ended semi-structured questions. In all forms of qualitative research, some and occasionally all of the data are collected through interviews (Merriam, 2009). To effectively generate the data, I traveled to various areas within Lisbon district to engage one-on-one with my participants. The use of individual in-depth interviews was the preferred choice as it provides an opportunity to have direct interaction with the participants and gives the researcher the chance to clarify and ask additional questions and as Kvale, (1996) mentions, enabling the researcher to try and understand the meaning from the subject's point of view. Bryman, (2012), asserts that in-depth semi structured interviews are flexible as the interviewees do not have to stick to the rigid set of questions with pre-determined answers as in structured interviews to be filled up but are given the freedom to express themselves therefore providing data rich in content.

A total of 6 in-depth interviews were conducted. The participants were from five different municipalities in Lisbon district, namely, Sintra, Loures, Amadora, Azambuja, and Lisbon, to ensure representation of different areas. Participants interviewed were between the ages of 45 and 55, who fulfilled the criterias of selection previously mentioned. The language of communication for the interview was English. The duration for the interviews was between 1 to

2 hours and the date, time and location for the interviews was determined according to the convenience for the participants. The interviews were recorded using electronic device.

4.5.2 Secondary Data

The secondary statistical data for this research was collected from the National Statistical Institute, INE, the Service for Borders and Immigration, SEF website portal. Additionally, it was also collected from the international database, the World Bank.

4.6 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed using content analysis, as it is a flexible method for analyzing text data where data are reduced into concepts that describes the research phenomenon (Cavanagh S., 1997). The initial coding categories and sub categories were determined by Baumrind's theory of parenting styles (1967) and Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory of Child Development (1986) which is directly related to two key components of parenting styles employed by the parents. Further categories were developed after reading the transcriptions of responses to the questions from the interview guide directed towards specific research questions. These responses were highlighted and developed into codes and similar codes were grouped together to form smaller categories. These smaller, similar and opposing categories which represent similar themes were thus combined to form a larger category. These categories and sub categories were placed in data summary tables where the responses of each of the participants were represented in boxes depending on their response.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception are ethical issues that should be taken into consideration when conducting social research (Bryman, 2012). To conform to the above ethical guidelines, the following principles were followed to avert causing any intentional or unintentional harm to the participants:

All participants were informed that participation is voluntary and that they have the right to pull out of the study at anytime. During the initial communication with the participants, before I requested them to participate in the research, I gave them a brief explanation about myself, the research I am conducting, objectives of the research and how their participation would support

the creation of knowledge. The researcher used signed consent forms to assure the participants of the utmost level of honesty throughout the research process. Participants were also informed that their identity would be kept confidential and that pseudo names would be used instead of their real names. There were individuals who agreed to participate, but there were some who declined as well, but I did not pressurize them or make them feel that it was obligatory for them to participate. Before recording the interviews, permission was sought from the participants. Finally, the recorded data and transcripts were also stored in a safe place to ensure that they are not accessed by anybody else.

4.8 Difficulties and Limitations of the Study

There were some limitations of this study. One of the limitations was having interviews with participants that the researcher had known for a while. Maxwell, (1996) mentions this phenomenon as participant reactivity. There is a possibility that knowing the participants personally made it a bit difficult for them to be comfortable during the interview. The responses might have been influenced by what they perceived I might be looking for and not actually their true opinion. To address that, I tried to make the conversation as comfortable as possible and to flow naturally, which would limit the time to think too much about what might be the desired response and that the real information would emerge. Another limitation was time that did not enable me create enough trust to do a micro-ethnography, where I could also observe their practices of fathering with the children, besides what they said are their practices. There was also limitation regarding translation of local dialect (Igbo) expressions into English for analysis, since some of their expressions in the local dialect might not provide the same depth and meaning as in the English language. I however, asked them to explain what they literally meant in simple terms and keep their own narratives intact and meaningful.

Another limitation for the study was the length of time in which the study had to be conducted, due to which the research was limited to a case study. Getting access to the respondents was also difficult due to their work schedules. Finally a challenge as well as an opportunity was lack of literature or previous studies on Nigerian migrants in Portugal, as everything had to be built from scratch but on the other hand, it was a chance to be able to contribute to the knowledge base regarding the immigrants from Nigeria.

5. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The purpose of this study was to understand the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers living in Portugal. This chapter presents the findings and analysis of data obtained from 6 in-depth individual interviews with fathers from 6 different families and observation during these interviews. The table below provides the socio and demographic characterization of the interviewees:

Table 5.1: Socio and Demographic Characterization of the Interviewees

Name (pseudo)	Age	Educational Qualification	Occupation in Portugal	Duration of stay in Portugal (years)	Age of children	Sex of children (Male, Female)	Household composition	
							In Nigeria	In Portugal
Ojo Uben	51	Diploma in Accounting	Security personnel	24	16, 13, and 8	M (16), F(13) M(8)	Wife and children	Wife and children
Fred Ogun	55	Degree	Security personnel	18	3 and 7 months	F(3), F(7months)	Wife and children	Wife and children
Idon Eke	51	Diploma in Political science	Sales man	18	17 1	M F	Wife and children	Wife and children
Ego Udo	47	Upper secondary	Scaffolder	17	7, 5 and 10 months	F(7), F (5), M (10 months)	Wife and children	Wife and children
Sower Ume	49	Bachelors in Marketing and Advertising	Marketer	20	23 6 4 (months)	F (23) F (6) F (4months)	Wife and children	Wife and children
Jide Noki	54	Upper secondary	Sales man	20	17	M	Wife and son	Wife and son

5.1 Profile of Interviewed Nigerian Immigrant Fathers

The profiles of the interviewees are detailed below, to better understand the findings on the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal. All the participants were from the Igbo tribe of Southern Nigerian and practiced christianity. All the participants also spoke Igbo and English language and others spoke Portuguese as well and they all had different migration experiences to Europe as narrated below:

Ojo Uben

Ojo Uben is a 51 years old migrant father from the Igbo tribe in South-Eastern Nigeria, who started his migration experience 24 years ago. A diploma holder in Accounting from Nigeria, his main drive for travelling to Europe was to look for a brighter future that is, (employment opportunities and better education). He was persuaded to migrate by his friends who knew some people that had successes after migrating to Europe. Ojo got frustrated after completing his Diploma in Accounting and could not easily find a job in Nigeria. He was informed by some Nigerian migrant friends who had already settled here in Portugal about the availability of job opportunities. So Ojo saved some money to buy an air ticket to migrate alone to Portugal. He is a Portuguese citizen and owns a European passport. He works as a security guard. He is married to a Nigerian woman. His wife first came to Portugal in 2004. He has three children; two boys and one girl aged; 16, 8 and 13 years old at the time of the interview. His first born came from Nigeria to Portugal when he was only 1 year old. The other two children were born here in Portugal. His wife just started working this year (2019).

Fred Ogun

Fred Ogun is a 55 years old South Nigerian migrant father from the Igbo tribe, who started his migration experience 18 years ago. He holds a degree from one of the universities in Nigeria. His main drive for migrating to Europe was to attain a better life (work and education). He was persuaded by a friend who had already migrated to Europe and settled here in Portugal and informed him about the availability of job opportunities. Ogun was discontented because he could not find a well-paying job with his degree back home in Nigeria. Ogun had saved money and had to borrow some from relatives in order to buy an air ticket to fly alone to Portugal. He is Portuguese citizen. He works as a security guard. He was a sales man in Nigeria before his

decision to migrate to Europe. He is married to a Nigerian woman. His wife first came to Portugal in July 2015. He has two daughters, the eldest; is 3 years old and the youngest is just 7 months old at the time of the interview. All his two daughters were born here in Portugal. His wife is unemployed and a house wife.

Idon Eke

Idon Eke is a 51 years old male from the Igbo tribe in South-Western Nigeria, who started his migration experience 18 years ago. A diploma holder in political science from Poly Technic in Nigeria. His main drive for migrating to Europe was to get employment (work). He was persuaded to migrate by his friends who had migrated to Europe and succeeded in getting employment. Eke was disappointed because he could not get a job quickly after obtaining his diploma. Eke borrowed money from relatives and friends to be able to buy an air ticket to Portugal. When Eke arrived in Portugal he did not know any Nigerian and any African. He is a Portuguese citizen. He works as a sales man at a warehouse. He was unemployed in Nigeria before his decision to migrate to Europe. He is married to a Nigerian woman who came to Portugal in 2014. He has two boys aged; 17 and 2 years old. All his two boys were born here in Portugal. His wife is unemployed and a house wife.

Ego Udo

Ego Udo is a 47 years old male from the Igbo tribe in South-Eastern Nigeria, who started his migration in 1999. He was an upper secondary school drop-out who had economic motives for deciding to migrate to Europe. He initially emigrated from Nigeria into Poland to play football as a professional footballer. He lived in Poland for 6 months and because of the difficulties in getting documentation, he left Poland. Udo was persuaded to come to Portugal by a friend who informed him that it was a little bit easier to get documentation here in Portugal, hence his decision to leave Poland and migrate to Portugal. Udo was given money by his relatives to buy an air ticket to travel to Poland for professional football trials and he later on migrated and settled in Portugal. Udo is a Portuguese citizen. He works as a scaffolder. He was a footballer in Nigeria before his decision to migrate to Europe. He is married to a Nigerian woman who came to Portugal in 2011. He has three children; 7 years-old eldest son, 5 years-old daughter and 10 months old youngest son born in Portugal. His wife is unemployed and is a housewife

Sower Ume

Sower Ume is a 49 years old male from the Igbo tribe in South-Eastern Nigeria, who started his migration in 1993. As a youth, Ume arrived in Russia from Nigeria on a student visa to pursue his higher education. He graduated in 1999 with honours degree in Marketing and Advertising from Kharkov University in Ukraine. Ume married a woman from Eastern Europe, had a child with her, and was awarded citizenship. He lived in Eastern Europe for 5 years and migrated together with his family to Netherlands, because of discrimination and racism which he says he was experiencing in Eastern Europe. Ume while in Netherlands, asked for a divorce from his wife, which she turned down. Hence he decided together with his family to migrate to Portugal as their next destination. Ume was supported by his parents to travel to Europe and study. Ume is a Portuguese citizen with a passport, which enables him to travel in Europe. He works as a marketer.

He is now married to a Cape Verdean woman who came to Portugal in 2011. He has three daughters; 23 years-old, 6 years-old and 4 months old. He fathered his eldest daughter with a Russian woman with whom he later divorced in Portugal in 2005. His eldest child is 23 years old, who is already separately working and living with a partner in Ukraine, but occasionally visits the family here in Portugal. His eldest daughter first came to Portugal in the year 2000. His wife works as well.

Jide Noki

Jide Noki is a 54 years old male from the Igbo tribe in South-Eastern Nigeria, who started his migration 20 years ago. He was an upper secondary school drop-out who had economic motives to migrate to Europe. He was persuaded to migrate to Europe by his friend who had succeeded in settling in Russia. Noki was financially supported by his brother who had already migrated and settled in the United States. He enrolled for a 1 year language course, so that he could continue with his education in Economics, but because of the high cost of education in terms of tuition, Noki dropped out and started doing business with his other Nigerian immigrant friends. He married a Russian woman, had a child with her, and was awarded Russian citizenship. Noki's friend later left Russia and migrated to UK but kept contact with Noki. Noki later asked him how the wages were there compared to Russia and he told him that the wages were much higher in UK than in Russia, coupled with the very cold weather in Russia, Noki together with his Russian

wife decided to emigrate to Portugal. Noki is a Portuguese citizen. He works as a sales man with a warehouse. He was a petty trader in Nigeria before his decision to migrate to Europe.

He is now married to a Nigerian woman, who came to Portugal in 2018. He does not have any child with his current Nigerian wife. He only has one son he fathered with a Russian woman with whom they later divorced in Portugal. His son is 17 years old. He is currently living with his Russian mother in Portugal, but occasionally visits him at the end of every month as stipulated by Portuguese law. His son was born here in Portugal. His son attends school and he provides him with financial support at the end of every month. His ex-Russian wife, mother of the son, is employed.

Summary

The interviews revealed that all the migrant fathers had acquired some form of formal education although at different level. Most of the migrants fathers also held Portuguese citizenship and possessed dual citizenship status because of the number of years they had lived in Portugal, which enabled them to acquire regular status. Only two of the interviewees possessed university degrees; two of the interviewees also possessed college diplomas from Nigeria and the other two interviewees had acquired upper secondary level education from Nigeria as well. Of the two participants with degrees, only one received this qualification from the home university before migrating to Portugal. The other participant obtained his degree from Kharkov University in Ukraine in the field of Marketing and Advertising. All the interviewees were Christians from the Igbo tribe of Southern Nigeria.

5.1.1 Immigration Patterns among Nigerian Migrants

The migration of the Nigerians interviewed seems to have a unique pattern, as most of the men (husbands) came alone to Portugal. It was only for one participant who came with his daughter and wife but later divorced. All the participants came to Portugal between the age of 30 and 40. Emigration from Nigeria has mostly been a male dominated phenomenon as they comprise of almost 51% of the total emigrant population of Nigeria (World Bank Group, 2016). Plus, the numbers for Nigerian immigrant population in Portugal reflects the domination of men, as well with the inflow of Nigerians into Portugal for the year 2017, indicating 61 men in comparison to 27 women (SEF, 2017).

Most of the participants mentioned that they came to Portugal for economic reasons and for better employment opportunities, but on informal conversations, responded that the ease in obtaining documents and the favorable migration and family reunification policies had been crucial for them to opt for Portugal as their preferred destination. Ego, one of my interviewees' states: "Portugal is not my destination, but along the line, due to problem of documents, that brought me here in Portugal, because Portugal it is easy to get document here in Portugal than any other country. So, when I got my document, I started working, but the difficulty in getting document was in Poland" (Ego, Male, 47). The above views are supported by the works of Carling, (2006), who affirms that larger flows of migration to Europe began in the 1980s and 1990s because of the economic downturn, the corrupt and violent military regime, high inequality and increasing poverty, which led many highly educated Nigerians to migrate to the North.

5.2 Perceptions and Practices of Fathering

Participants communicated their perceptions on the meaning of fathering and how these views are being influenced by their personal experiences, related to their different circumstances in the past, as well as a product of being able to witness the kind of parenting role their parents, most particularly their fathers, performed during their childhood years.

Ojo, Fred, Idon and Sower shared their views regarding their internalized meaning of fathering as stated below.

My perception on fathering is that, the man is the head of the family,....., fathers should always provide guidance/supervision to their children.....that a father should properly support his children and the family....., be able to provide a good future for your children...really as a father, you should be able to guide them at all times (Ojo, 51y/o, 3 children).

For me, as a father, you should be the model and foundation in the whole family....., you are the head of the family no matter what....., that you should be able to become a good example to your children, you're as if like a shadow to them. So therefore you should be fully aware of all your acts and things you say to them.....because children can adapt them.....(Fred, 55y/o, 2 children).

To me being a father is being the head of the family and the main provider....., I guess, it's giving support, supervision or guidance and in the area of schooling, that's important. I should insist to him that he should go to school and study hard, that it's not good to always hang-out with his friends because friends are always there, that's given, what is important to me, really, is his studying (Idon, 51y/o, 2 children).

As an African man culturally you are the head of the family that cannot change....., you have the task and responsibility of supporting and providing for your family and children in all circumstances....., so to me being a father is being the head of the family and the main breadwinner....., it's giving support, supervision or guidance to your little children, that's paramount. I must support my children and my wife because I am the head of the family and no one will do that for me....., in fact according to my culture I am suppose to help my parents as well because they educated me and I need to pay them back” so that is it.....(Sower, 49y/o, 3 children).

The four interviewees exemplified above, regarding their perception and practice of fathering has to do with their perceptions on fathering roles, e.g. provision of guidance, supervision, financial support and being head of the family, significance attached to being a good model and being responsible in preparing children to have a good future. On the contrary, Ego and Jide's statements below are reflective of the foregoing roots of influence that contributed in shaping their own perceptions and practices of fathering;

My parents were also like that. I witnessed that myself from my parents especially my father. But the problem was that we are many in the family...I have 9 siblings all in total. So I never studied too much and only stopped in secondary because of money problem to pay all of us. So I had to do petty work to finance my schooling when I was young, instead of concentrating on my studies, I kept thinking about ways on how to find money... I used to work while studying. I did a lot of part time jobs just to earn money because my parents were poor....I even told myself that I should refrain from eating outside or joining friends whenever they were inviting me because for sure it would cost me some money if I join them.....and also avoiding buying unnecessary things, so I could save ...this is what I kept on telling my children. I keep on telling them that they are lucky enough.....because they would no longer experience what I experienced before like

going to the farm to dig, so we could have something to eat in our family...(Ego, 47y/o, 3 children).

I think I was taught by what I saw from my mother. She was very hard working, caring and she makes it a point that we have to at least eat something even if our family was poor and did not have money. I joined petty business after my secondary school because there was no money for me to continue with my studies. She could go to the farm land and come back with something for us to eat. She became the role model for us. I think I learned that from her. I also let my son know where I come from..... so I try my best to provide him what he wants using the little money I get. Like when he asks me money to go to Colombo with his friends to buy something or go to the cinema, I have to look for money and give him, so that he can go with his friends. There was even one time when he asked me for money because he wanted to buy something, but when I told him that I don't have money right now he should wait until when I get money, he was not angry with me, so after I got the money I gave it to him.... (Jide, 54y/o, 1 child).

Regarding perceptions and practices of fathering, participants expressed their internalized meaning of fathering and what influences them in having such views. Their internalized meaning of fathering mainly revolved on the expectation that fathers should be family heads and providers in terms of financial support, educational support, being a disciplinarian by providing necessary guidance and supervision, being a role model and having a sense of responsibility towards their children. These views are consistent with the works of Benson, (1985, 1968), who argues that typical male tasks related to fatherhood include teaching his children certain basic survival skills, modeling for them his unique means of accommodating to life, coping with a variety of real or potential family crises, and cooperating with both family and non-kin in routine survival tasks. Arguably, the most powerful influence on parenting practices is one's personal experiences in family life while growing up (Hawley, 1981). Adult development and fathering styles are influenced by the legacies of fatherhood passed down through the generations, as has been well documented (Pittman, 1993; Popenoe, 1996; Snarey, 1993).

Their perceptions and practices are therefore still highly based on what they perceive as the traditional notion of African parenting roles, such as being a provider and a disciplinarian, this, according to them, was preserved as a result of being Nigerians. They also shared that these

perceptions and practices are influenced by their personal experiences in life back home in Nigeria, especially during their childhood and how they saw their own parents, especially their fathers perform their parenting roles. Going back to the constructivist philosophical position which posits that greater emphasis is placed on the participant's interpretation of their situation, in line with the epistemological position of 'interpretivism', which they have experienced "as the reality of their daily lives", by Schutz et al. (1962: 59; in Bryman, 2012), these fathers' belief on parenting is affected by their interactions with other people and their personal experiences in general.

The above views find resonance with that of Harper, S. & Martin, (2013), who mention about historical stereotypes depicting Filipino mothers and fathers; mothers as being warm and forgiving, one who "makes home"/seems near and affective while fathers as being strict disciplinarian, works outside home/distant, and rational. It has been highlighted that the traditional roles of Filipino fathers are being the breadwinner and disciplinarian (Harper, 2010). Filipino fathers often are considered as taking the authority figure role by setting standards and expectations for child's behaviour (Harper, 2010).

5.2.1 The Values of Respect for Elders, Parents and Educational Attainment

All the participants underscored that respect for elders and parents and educational attainment were the two most important values that they wanted their children to incorporate. Other important values included preservation of native language, religion, hardwork and parent-child interdependence. It is imperative to note that educational attainment is perceived as a means to success by all international migrants and this was the perception for Nigerian immigrant fathers as well. These values mentioned by the participants, most probably demonstrate the embedment and deep rootedness of African values in the Nigerian immigrant fathers as well. Babatunde, et.al., (2011) in his study on changing patterns of Yoruba parenting in Nigeria, mentioned that the Yoruba style of parenting, like many sub-Saharan African cultures, is based on three responsibilities: hard work ethics, maintenance of discipline, and social etiquette built on respect for elders and their views about how to tackle life experiences and it might affirm the truth for the participants in this study as well.

For the Nigerian migrant fathers in this study, it was imperative to instill a sense of respect among their children which they viewed was lacking in the western culture. Several literature (Lammi-Taskula, 2008; Ochocka & Janzen, 2008; Perälä-Littunen, 2007; Vuori, 2001) on Black African parent's migration to Western Countries, especially in Finland have shown that migrating parents from African Countries have had difficulties in terms of adjusting to the values, culture and practices of the new society leading to conflict between them and their children. For all the participants, they wanted to teach their children their responsibility towards their parents. A participant mentioned:

I strongly believe that one day, what we do for our child, one day will have to be, we have to be receiving the....., what we....., the....., you know, what to....., how, how we treated our child, one day, one day we gonna, me and my wife we will grow old and our child will be taking care of us, supporting us during old age, that is why we never got tired of supporting our child, you know, we will continue until the day their turn will reach for them to take care of us (Jide, Male, 54 years).

All the participants also raised concern about the western culture of children leaving their parent's house and starting to live independently in their own apartments when they reach 18 years of age. The culture of children leaving their parent's house and living independently after reaching 18 years of age is uncommon in African culture, as children are expected to take care of their parents even after marriage. In this regard, the Nigerian immigrant father's perceptions also focused on their worries about their children learning from the western culture and leaving them as some participants gave reference to elderly Portuguese men and women who they see living on their own in their apartments without any care and support from their children and grand children. It was also observed that when referring to Portuguese culture, the participants used other terms such as European and Western interchangeably, whereas while referring to their own culture they mentioned African and Nigerian culture.

Another important value for the Nigerian migrant fathers was educational achievement. It is imperative to note that educational attainment is perceived as a means to success by all international migrants and this was the perception for Nigerian immigrant fathers as well. All the participants mentioned that they regard education very highly and wish that their children perform very well in their studies and become successful people in the future, a value also

affirmed by Docquier, et al, (2006). For the fathers, providing education for their children entailed good future, job security and skilled human resource which will avert the struggles that they fathers had to go through. Nearly all the participants expressed gratitude and satisfaction with the education provided by the Portuguese schools, citing that their children will have the opportunity in the future to work anywhere across Europe. Some participants expressed dissatisfaction with the Nigerian education system citing the unending strikes in educational institutions emanating from the low pays. It is also worth noting that some participants stated that they wanted their children to acquire the Portuguese education and on completion migrate to other European countries like Canada, UK, Sweden and Norway for better job opportunities. One of the participants, Ego narrated:

Of course yes, like in Africa now, is not easy to get visa to come to Europe you understand, but them they were born here, they have passport already, they have dual citizenship; they are Nigerians, they are Portuguese, eeeeeeh, problem of visa, I think that one is gone, yah, they can....., they can study, they can even decide not to study here again in Portugal, they can go to England, they can go to any other....., yah, they have that opportunity to study any....., you understand, in any country they want. Exactly, is also, they can after their education, like that and they will be more than 18 years, they will now decide where they would like to go and look for their living, they can decide to go any part of the continent, okay, yah, so I think.....(Ego, Male, 47 years).

In a similar response, Fred stressed:

Uuuuum, I....., there are opportunities here than in Nigerian, because I..., when....., since they are all European citizens, the sky is their limit, they can study, they can be paid, eeeeeeh, look, for example now, the little money they are being paid every year, I don't touch, I put it in their account until it reaches 18 years, so that when they want to study anywhere, it will be easy for them and the government here, when you have your passport, you will....., they provide you with, aaaaaaam, aaaaaaah, aaaaaaah, financial setoff – clearing the financial this of your education and you can pay after when you start working, you understand (Fred, Male, 55 years).

Furthermore, all the participants expressed greater satisfaction with the Portuguese education system, stating that they liked the way their children were taught in schools that entailed inculcating into them; knowledge, skills, confidence, critical thinking and reasoning. They participants also expressed satisfaction with the more practical nature of the Portuguese education system. When asked to compare the education system in Portugal and Nigerian, all participants stated that their children would benefit more from the knowledge they receive from Portugal because they would be able to work anywhere in Europe as supported by Ego and Sower's narratives above.

All the participants in this study also highlighted prayers as another important value which they instilled into their children. The participants stated that they fear of God was a paramount value and the reason why they were still living on earth. This was based on the fact that I came to know them through the contact of the church and in case I had met other Nigerian immigrants, their perceptions might have been different about religion. All the participants also mentioned that they attended church services every Sunday with their children, so that they would grow up knowing that God is the creator and providers of everything. It is important to note that all the participants practiced Christianity. It is also imperative to note that Nigeria is dominated by two main religious denominations, namely the Muslim in the North and Christians in the South. One of the participants in my interview, Ojo, affirms:

As a father, which I believe no father wants his children to be useless in the future. As a Christian I only depend and believe in God and that is the route I want to teach my children to follow. With that I know you can overcome everything, so that is it. I also tell them to focus, focus, focus on their education. They should be very serious with their studies, that is my concern (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

In a similar response, Idon reflected:

I practice Christianity and we....., they be....., they are all baptized and they....., my bigger son have started taking holy communion in the catholic church where we worship and we don't miss going to church every Sunday, we don't miss going church activities, they are involved in the programme we have in the church (Idon, Male, 51 years).

The participants also mentioned the importance of preserving cultural identity and the preference they give to their cultural practices over the Portuguese cultural practices. It is important to note however, that all participants in this study agreed that it was important to allow their children learn and incorporate both the Portuguese and African cultures, although more emphasis was on incorporating the Nigerian cultural practices and norms, with some participant stating that the Portuguese culture spoils children because it gives them a lot of freedom to do whatever they want to do, hence labeling Portuguese children as disrespectful and lacking in manners. All the participants also mentioned that it was imperative to preserve the Nigerian native languages, even if they were immigrants living in Portugal and that the cultural practices should not be allowed to die, because they are a source of identity of where they come from. Idon, one of my interviewees attests below:

It is very, very important because if....., if you don't know your root, you don't know where you are coming from, okay, eeeeem, they....., they Europeans prefer....., preserve their cultures, we as Africans irrespective of where we live, we from time to time, we display our culture to the kids, we show them how we do there, we show them how it works there, we show them how we display things, eeeeeem, eeeeeeh, maybe as they are growing, they will know, yah, yah, this is the....., my, my, my parent's culture and I like it and I think they kids like it (Idon, Male, 51 years).

In a similar response, Ego reflected:

Of course they....., they have to follow the both, because they were born here in Europe, at least they have to adapt the European cultures first, but personally, I used to teach them our own culture too; I teach them our language, our Igbo language, I always tell them, look this is Igbo, when I play Igbo music for them, so that they....., they will be hearing it, you understand, we cook foods of our....., our....., our....., yah, our own tribe, like Igbo foods have soup, we have different types of things we cook and they eat all of them, they eat....., they eat pepe, they eat....., but here in Europe, you hardly see any European children eat pepe, I also teach them, when you get out, if it is in Africa, when you get up in the morning, you have to go and greet your mother, your father, you greet your uncles, you sweep the compound, you understand, you teach them all these things (Ego, Male, 47 years).

5.2.2 Nigerian Values Incorporated into Children

All the participants held the perception that respect for elders and parents was the most important Nigerian cultural value that they instilled into their children. One of the participants mentioned:

Respecting elders is very more important and very, very important in bringing up your children you know, because if....., if for example, I take my child now to Nigeria now, you will see I take him to the elders, if he doesn't greet the elders, the elders will know, say what, eheee, what are you teaching, what, what type of discipline did you give your child in Europe now, eheee, but first of all if you go he or she will greet the elders in a normal way, if in English, he can greet them in English, if in Igbo our language he can greet them in Igbo, so when we go that elders, elders will be telling the people at home saying you see, you see this boy, this man is well behaved, you know, but if, if I take my child to go there just he doesn't talk anything, just he start playing ooooh, no, no, no, no (Jide, Male, 51 years).

Another participant indicated:

I teach them, when you get out, if it is in Africa, when you get up in the morning, you have to go and greet your mother, your father, you greet your uncles, you sweep the compound, you understand, you teach them all these things even as at now (Ego, Male, 47 years).

The importance of education as a means to success and better life, a perception among all international migrants was another important value that Nigerian fathers transmitted to their children. Ojo (Male, 51 years) narrated:

We always say that look we are suffering because of you, we want you to have a better future, I tell them look, you see where we live? (Cacem), there are very many schools around home, but we decided to take you to one of the best public schools in Lisbon. One of the best public secondary schools in Lisbon, we wake up at 5:00am prepare them and drop them to school and pick them. So I tell them we are suffering because of you, because we want the best for you. So they should focus, focus, focus on their studies.

This view was consisted with the view of Idon (Male, 51 years) as he mentioned:

I....., what I have let them know and they should know, the whole the family, yes look, I can only give you education, study and study and study and study, okay, if you don't study well, you end up being a cleaner, I sing this like a song in my house, you see that guy is driving....., eeeeh, helicopter because he went to school, if you don't want to study very hard, you have the opportunities, you have everything very close, accessible to you.

All the participants also mentioned preservation of native culture and language as being very important for them. Sower (Male, 49 years) narrated:

Our culture and tradition is very paramount and as a matter of fact, they whites they don't play with their, yes, neither should we play with ours, so I believe it is very, very important. Yes for identity and otherwise, because the children we are borning here, we give them the African names, when they grow up, anywhere you see them even if they are a star, when you see that name, you know that this person is from Kenya, that this person is from Nigerian, you understand, so that is it, is very important.

Another participant had similar feelings as he mentioned:

Eeeem, they should, they should learn how to, you know, they should be able to learn how to speak my, my native tongue Igbo, exactly, to speak, aaaaah, yes. To know where they, you know, they come from, you know where their father comes from and where, and maybe one day they will come there (Fred, Male, 55 years). Another participant also mentioned: "Yes, yes, because I may decide to go back then if I go back, I follow them, yes, I continue with them. In general all cultural values like respecting elders (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

5.2.3 Responsiveness and Demand: The Parenting Styles among Nigerian Migrant Fathers

Concerning the responsiveness and demand model associated with Baumrind (1967), the three parameters used in this study to determine whether a parent is high or low in responsiveness and demand were methods of disciplining a child, relationship with the child and monitoring and decision making. The analytical framework and categories emerging from the interviews is presented in Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 on page 51 and 53, gives an indication of the parent's

standpoint on the sub categories of these parameters. The sub categories for the first two parameters indicated that all the fathers gave reasoning, showed concern and support. The other sub categories had significant numbers of fathers sharing their experiences of closeness and sharing of feelings and spending time with children as well. These characteristics among fathers, as Baumrind (1967) mentions are high on responsiveness.

Similarly, the third parameter of monitoring and decision making indicated that all the fathers monitored their children's behaviour and performance in school, and set rules without the participation of their children, which had to be followed by them. These characteristics are high on control according to Baumrind (1967). The finding from this study also indicates that the Nigerian migrant fathers are highly concerned about their children and support them, but, also make sure that they are guided by some rules which are explained to them, mostly through reasoning/talking. All these elements were evident in a participant's experience as he narrated:

Ammm, you know at times his friends used to come to our house and I study how they behave, how they talk and I study his friends like when they come and start touching everything, entering my bedroom instead of staying in the living room, then I will tell them that this is how your friends behave. So when they go somewhere, they should not behave like that. (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

The evidence from the findings is that the fathers perceived that the mothers were the ones who were associated with care giving, supporting and spending more time with their children compared to fathers (responsiveness), where as fathers were associated with setting rules and monitoring of children (demand). Baumrind (1967), mentions that the paradigm of high responsiveness and demand is affiliated with authoritative parenting, where parents use reasoning and understands the importance of communication with the child as well as have certain degree of control but ensure that their children are provided with the rationale behind the decision that they have taken. This might suggest that the Nigerian migrant fathers tend to practice the authoritative style of parenting.

It is worth noting, however, that the findings of the study did not reveal that Nigerian migrant fathers practiced a specific type of parenting style (Authoritative, Authoritarian or Permissive) as advanced by Baumrind (1967), implying that Nigerian migrant fathers practised a dynamic style of parenting that entailed utilizing any of the three parenting styles. This may probably be

attributed to the effect of migration from Nigerian to Portugal that compelled them to abandon the traditional parenting styles that are commonly practiced in most African societies and adjust to more flexible parenting styles. Salazar Parreñas, (2008) noted that, although fathering practices are not static or trans-historical, the Filipino transnational fathers in her study made far fewer adjustments to suit the needs of their children than Filipino mothers in similar situations. In fact, Filipino fathers tended to perform a 'heightened version of conventional fathering', conforming to norms of breadwinning and male authoritarianism. Ego (Male, 47 years) narrated:

Yah, because in Africa, yah, you must receive beating or the....., but here we don't beat, eeeeeeh, because this is another....., another state and that place, you know, here in Europe, the law doesn't allow you to beat your child any howly, you understand, yah, here....., you will have to shout on them, sometimes if you beat them, maybe in the school, their teachers used to ask them, how did your parents treat you? Did that, did that, if you beat them, they will report, report you to the teacher too, you see, so, if they complain that often and on in the school, is a problem to the parents, might lead to taking the child from you or something like that.

In a similar response, Ojo reflected:

Yes I do, because we African we do, we do that. Their system of raising children is different from our side. In African you can call a child and tell him or her that you have done this or that and then maybe slap the child and the child will apologize and not do it again, but here you cannot do it because the law does not allow you. We also bring our system but not too brutal (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

The above finding is inconsistent with the findings of Babatunde, (2011), among some Nigerians like the Yoruba, which revealed that African parenting generally depicts characteristics which are more inclined towards the authoritarian parenting style of showing more control and less responsiveness. This finding was further supported by the Yoruba proverb which states that, *Ti aba fi owo otun ba omo wi, afi tosin faamora* (when we use the right hand to flog the child and he cries, then we use the left hand to bring him close and comfort him or her). The father is the right hand of punishment. The mother is the left hand of comfort and reason as to why the punishment was necessary so that the child may become a useful member of the society.

One possible reason for this discrepancy might be what Berry (1997) called acculturation, which he defined as a social and psychological process that is characterized by immigrants' acceptance of a new mainstream culture, that is revealing their adaptation. Critically analyzing the socio-demographic characterization of the participants, it is evident that all the participants had some form of formal education, although at various levels; only two of the participants possessed university degrees; two of the participants also possessed college diplomas and the other two participants had completed secondary education as well.

It can be argued that most of these participants had good levels of education, which might have had an effect on their parenting style as they are aware about the possible negative consequences of the use of disciplinary methods which are high on scolding, threat and physical punishment; again, a method which is mostly associated with African parenting (Babatunde, 2011). Haan, (2012), however, mentions that it is better to understand the interaction between practices brought along, and the ones encountered in the new country, to better comprehend the current practices. This interaction for the Nigerian migrant fathers might correspond to various other factors, including the laws and norms of the host country, the reaction from the child to these practices and the social support system to mention but a few.

Table 5.2: Analytical Dimensions and Categories Emerging from the Interviews

Dimensions	Categories
Disciplining the child	Give Reasoning
	Use of force
	Threat/Fear
	Scolding
	Reward
Relationship with the child	Spend time with the child
	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings
	Care, Concern and support
	Confrontation
Monitoring and decision making	Know where abouts

	Sets rules
	About school
Transmission of values and its importance	Parent-child interdependence
	Respect for parents and elders
	Fear of God
	Preservation of native culture
What affects fathering	Portuguese laws and norms
	Cultural Factors
	Children's reaction
	Income status
	Support system or community
Integration of the child into society	Relationship with parents
	Relationship with teachers
	Relationship with friends/peers
	Language Skills
Hopes and aspirations for the future	Educational achievement
	Success/Good future
	Support parents during old age
	Respectful careers
	Going back to Nigeria

Table 5.3: Synthesis of Father's Standpoint on Sub Categories

Methods of Disciplining the Child

Give Reasoning	Use of a bit of force	Threat/Fear	Scolding	Reward
Ojo				Ojo
Fred				
Idon				Idon
Ego			Ego	
Sower		Sower		
Jide				
6	0/6	1/6	1/6	2/6

Relationship with the Child

Spend time with the child	Closeness, comfort in sharing feelings	Concern and support	Confrontation
Ojo	Ojo	Ojo	
Fred	Fred		
Idon	Idon	Idon	
Ego	Ego		
Sower	Sower		
Jide	Jide		
6/6	6/6	2/6	0/6

Monitoring and Decision Making

Set rules	Know whereabouts	About School
Ojo	Ojo	Ojo
Fred		Fred
Idon	Idon	Idon
Ego		Ego
Sower		Sower
Jide	Jide	Jide
6/6	3/6	6/6

Another possible explanation for the Nigerian migrant fathers practicing a dynamic parenting style might be the number of years they have been living in Portugal. All the participants have been living here for more than ten years. Another factor which might affect parenting styles is the parents' interaction with the host society. All the participants in this study are employed in some form or other which makes it possible for them to come into contact with the Portuguese community and for the participants who have lived here for ten years, it is even more easy to have access to the Portuguese people. Ochocka and Janzen's (2008) study on the immigrant families living in Canada for three years and less showed that their parenting had gone through some degree of change due to various contributing factors including; Canadian laws, their children's behavior, interaction with the society and the change in power relations between children and the parents. These reasons seem applicable to the Nigerian migrant fathers living in Portugal as well.

Still, there was agreement on the values that most Nigerian migrant fathers transmit to their children, including; parent-child interdependence and respect for elders which is related to the collectivistic culture of African societies. Baumrind, (1967) mentions that authoritative parenting style is generally associated with individualistic culture and authoritarian parenting style is

generally related with collectivistic culture. Nevertheless, the collectivistic nature of Nigerian migrant fathers in this study might not really reflect authoritarianism, as it was evident that the fathers had very high levels of care, warmth and responsiveness which are not associated with authoritative parenting style. Some of the Nigerian migrant father also mentioned that they monitored their children and enforced some strict rules which their children had to adhere to, but mentioned that they did it for the betterment of their children. The strict rules were directed towards the use of drugs, cigarette and alcohol, display of affection in public and indecent dressing.

5.2.4 Nigerian Migrant Fathers in Portugal in Relation to Baumrind's Parenting Styles

5.2.5 Methods of Disciplining used by Nigerian Migrant Fathers

'Reasoning' was mentioned by all the participants of this study as the primary method to discipline their children. Sower (Male, 49 years) described his experience of disciplining the child as:

But you as a father, you don't beat, Yah I don't, I don'tI don't....., I talk to them, yah I have seen the pains in....., in....., in delivering a child, because here you are not like Africa when she is....., in her labour room,....., you stand besides her, okay, you understand, yah.

Another participant shared similar views:

I....., I can talk to my child. I tell you, warn you oooooo seriously, but when you fail to....., to....., I warn ooooo, I can't beat, I....., I....., I never beat my child, I never beat, I can't beat you with cane (Jide, Male, 54 years).

There were some participants however, who indicated that reasoning was only one of their options as they used scolding or reward as additional method if they deemed necessary. In this regard Ego (Male, 47 years) said:

As is to shout on them, you understand, I shout on them, heeeeeey, stop that, don't do that, is not good, you understand, I think I have warned you not to touch this, you know, that kind of thing.

It is also important to observe from the summary table that some participants who use reasoning are also the same participants who use reward as another option. Idon (Male, 51 years) said:

I...., I deny them that right they have to have within that space of time, like right not go out, Yeah, normally I....., I don't beat, like right today there is no McDonalds, okay, you know, so this, this rights are being taken away from them within that period of their disobedience, okay.

It is worth noting, that only one participant used fear as an alternative. Sower (Male, 49 years) stated:

“Sometimes I....., I, I may not talk to her,....., from my face, I may not talk to her for may be an hour, yah, I don't....., I don't....., we don't beat here, you know”.

It is also important to note that this same participant confessed that sometimes his wife uses a bit of force along other methods of disciplining but did not specify under which conditions she applied force. He narrated: “Yah is only the mum that touches her sometimes”.

5.2.6 The Relationship between a Father and a Child

The revelation that fathers use reasoning as a primary form of instilling discipline into their children might account for a good father child relationship. This can be seen from the second finding as all the participants described that they cared for their children and supported them. A participant expressed his feelings that he has about his child: “No, no he doesn't fear , is eeeeeh, he talk to me like a father and I talk to him like eeeeeh, like a son, like my son, I love the valuable relationship” (Jide, Male, 54 years). Similar display of care and concern was observed during the interview with Ojo (Male, 51 years). He narrated:

We always say that look we are suffering because of you, we want you to have a better future, I tell them look, you see where we live? (Cacem), there are very many schools around home, but we decided to take you to one of the best public schools in Lisbon. One of the best public secondary schools in Lisbon, we wake up at 5:00am prepare them and drop them to school and pick them. So I tell them we are suffering because of you, because we want the best for you. So they should focus, focus, focus on their studies.

Another participant remembers his concern, although different from the experiences mentioned above, regarding his son's education and how he tried to support him.

When they bigger one wanted to change, I sat him down and told him the implication of what he is trying to do, he wanted to change the course he is doing. So then he told me ooooh, this course is very difficult, he wanted to change to....., accountant, he wanted to be an....., I said no, no this course you are doing is the course you have been dreaming when you were kid, because I remember you used to tell everybody that time, you are engineer, he is doing engineering course, yah, you used to tell people, you are an engineer then no but too many....., the mathematics....., I said there mathematics in accounting, there is eeeeeem, eeeeeeh, science subject also, so is left for you to study hard, be very serious about it then you see yourself, you progress to a better level and he adhered and change (Idon, Male, 51 years).

All the participants also revealed that they spend time with their children. Ojo (Male, 51 years) stated:

I spend time with my children. Because sometimes we used to go to the parties, yes, with the kids, yes, you try to know the parents of the kids and....., the parents of his friends. The parents of his friends, sorry, and some,....., aaaaaam, eeeeeh, we used to go to where he normally plays basketball, okay, then you interact with other eeeeeh, family friends of the....., families of the....., families of his friends, sorry, and....., and.....there, we normally exchange telephone calls, okay, you know. Yeah, it is very important because they, they feel proud that they come with their parents while they both come with the other parents because when they are alone, they....., they see it very, very important, yeah and I think they....., they....., they like it.

In a similar response Sower (Male, 49 years) narrated that: “I take them to the park, I take her, I know what they want to take her out, they like going out, you know, there are a lot of interesting places here, you know, where I can take them and McDonalds, they love McDonalds so much”.

There were some participants though who cited their work schedules as a hindrance for them not being able to spend much time with their children and it was not that they didn't want to spend time with them. Jide (Male, 54 years) mentioned: “I see my son every month because of the

work, he is schooling and am working, every month I have to see him, every month that is compulsory, every month, yah”.

In a similar response Ego (Male, 47 years) attests:

I see my children every day, although I don't spent much time with them, unless weekends and holidays, because they have to go to school and I have to go to work every day, because their mother is not working and I am the only one working in that house, so I don't have much time to be with them, because I have to work, Portugal is not easyoooo without working, working here in Portugal, you can't give time to children. I come home in the afternoon tired, and then you run in the evening for work again, therefore it is a bit difficult.

5.2.7 Monitoring and Decision Making, the Father's influence and Child Participation

All the participants mentioned that it was very important for them to know how their children were performing in their studies and encouraged them through talks to study hard so that they can have a better future. Idon (Male, 51 years) talks about his experience of visiting his child's school:

I used to go to meet the director of their class to ask them how they are doing, are they behaving well in the classes, if they are not behaving well, what is the problem, you know, they will tell me their weaknesses then I will come back home and tell them look, I was in your school today to speak to your director and see....., see what he said, you have to change, you have to make amendments in this areas, so it is only in academics I can remember.

All the participants also mentioned that they set rules about what their children were not expected to do, without any participation of the children themselves. Regarding setting of rules and how they decide, a participant mentioned:

Aaaaah, I do it alone, I am the father that they....., they....., of course when I want some rules, you understand, yah, I....., I will be the one to give them order, you do

this, you don't do this, you see, you do this, you don't do this, look at this, look at this, you know (Ego, Male, 47 years).

In a similar response, Ojo reflected:

It is me, it is me the father, aaaah if we are discussing something concerning family, if they have something then they can contribute. If it is something discipline, I have to discipline them. Discipline is not punishment but correction, so that next time they don't do something wrong again (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

Idon's view was consistent with those of Ego and Chief Ojo. He stressed:

I set the rules and more especially the, the big one, eeeh, there are things he wouldn't want me to do to him and....., but the rules that I set, is being adhered by all of them (Idon, Male, 51 years).

Some of the participants revealed that they try to know the whereabouts of their children. Idon (Male, 51 years) said:

Yeah am happy, very happy, very happy, because they are behaving very good, it makes me feel good, so they are behaving very good, Yah literally it means that they adhere to instructions, they obey it and they....., they....., we communicate, even if when they are....., they are not around they call you, they tell you, dad we are going to this way, you know where they are, you....., you....., when they come back, you ask them where have you been, what happened there? They explain to you exactly what happened to where they went, so I think is....., is very good (Idon, Male, 51 years).

Another participant in my interview, Jide affirms:

I know the type of my, my child, my boy, he is a very intelligent boy, he never follow, I told him even whether anybody in the school to the type, the type of friends you have, you are supposed to make, don't make all these friends, you know in Europe today there is rough people, you know, we have people but I don't like, I.....I know that my boy doesn't follow those groups, I told him, I warned him not to follow that group, eeeh, when you close school come back to the home to read your book, face your book or

respect....., when there is domestic....., help your mother, you know, so that he do all those things (Jide, 54, years).

5.3 Influences on Fathering: The Micro, Meso and Macro Environments

The factors influencing fathering can be understood in terms of micro, meso and macro environments, where micro environment represents the immediate system that interacts with the fathers which induce change in fathering patterns, meso environment represents the interaction between two or more micro systems and the macro environment represents the wider system which incorporates the micro system and the meso system.

5.3.1 Children's Reaction to Fathering: the Micro Environment Influencing Fathering

Only one participant mentioned that his fathering practice had been influenced by his son's reaction. He narrated the difficulty in dealing with his son:

Being a father in a foreign land is very complicated; all my children were born here, including my elder son. There are things he wouldn't want me to do to him, like stopping him from going for birthday parties and hanging out with his friends, because he says it is his right. And I believe he has been influenced by his friends here, he talks about rights and freedom. He says parents are not always right. He says, if I am not doing anything wrong, you have to admit that everything that the parents say is not always right. What we say can also be right. What the child is saying should be listened to by the parents as well. It should not always be from the parents (I don, Male, 51 years).

All the other participants mentioned that their fathering practice was not affected by their children's reactions, because they listened to whatever they told them and many of their children were still young on average below the age of 10 years. One of the participants in my interview, Fred narrated: "Yah, they are very young. Uuum, this...., at this point no, I never, no, no, I believe they are, they are still young, so they are..... hahahaha (laughs), maybe they are not understanding, they, they.....". (Fred, Male, 55 years). This view was consistent with the view of Ojo (Male, 51 years) who indicated: "They do not do anything about it, because you

know, we African we have our own culture and way of raising our children which is different from theirs, so they should know that they are African and even know the African culture, because we are Africans”.

It was evident that gender of the parents played an important role in parenting practice as well. Mothers were likely to provide more care and support to the children than their fathers and they were more comfortable to share their feelings with their mothers. The fathers though were likely to monitor their children and implement strict rules and regulations. Gender of the children was of importance as well as parents were more likely to implement rules regarding wearing of certain dresses and public display of affection for girls and the boys the rule was most likely to be regarding use of alcohol and smoking.

5.3.2 The Support System and the Community: The Meso Environment Influencing Fathering

All the participants also mentioned that they were not aware of any support system and that their community did not influence in any way their fathering practice. Idon (Male, 51 years) narrated:

It is difficult because in my culture, is not only you taking care of your kids, but here everything lies solely on your head, you do everything; you work, you clean the clothes, you iron it, you give instructions, nobody will help you, but in my culture where we come from, when you have a kid, it is like your neighbour can be there to instruct that kid to something right, but here nobody cares, when you are not there, you don't know what they are doing and neighbour might see them, they don't care, because it doesn't concern them.

Another participant mentioned:

“No, no, they don't influence anything, no, as far as am concerned and my wife is concerned, no”. (Fred, Male, 55 years). Ego's view was consistent with the views of Idon and Fred. He stressed: “Eeeeeeeh, that one here, there is none....., nothing like that, there is nothing like that here, you do it yourself unless the one they learn from the school, unless the one they learn from the school, Yah (Ego, Male, 47 years).

5.3.3 Culture and Laws and Norms: the Macro Environment

All the participants mentioned that culture played an important role in performing their fathering roles. All the participant also revealed that their fathering practices were based on the experience they gained during their childhood as they witnessed their fathers perform their fathering roles. Two of the participants mentioned about the difference in culture between the two countries which affects their fathering. Idon (Male, 51 years) narrated:

Parenting here in Portugal, it is vice versa, a little bit difficult, very, very difficult to say, because of the responsibility of everything, because here you can as well even, they bark at your kid, beat a little bit, you know, or....., the laws, it doesn't come in quickly to....., come and harass you over it, your kid can cry, you know, you know, the law doesn't come quickly to harass you, unless when you want to abuse it, the law will come and tell you, hey, is not the same way here, yah.

Another participant mentioned:

Aaaaaah, I will say the difference is to.....,that is the gap is too much, because here in Europe, the way they train their children is not the way Africans train their children in Africa....., I think the African way of training their children is more better than the Europe – Europeans, because in Africa, they parents beat their children, not too much when they do bad things, when they do things that they don't like, they beat them, they will shout on them, but here in Europe, their parents doesn't shout....., even shout on them, they don't even beat them, you understand. I think the way we Africans train our children is more better than like Europe – the Europeans. (Ego, Male, 47 years).

All the participants also mentioned that their fathering practices were also influenced by Portuguese laws and norms. Sower (Male, 49 years) narrated: “To me I....., I like the way we brought up, we bring up children like more than here, because we inculcate discipline into them, but here, you, if the child is old, you dare not touch your child, because the law does not permit you to beat”. In a similar response, Idon mentioned: “....., for example, you know, in Nigerian there are things that are not legalized, Like gay, okay, eeeeh, like smoking anyhow, you know, these....., these....., these are things your kids can do over there, you get so much troubled with yourself, you want to get mad, but here is something you see every day,

okay, and you cannot tell the kids to start eeeeem, abusing such people, so this is the culture here, okay, but in them, you inculcate to them that look, this is not good, I don't want you to be part and parcel of this, you know, okay". (Idon, Male, 51 years).

5.4 Immigration: Opportunities for and Barrier to Fatherhood

Regarding the question of how easy or difficult it is to practice fathering as an immigrant in the Portuguese context, participants of this study had mixed responses, with some arguing that it was easy, whilst others mentioned that it was both easy and difficult to practice fathering as an immigrant in Portugal because of different factors. Participants who argued that it was easy to practice fathering cited the supportive Portuguese legal framework that barred them from practicing certain fathering behaviours that they had learnt during their childhood experiences, especially from their fathers, such as beating which was considered as a normal practice of instilling discipline into the children, so that they grow up as responsible and respectful members of the society. All the fathers in the study also spoke of the opportunities that living in Portugal will provide their children, particularly concerning education. There seemed to be optimism within most of the participants that their children will have a better life in Europe than they are currently experiencing. The following quote from Sower (Male, 49 years) is quite representative in its mix of hope and optimism:

Uuuuum, I....., there are opportunities here than in Nigerian, because I...., when....., since they are all European citizens, the sky is their limit, they can study, they can be paid, eeeeeeh, look, for example now, the little money they are being paid every year, I don't touch, I put it in their account until it reaches 18 years, so that when they want to study anywhere, it will be easy for them and the government here, when you have your passport, you will....., they provide you with financial setoff – clearing the financial this of your education and you can pay after when you start working, you understand.

In a similar response, Fred mentioned:

Aaaaaaaah, no....., I don't think is hard, it depends on individual, because there is individual differences, aaaaaaaah, the only thing is that it is different from that of Africa in the sense that here, we don't have a domestic servant just like in Africa, here you don't

say that this is a woman, you have to take the child to school, when you come home first, you cook, you understand, irrespective of the fact that am a man, when I come earlier than a woman, I go to the kitchen wash the plates, cook, everybody will eat, yes, to bring the children from the school, she might go and send them in the morning, then coming back I will go pick them, everything is divided, you don't have to leave it for anyone, you understand, sometimes it is hectic for us men, when you must have tested life in Africa that everything is woman, woman, woman, woman and we don't have respect to them, here is quite different. (Fred, Male, 55 years).

Jide's view was consistent with those of Fred and Sower, He reflected:

Is not, to me is not hard like that, I can't say is hard because Europe, Europe, Europe provides a lot, Europe makes a lot of things to you, you treat your child here, you have, here is, here is very, more, more good oooooo to brought up a child, is not, is not difficult in financial, in financial in eeeeeeh, academically too, so I prefer, I prefer bringing up a child here in Europe than in Africa, okay, because in Africa, Africa is a lot of, a lot of confusion, a lot of suffering, a lot of, here in Europe a government can never disappoint you here, but in Africa a lot of disappointment you know, aaaaaaah, government can tell you that do this but at the end of the year, you can't see nothing, but when in Europe when they tell you that they will help you, they will help you, so Europe is, Europe is very easy to bring a child up in Europe, yah, I prefer Europe. (Jide, Male, 54 years).

The views of the three participants exemplified above, reflected ease in practicing fathering in Portugal and the opportunities that comes with it. On the hand Ojo, Idon and Ego's statements below are a reflection of both the ease and difficulties they experience in their practice of fathering due to the Portuguese laws and norms and income status:

Like when my elder son when he does something wrong, I can call him and maybe slap him and he will apologize and not tell anybody outside the house, but for my young son, if he does something wrong and I slap him, he may apologize and not keep quiet, he might go outside the house and tell his friends that my dad slaps me and if his friends hear, they will ask him, is it true? So, here you have to look and think very well before you do certain things, in case the child keeps on reporting, reporting you to the authority,

they may come to you, write to you or call you or they might remove the child away from you that you don't know how to take care of the child. (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

In a similar response, Idon reflected:

Yah it is difficult, It is difficult because in my culture, is not only you taking care of your kids, but here everything lies solely on your head, eeeeeeh, you do everything; you clean the clothes, you iron it, you give instructions, nobody will help you, okay, but in my culture where we come from, when you have a kid, it is like your neighbour can be there to instruct that kid to something right, but here nobody cares, so in fact, aaaaaaam, if my colleagues say is very....., is very easy, it is very difficult to me. (Idon, Male, 51 years).

Ego's view was consistent with those of Ojo and Idon. He stressed:

I think is difficult a little here, because here, generally here, the minimum wage here in Portugal is too low compared to other European countries and that is how things is hard here too, like when you earn like 600 Euros in a month, if you didn't manage it well, it will not take you to the next month, at the middle of the month, everything will be finished, so cost of living here, how to take care of children here is too hard, is very, very hard, no, no parenting is not easy here, is very hard, is not easy, is not easy, more especially when only you working, maybe you are working, your wife is not working, is very, very tough (Ego, Male, 47 years).

5.5 Future Aspirations of the Fathers concerning the Children

5.5.1 Success in Education

For all the participants, they wanted their children to excel in their education and become successful people in the future. Idon (Male, 51 years) mentioned:

Yeah my future aspirations for my children, yeah in me, I....., what I have let them know and they should know, the whole the family, yes look, I can only give you education, study and study and study and study, okay, if you don't study well, you end up being a cleaner, I sing this like a song in my house, you see that guy is driving....., eeeeeh, helicopter because he went to school, if you don't want to study very hard, you

have the opportunities, you have everything very close, accessible to you, so I think that is my aspiration for them to be very, very good in education.

In a similar response, Ojo narrated:

Aaah, in our culture we dictate for them, we dictate for our children, I want you to be this, I want to be this, so but here is not the same, they choose whatever they wish. My prayers or our prayers, me and my wife is that whatever they choose or anything they choose let them, let them progress with it and let God guide them through it (Ojo, Male, 51 years).

Ego (Male, 47 years) mentioned: “My future aspiration for them is to finish their education, have a very basic education, okay, eeeeh, you know, then they will move out if they like, yah, for me I would like them to move out to go to another country, like English countries after their education”.

5.5.2 Stability and Secure Future

All the participants also mentioned that they want their children's future to be bright and stable.

Jide (Male, 54 years) narrated:

I have aspiration, aspiration of my son because I know my son is doing very perfectly and I have, I....., I know, I believe, I strongly believe that one day, what we do for our child, one day will have to be, we have to be receiving the....., you know, how we treated our child, one day, one day we gonna, me and my wife we will grow old and our child will be taking care of us, supporting us during old age, that is why we never got tired of supporting our child, you know, we will continue until the day their turn will reach for them to take care of us.

Another participant mentioned:

My future is for them to grow, to grow with fear of God, to grow with knowledge, understanding and then be a very good future parents to themselves, you understand, when they are good to themselves, and you know, inculcate all these things, I believe I will be happy, because your happiness is for your children to be better than you and not you being better than them, you understand, yes (Sower, Male, 49 years).

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

The present study took place in greater Lisbon district, Portugal, and used a case study design and qualitative approach (Bryman, 2012), to understand the perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers. Six married men between the ages of 45 and 55 years were interviewed to understand their perceptions and practices about parenting in a different country from their original one. The study also investigated what cultural values the immigrants fathers transmitted to their children and finally explored how easy or difficult was it for them to practice parenting. Furthermore, the study utilized: the labour migration theory, ecological systems theory and Baumrind theory of parenting styles to analyze how Nigerian immigrant fathers were experiencing parenting.

6.1 Main Findings

Nigerian immigration to Portugal is a recent phenomenon as official figures from SEF, (2017) indicates, the influx of Nigerian immigrants to Portugal started in 2008 until nowadays. The total population of Nigerian immigrants in Portugal is 508 individuals, with more males (326) than females (182). The same report also highlighted the total number of Nigerian immigrants who arrived in Portugal in 2017: 88 individuals, with 61 representing male and 27 representing female. All the participants in this study were from the Igbo tribe of Southern Nigerian, with a Christian background and had children who had enrolled for basic level education and secondary level education in Portugal.

The findings of the empirical research contribute to fill the gap on Nigerian experiences in Portugal. First, revealed that economic reason was the main motive for Nigerian emigration to Europe. Secondly, the fathers perceived fatherhood as being the head of the family, preserving and transmitting cultural values to the children and supporting and providing for the family and children in all circumstances (e.g. provision of guidance, supervision and financial support). Thirdly, the fathers played the role of provider, disciplinarian, role model to their children, mediator and engaged in other recreational activities with their children like going to the park and other leisure activities. The study also unearthed that Nigerian immigrants fathers perceived educational attainment as a means to success, a notion shared by most international migrants across the globe.

The findings from this research also highlighted that the parenting style theory by Baumrind (1971) did not fully correspond to the Nigerian immigrant fathering practice as it incorporated characteristics of both the authoritative model and the authoritarian model and this was consistent with the findings of Dangol, (2015), among the Nepalese living in Portugal. The fathers were caring, supportive and provided reasoning to their child which were the characteristics of authoritative parenting, but at the same time, they instilled values of parent-child interdependence and set rules which they wanted their children to conform to which mostly represented authoritarian parenting. Nevertheless, the fathers argued that their controlling behavior towards their children for few aspects were not to demonstrate power or authority, but rather due to the love and concern that they have towards their children. Nevertheless, the collectivistic nature of Nigerian migrant fathers in this study might not really reflect authoritarianism, as it was evident that the fathers had very high levels of care, warmth and responsiveness which are not associated with authoritative parenting style.

The Nigerian immigrant fathers also mentioned that their parenting was mostly influenced by the what they perceive to be Nigerian culture as they intended to transmit the values of respect, interdependence, hardwork, religion, educational achievements and preservation of native culture (language). But transmission of these cultural values were sometimes affected by Portuguese laws and norms, children's reaction and their support system and community. Most of the fathers disagreed with what they perceive as Portuguese parenting, that is, the rights and freedom provided to the children by Portuguese law after the age of 18. This meant that children at this age were already considered adults capable of making informed decisions on their own, a practice uncommon in most African societies. They were worried about their children making immature decisions that would ruin their lives. The children's reactions has seen some changes in fathering practice among immigrant fathers as well, especially on the choice of careers to pursue in the future.

Fathers played a crucial role in the education of their children as a means to success. They tried to be highly involved in the education of their children through monitoring their performance and encouraging them to study hard to be successful people in the future, although some fathers found it difficult because of language barrier. But they still encouraged their children to study to make sure that they perform well in their school. They were also informative about their

children's friends and tried to know the whereabouts of their children as well. Most of the children had friends from African origin and were closer to them than friends from other nationalities according to the fathers. Some of the fathers also dropped and picked their children from school and visited the schools of their children to know about the progress they were making. The fathers tried to preserve their own language and culture and avoided speaking Portuguese at home, because they wanted their children to learn their native Igbo language and know that they are immigrants from Africa.

The findings from this research also indicated that age of the children was important in influencing father's behaviours and fathering styles and also influenced the children's own perception of what they should be allowed to do, plans for the future as some of the fathers mentioned that their desire to move elsewhere would have an effect on their children's educational outcome and language proficiency.

6.2 Lessons from Fieldwork for Social Work Practice

In this section, I reflect on my personal experience and some of the discussions I had with immigrants here in Portugal about the challenges faced by immigrants and propose some recommendations for social policy and social work practice. First, for many of the immigrants language barrier inhibited their interactions and contact with the outside society. This is especially true for new immigrants whom because of language barrier fail to communicate to be able to access the available services and programmes designed for immigrants. Learning the language of the host country is one of the most important resources of integration and ensures their autonomy.

This was also evident from the interviews with my study participant who mentioned that due to the language barrier, they were not aware of any support systems operated by government or NGOs to support them in their parenting roles. Portuguese language acquisition was not only important for the migrant fathers to be able to get jobs or participate in economic activities but also for them to be able to perform daily and necessary activities, like going to the hospital by themselves, participate in their children's education and other social activities necessary for the growth and development of their children. Portuguese language classes for foreign nationals are available in Portugal free of cost in some public school but not all families were aware about this

(Lourenco, 2013). Hence these classes must somewhat be made more accessible to the immigrants. This can be achieved through more increased public awareness of their availability through contacting community-led organizations and social workers can play a linkage role to ensure the immigrants know where to access these services and programmes.

6.3 Recommendations for Research

Following this research, there can be further research on Nigerian immigrant's parenting and its influence on child integration but from the perspective of mothers. As this study only covered the father's perspective, it would be interesting to understand what the mothers themselves think about parenting as immigrants. Another line of research for the future can be a comparative study between fathering in Portugal and fathering in Nigeria or a comparative study between the experiences of mothering and fathering as immigrants, to understand if similarities and differences really exist or it is just the perception of the parents.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Guide

Date:

Locality of Interview:

Interview Duration:

Time of Interview:

Demographic Elements:

Personal Information:

Age:

Sex:

Occupation:

Level of Education:

Address:

Contact number:

Number of Years in Portugal:

Family Information:

How many members are there in the family?

How many children do you have?

Age and Gender of Children:

Education of Spouse:

Do the Children go to school?

Which kind of school do they go?

How many people live in the house and who?

Occupation of Spouse:

When did the spouse first come to Portugal?

When did the child first come to Portugal?

1. Can you please share with me your knowledge and experience about being a father?
 - 1.1. How do you feel your child is doing here in Portugal and how do you describe your relationship with your child to be like?
 - 1.2. How comfortable are they in communicating with you and sharing their feelings and how concerned are you about your child?
 - 1.3. When it comes to setting of ground rules and restrictions, who does it, how is it done and what is the level of participation from the child?
 - 1.4. Can you mention (with examples and incidents) in cases of violation of rules and inappropriate behavior, what sort of repercussions does the child face?
 - 1.5. What are the ways in which you discipline your child?
 - 1.6. How has this changed or remained the same from your time of parenting when you were in Nigeria?
2. Can you please tell me more about your child here in Portugal?
 - 2.1. What according to you has influenced their integration into the Portuguese society?
 - 2.2. How involved are you in their education and how important do you feel it is for the child?
 - 2.3. What do you think about your child's relationship with the peers?
 - 2.4. When we say friends, who are friends to them, are they friends from Nigeria, friends from immigrant origin or Portuguese friends and how often do they meet and where
 - 2.5. How much time do they spend with their peers and are there other activities beside school that they are part of, are they part of any association or such (sports, music etc)?
 - 2.6. How fluent does your child speak Portuguese?
3. What do you feel about the culture and values between Nigeria and Portugal?
 - 3.1. While raising your child, which culture and values do you feel your child should incorporate and why?
 - 3.2. Does your spouse feel the same way about it?
 - 3.3. Do you feel it is important to preserve cultural values and tradition from back home?
 - 3.4. How do you generally transmit these values and how has it influenced your children in building their identity?
 - 3.5. How does your child react to the values being transferred (share your experience)?
 - 3.6. What religion do you practice and do you teach your child about religion?

4. Can you explain about the support system you have here and how it has been important?
 - 4.1. Does the support system provide assistance with parenting and child needs? If yes how?
 - 4.2. Do they have influence in how you perform your parental roles?
 - 4.3. Have you received any state support or support from organizations for integration of your child and are you aware of any support being provided?
5. Are you happy and satisfied with what you have been doing for your child?
 - 5.1. Do you feel that coming to Portugal has provided your child with better opportunities?
 - 5.2. What are the future aspirations for you and your child?
 - 5.3. When you think about the future, do you see yourself here in Portugal or somewhere else?
 - 5.4. Do you have any recommendations for those who are planning to bring their children and for the state on what could be done to promote better integration among immigrant children?
6. How easy or difficult is it for you to practice parenting here in Portugal?
7. Is there anything you want to say regarding parenting and children that has not been covered by these questions?

Appendix B

Consent Form

This study on perceptions and practices of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Lisbon, Portugal, is part of the Erasmus Mundus Master programme in Social work with families and children, being undertaken by Boldrine Okello. The study focuses on Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal and aims to understand their perceptions and practices of parenting.

The research is supervised and co-supervised by Prof. Claudia Pereira and Prof. Rui Pena Pires. The researcher conducting the interview is Boldrine Okello, whom you may contact (claudia.pereira@iscte-iul.pt, rpenapires@gmail.com and bolrine@gmail.com), in case you would like to share any doubt or comment.

Your participation, which will be highly valued, consists of giving an interview, which may last between one or two hours. There are no significant expected risks associated with participation in the study. Although you may not benefit directly from participating in the study, your answers will contribute to better understanding of parenting among Nigerian immigrant fathers in Portugal.

Participation in this study is strictly **voluntary**: you may choose to participate or not to participate. If you choose to participate, you can discontinue participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, participation is also **anonymous** and **confidential**. Data are only for statistical treatment and no response will be analyzed or reported individually. At no point in the study do you need to identify yourself.

Given this information, please indicate whether you agree to participate in the study:

Accept

Do Not Accept

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature:

