THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME:
GHANAIAN AND NIGERIAN-CANADIAN CHILDREN SENT "BACK HOME"

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ABSTRACT

For many African immigrants to Canada, their reason of relocating can fall under a variety of push and pull factors of migration. Immigrants often settle in the host country and then have children. Many scholars have showcased the benefits of transnational ties for immigrants to their home country but rarely has this been examined through second generation immigrant children as being vessels of which this occurs. This research uncovered reasons why some Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian parents decided to send their Canadian born children to Ghana or Nigeria temporarily. Through qualitative data interviews with Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian parents from the Hamilton and the Greater Toronto Area, this study explored how transnational identity impacted this type of migration for second generation African immigrant children in Canada. Through Durkheim's socialization theory, the findings and themes explored the various aspects of transnational relationships and identities.

Key Words: Transnationalism, Bifocality, Second Generation, Ghanaian/Nigerian-Canadian, Back Home, Socialization, Identity

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Adom ne ahum)br) na de m3b3duru ha nn3

Grace and Mercy has brought me this far

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INTRODUCTION

Bra fie, Bra fie
Bra fie na yɛ twɛn woo

Come home, Come home
Come home we are waiting for you

Some second generation immigrant children whose parents have migrated to Canada may experience a time in their lives where their very distinct identities of their country of origin and the country they have settled in collide. Mixed with a sense of confusion of identity, second generation immigrants in Canada can face a different experience than that of first generation immigrants. This group is unique because of their navigation through Canadian and Western society, African culture as well as race in an ever-changing world. Parents of second generation Ghanaian and Nigerian children born in Canada may struggle with how to raise their children in such a diverse environment. They may be challenged with how to combat cultural identity confusion and socialization issues. Second generation immigrant children are not immigrants by definition - because they have not personally migrated anywhere - but are also not native to the country of Canada. They are raised by parents who have migrated to a foreign country and have settled in a country populated by foreign people.

The purpose of this research is to uncover the reasons as to why some Ghanaian as well as Nigerian-Canadian parents currently residing in Canada – within the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area - have decided to send their children "back home" to Ghana or Nigeria temporarily. For many immigrants in general, their reason for migration to Canada is often motivated by glamorized, top class Westernized education, long overdue family reunion or a strong pursuit for economic gain. But if this is generally the case, my curiosity remains as to why

some parents would decide to send their children back to a place where they have spent money, time and preparation to leave.

Growing up as a Canadian citizen of Ghanaian descent, the idea of Africa was painted as a distant baron land, associated with negative circumstances, excessive heat and continuous poverty. The media used dark and dingy colours to paint an undesirable picture of what the entire continent of Africa was like. Why would anyone want to live there? These images have been used to brainwash the minds of many to believe that living in Africa is an unfortunate outcome for those who were not able to travel abroad to an advanced Westernized society. They have been left with destroyed and hopeless lands as a result of their colonizers where only the brave and fortunate have left to North America and Europe. By my teenage years, it was also common to hear in a threatening tone about being sent to Ghana as a form of discipline among myself and my other Ghanaian-Canadian friends growing up. "If you keep misbehaving… hmm, you will end up in the village!". With this narrative in mind and thousands of kilometers away from Africa, how were second generation immigrant children such as myself supposed to learn about where we came from?

Through qualitative interview style data collection with Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian parents residing in the GTA, some of the reasons as to why parents sent their Canadian born children to their country of origin temporarily were uncovered. If there were such an abundance of negatives, why take your child there? These interviews were expected to explore the direct and indirect benefits or disadvantages to this experience for the participants as parents and first-generation immigrants to Canada. Through this, they were given an opportunity to reflect on how their child performed upon arrival. Most importantly, how this travel impacted their children

through a transnational lens as second generation immigrants born in Canada as well as their relation to their dual identity as Canadian and Ghanaian or Nigerian.

This major research paper will begin with a thorough literature review to present the idea of migration through second generation immigrant children to their country of origin for a deeper understanding of the population being discussed. It will then lead to the theoretical framework where socialization theory, transnationalism, bifocality and cultural identity will be used to provide context behind some of the motivation exhibited by this decision. The methodology section will then explain how the research was carried out and analyzed. The findings and themes from the participants will be presented followed by a discussion of the findings in relation to the literature and ending with the conclusion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

When speaking about transnational family dynamics, there are differences in how this can be established through children. Foremost, we must consider our own Westernized definition of what a family consists of. According to Baldassar et. al (2014) the Westernized understanding, both within society and the state, is widely concerned with the nuclear definition where only the mother, father and biological children are considered. Extended family or close relatives who consider themselves caregivers are rarely included, greatly impacting how countries and citizens at large form understandings, laws and policies around the family unit (Baldassar et. al, 2014). Tettey & Puplampu (2005) on the other hand, found that immigrants, particularly in Canada, do not solely rely on the nuclear representation for family. Family includes more than parents and children and often automatically includes extended family such as grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins (Coe, 2008; Waters, 2001; Tettey & Puplampu, 2005). In the context of transnationalism, Baldassar et. al., (2014) defines family as "maintaining a sense of family hood in that they continue to feel they belong to a family even though they may not see each other or be physically present." Furthermore, the researcher continues by stating that the ultimate goal for transnational families is "intended to capture the growing awareness that members of families retain their sense of collectivity and kinship in spite of being spread across multiple nations (Baldassar et. al., 2014). The practice for transnational families aims at staying united through communication, tradition and culture.

The definition of family plays a large role when discussing the migration witnessed within them and how they use it to navigate their identity. Many African immigrants currently living in Canada, regardless of how long ago they have immigrated, are more likely to continue to maintain a stronger connection to their extended family and cultural heritage "back home"

than to fully and 'successfully' assimilate to the mainstream "Canadian culture" (Tettey & Puplampu 2005) particularly during the initial settlement stage. This may include continuing to speak the native language, cooking traditional dishes, attending places of worship, staying up to date with news and politics and visiting. Among the inclusion of children and transnational dynamics, in many instances, parents may have varying reasons to send the children to other countries. However, in regard to this particular research question, the focus is set on Ghanaian and Nigerian families who have migrated, settled, have had children in Canada and have sent their children to their country of origin - a place the children have never been before. This has taken place within various African countries but little data has been researched and documented - particularly within the Canadian context.

Yvonne Bohr, clinical psychologist at York University, defined the children of this travel as "satellite babies" (Bohr & Tse, 2009; Waters 2001). Bohr (2009) examined Chinese families in Toronto who sent their Canadian born children to live in China while they stayed in Toronto. From Bohr's findings, the occurrence of this type of migration derived from a form of self-sacrifice, common within the Chinese culture. This practice services the family as a whole to ensure positive outcomes for all involved - particularly the children (Bohr, 2009; Klienman & Lin, 1981; Wang & Fertig, 2016). Parents were willing to be without their children in order to be fully emerged into Chinese culture from an impressionable age. To better accommodate the Chinese families living in Toronto, Bohr (2009) established research to uncover the specific motives behind this type of travel from the parent's perspective at the clinical level. They also contributed to ideas about how to assist the children upon return to Toronto. Findings presented that decisions were largely driven by lack of affordable childcare within Toronto as a result of their financial status and career choice or job availability (Bohr & Tse, 2009).

Similarly, a study completed by Bledsoe & Sow (2011), found that parents who sent their American and European born children of West African descent to their country of origin for the first time, was to save money while the children were still young. By choosing not to spend money on childcare, parents expressed this as motivation to repurpose the saved funds for higher education for their children and a comfortable lifestyle for their entire family upon return (Bledsoe & Sow 2011). Both studies also found that since professional credentials from the country of origin were often not recognized in their new host country, one or both immigrant parents would enroll in accreditation courses in order to become eligible to hold positions they held before migration. Some would also further their education to find good paying jobs in their field. The result of this decision was not having enough available time to take care of their child, thus making a sacrifice that would lead to a long term positive outcome (Bohr & Tse, 2009; Bledsoe & Sow 2011).

In addition, participants of both the Chinese and West African studies expressed their desire to preserve their West African and Chinese culture within their Canadian, American and European born children (Bohr & Tse, 2009; Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). However, in the Bohr & Tse (2009) study, based on Chinese traditional child rearing as a family unit - where all members of the family are responsible for raising the child - geographically separating the children from their biological parents went against the purpose of the practice. Waters (2001) points out that the difference between the traditional family oriented child rearing practice and a "satellite baby," lies within the unfamiliarity of the geographical location for the child, abrupt immersion of foreign cultural practices and extreme distance away from their biological parents. Although the custom of raising the child as an extended family remains, Waters (2001) argues that the transnational aspect creates an emotional strain for both the children and the parents. Baldassar

et. al, (2014) also contributes to this argument by stating how emotional strain may negatively impact a transnational family even in the slightest, regardless of the length of time spent apart - especially during infancy. The researcher continues by mentioning that the interaction between parents and children may alter if insufficient communication is executed during the time apart. As Bohr's (2009) findings presented, upon reunification, although some of the children returned to their parents with a deeper understanding of their culture, infants and young children who experienced this migration, showcased a changed attitude towards their biological parents when reunited. Some were confused by the change of routine and even unfamiliar with who their parents were because of the lack of communication and physical interaction with them which greatly saddened the parents (Bohr, 2009).

While the focus within "satellite babies" and transnational Chinese families were on emotional disconnection and the psychological impacts of satellite children, the African and Latin American context focused on discipline within research. Bledsoe & Sow, (2011) concluded that these two specific ethnic groups residing in America and Europe were more likely to send their children "back home" to correct the behaviour of wayward rebellion. A 2007 London Sunday Times newspaper headline entitled, ''African cane tames unruly British pupils'' (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011) provided a vivid picture as to how Western society viewed the schooling system in West African countries. Researchers who focused on the African and Latin American population described this type of travel as "a second chance solution to handling disciplinary issues" involving their Westernized children who were not accustomed to their cultural roots, traditional morals and values while growing up in North America and Europe. Parents made sure that the opportunities that were taken advantage of by their children in the host country were taken away when sent "back home". This was to allow them to understand how to work hard and

earn the right to access certain amenities. For example, many West African born children attended boarding school, where they lived on campus and were faced with a number of responsibilities from a young age. The institutions mentioned within the study did not handle truancy, disrespect, gang involvement and poor academic failure lightly and students were often exposed to extreme forms of punishment - some encouraged by parents (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). Presented as a form of teaching the child virtuous aspects, the experience included cultural lessons (Arthur 2008) that were to be ingrained and embodied just as a native born child would.

In addition to the "satellite babies", there are also other ways children and their parents can experience this type of travel. "Parachute children" for instance, emerged in the 1980's and was defined as young children who immigrated to a host country without their parents, typically for primary school (Tsong & Liu, 2009). Their parents remained in the home country while their child received Westernized education (Tsong & Liu, 2009). Similarly, "astronaut family" refers to a family that has immigrated and settled but either the head of the household or both of the parents return back to the home country for economic purposes and visit occasionally, while the children or family unit remain in the host country (Tsong & Liu, 2009). The pattern of travel within second generation Ghanaian and Nigerian immigrant children in Canada possesses traits from both phenomena mentioned. The independence of a "parachute child" but also the communication and connectedness of the "astronaut family". The difference however, is the geographical location of who is coming and going.

Trans-Atlantic to Transnational - The Black Sheep in a White Herd

Transnationalism is what allows for immigrants to feel their "home away from home". The lyrics stated in the introduction written by Fuse ODG and Damian Marley are sung in a

heartfelt melody in the Ghanaian Akan language, Twi. The entire song encourages diaspora to return home to their various African countries where their fellow brothers and sisters await their return. The following verse:

I'm a human being in Africa
But a black man in America
African in England
Don't forget where you are from
Ghana down to Suriname
Taken from our motherland
Don't forget your mother tongue

truly captures the challenge in identity due to dispersion of populations all over the world and away from Africa.

During slavery, Africans were enslaved and taken from their homeland while all their belongings were left behind. This included their food, medicine and way of life. What they took with them was their culture, their traditions and their language. Although they were not on their own land, they brought with them the lessons of their land in order to make it home. Today, a similar ideology can be used to describe immigrants who have willingly chosen to live abroad or migrate and are able or choose to keep their authentic connection to their country of origin. With the advances of globalization, people from all over the world have moved to various locations thousands of kilometers from their home country. Often times, these new host countries cannot support the food and medicine they have left behind. The music and entertainment may not be the same. The news and politics may focus on things irrelevant to immigrants and cause a sense of isolation. This is where transnationalism is often encouraged and explored.

According to Statistics Canada, a first generation immigrant is anyone who was not born in Canada and a second generation immigrant is anyone born in Canada with at least one parent

born outside Canada. This can be a difficult space to navigate for second generation African-Canadian immigrants in general because of their lack of connection to their parents' home land and their unclear position in their foreign-populated birth country. As second-generation immigrant children grow up on Canadian soil, it is quite possible to be asked by their peers, "But where are you *really* from?". This is a constant reminder that though they may carry a Canadian passport, walk and talk like 'a Canadian', they may never fully embody an identity anything other than racialized to the eyes of their non-racialized peers. On the other hand, the same question may be asked outside Canadian borders. "Where are you from?", which can be yet another puzzling question to answer because of Canada's perceived multicultural spectrum. When asked that same question in an African country, the answer may change once more because of the obvious Western mannerisms, accent and cultural differences. In sum, second generation Canadian immigrants are likely to go through a whirlwind of identity crisis stages because of their intersecting and complex identities causing them to socialize accordingly.

Shuval (2000) states that children of immigrants travelling to their country of origin for the first time have their own set of traits that differ from those of any other migrant. Described as a "home going right", traveling to a place of ethnic origin provides a sense of re-awakening attachment to the homeland (Kearney, 1995; Shuval, 2000). Shuval (2000) argues that the cultural identification of an immigrant becomes lost after the third generation – due to assimilation - and therefore makes diasporic migration an important part of introducing or maintaining ethnic identity. De Haas et. al. (2015) on the other hand, argues a different perspective. Migration to the country of origin is a result of failure due to the overly accepted and exaggerated Westernized view of neoliberal institutions (De Haas et. al., 2015) led by non-racialized individuals with power. Simply put, from this point of view, travelling to a country of

ethnic origin is done because racialized immigrants have failed to fully assimilate, thus returning to a place where they assume they will be able to assimilate with less struggle. The author acknowledges the perceived privileges from being in the host country and outlines how it can be difficult to fathom return to a place where one has worked so hard to leave.

This line of thinking is very similar to that of Berry (1997), where the understanding of identity, assimilation and belonging are believed to be all very static and uniform, disregarding other intersecting factors. An example of this is described in Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks,* where the author aligned the differences between Antilleans students (Caribbean descent) who lived in Paris navigating a French-European identity. Fanon stated the students had two options; to either accept and support the European "white world" - which he emphasized by calling it the "real world" - or reject Europe altogether and stand in solidarity among their own Caribbean ethnic origin (Fanon, 2008, p. 20). This however, has been argued against over the years because of intersecting traits and factors that may influence how individuals assimilate and acculturate in order to accept or reject an identity. An individual may have multiple intersecting traits that complicate their identity, rather than aligning with just one. Status, class, gender, sexuality and race are among the many that can cause the process to be anything other than static. Similarly, Fordham (1986) and Ogbu's (2004) notion of 'oppositional collective identity' and cultural frame of reference strengthen this stance. For example, the ''burden of acting Canadian'' based on stereotypes, can be a challenge faced by young people - particularly in adolescence. When this confusion occurs, some may find that they are forced to reject portions of their immigrant identity and adopt mainstream culture and stereotypes in order to gain social advantages and social capital (Fordham, 1986; Ogbu, 2004; Reynolds, & Crea, 2017).

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The most notable challenge faced among those who battle between the two identities is during the realization of their ambiguity. A participant within a study about cultural identity described having to live up to "Canadian values" outside of the home and being faced with "African values" from their parents in the home (Codjoe et. al., 2005). The Canadian values included tasks such as attaining a recognized education and speaking "Canadian English" - free of any noticeable accent. Although some of the values from their African parents did not deviate extremely, it was also expected of their Canadian born children to practice traditions from their home country such as conventional gender roles, practice of religion and eating specific foods and in some cases preserving their native language (Codjoe et. al., 2005). Phinney et. al., (2001) argued that this type of identity process can take place in two completely different forms. On the one hand, as the children grow up in Canada, they will find an interest for their ethnic identity and become deeply involved in learning more about their culture. On the other hand, they may feel insecurities, confusion, resentment or disinterest toward their ethnic group. Regardless of which it is, the researcher argues that these feelings are inevitable, whether extreme or moderate, and can take place at various times in the individuals life. There is a two-dimensional model when trying to understand identity and belonging among second generation immigrant youth: ethnic identity and national identity (Phinney et. al., 2001). Although individual outcomes may vary, the researcher argued that the two must be measured independently in order to come to a conclusion (Phinney et. al., 2001). Similar to displaced African slaves, the battle between the two identities based on the geographical location can result in varied outcomes such as confusion, rejection, isolation or assimilation.

It is very common for second generation immigrant youth to struggle between their transnational identities and often grapple with understanding their own identity through this

process (Codjoe et. al., 2005; Smith et. al., 1998). Every family has their own way of coping and learning and will have different outcomes depending on various factors such as family dynamics, status, employment and education. In many cases, immigrant parents are faced with starting from the bottom to regain social networks in their new home country which can affect the upbringing of their Canadian born children as well (Codjoe et. al., 2005; Smit et. al., 1998). It is through transnational ties that a unique sense of identity may take place and flourish. Today, many countries have ethnic enclaves because of historical transnational settlement techniques immigrants used to create their own sense of home away from home. It involves an adjustment of previously possessed cultural practices and in many cases re-examining how or if these practices will be carried out in the new country (Codjoe et. al., 2005; Smith et. al., 1998).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theorist Stephen Castles stated, "It is possible that transnational affiliations and consciousness will become the predominant form of migrant belonging in the future" (Castles, 2002). Castles presented this statement as a point that may very well have carried consequences for migrants leaving one place and settling in another. Their sense of belonging comes from being connected to somewhere or something they are familiar with (Castles, 2002). If this is not fulfilled to some capacity, it is possible that migrants may lack a sense of belonging - especially in their initial stage of migration. The term transnationalism can be defined as - "a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country" (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2001). Similar to this concept is Vertocvec's (2004) discussion around bifocality. It is defined as the process of seeing life in the way of the host country while often having a competing cultural vision or understanding of the country of origin (Vertovec, 2004). Both terms involve the cohabitation of two different countries and how they can impact an immigrant in their host country. Simply, this phenomenon can be defined as seeing the world through a different lens influenced by cultural and societal norms in relation to 'home' – the country of origin (Rouse, 1992).

In order to provide proper context, this research was informed by Durkheim's socialization theory. It creates an understanding for the way immigrants navigate identity because it describes socialization as a way in which individuals have a progressive social identity due to their "submission to the authority of a world" (Durkheim, 1934; Walle, 2011). This theoretical interpretation showcases that holistic socialization is dependent on the individual's submission to a social location. However, there may be conflict involved if immigrants are not

able to navigate through this experience themselves, leading to a sense of confusion when raising their children.

Socialization undoubtedly has been a significantly researched realm when examining the settlement experiences of immigrants. However, the socialization of second generation immigrant children carries a different agenda dependent on their parents' transnational identity. Parents who have unsuccessfully assimilated or have chosen not to submit to the dominant social norms may find themselves stagnant when socializing. This can have an impact on how they raise their Canadian born children.

Bifocality, though difficult to measure statistically, can easily be experienced by first generation immigrant families and can affect their sense of identity and socialization because of the blur between social norms and values while settling in a new environment (Vertovec, 2004; Rouse, 1992). This notion for parents, particularly within childrearing, can be difficult. However, it can also be understood as a way for parents to keep transnational traditions alive through their children even though they were not born in the home country and thus allow their culture to be understood as normalized from a young age (Cassarino, 2004). Transnationalism can directly encourage a strong connection not only to the migrant and their home country but also among one another in the new host country (Cassarino, 2004). Through this understanding, we can come to comprehend how migration to a country of origin and transnationalism play a role in socialization. As Canadian born children of immigrants grow up in Canada, they spend more hours in school socializing with other children than they do at home with their own family. The social norms and Canadian traditions become routine, are practiced and ingrained into children at a young age. They often begin to accept these behaviours as normalized because everyone around them is doing the same. From celebrating Canada Day and singing the national anthem in

the classroom, playing cops and robbers with friends on the playground, discussing hockey, to current social media trends on the internet, second generation immigrant children become familiar with things their own parents may not have grown up with. This may also include reading children's books, that capture quite different themes in Canada compared to elsewhere, and perhaps more controversially, learning about sex and sexuality in ways that one would not in other countries.

Social Identity and Transnationalism

Social identity plays a large role within the transnational relationships individuals have with their home country. It creates another avenue for expression and identification. It allows for unique attributes to be explored, questions to be asked and to be passed down generations. Transnational identity within a country that is very diverse can take form in an interesting way. Because Canada has been widely identified as a country home to people from all over the world, it can be argued to be the perfect environment for a transnational identity to flourish. Perhaps, there are no strict standards to be "Canadian" because "Canadians" come from all over the world. This is where the descriptive comparison of Canada being a mosaic or salad bowl can be used. A country where everyone is unique while functioning as a whole. Although the salad bowl metaphor may hold truth to an extent, in order to understand individual identity in the Canadian context, it can no longer be defined as a linear process. It cannot be simplified in a sense of just being tossed in a salad bowl and assumed to successfully belong. There are various attributes and intersections that account for the different ways individuals become acquainted socially within the country they have traveled to (Phinney et. al., 2001). Historically, identity and belonging through immigration was once understood in very simplistic terms. Berry (1997) categorized this

experience within four distinct and independent components of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Today, there is a level of complexity that this model does not showcase. Individuals who identify with various levels of intersectionality, experiences of transnationalism and interracial traits are less than likely to be placed in only one category of acculturation. Among these, second generation Black African immigrant children are an example of this lack of inclusion within Berry's categorization through navigating identity in Canada. Many are faced with the struggle of working through all four components before coming to a conclusion about their own identity, if at all possible (Codjoe et. al., 2005). Barriers can also hinder this process. Structural barriers regarding gender and sexuality may contribute to the difficulty within the environment. Under emphasized historical instances of institutional racism in Canada can also heavily narrate how these barriers can carry a negative impact. It discourages inclusion and further separates those who do not feel as though they can identity.

Although Canada prides itself on being a multicultural nation, it thrives off of very uniform ideals in order to succeed socially and economically. The Canadian identity is arguably shaped around the ability to contribute economically and generally driven by neo-liberal means. A national identity that showcases what you are not, is not an identity, it is solely an exclusionary tactic rather than one of solidarity. This exclusion is often seen through barriers immigrants face involving English proficiency, levels of education, credentials, race, status and class. Along with embodying a "Canadian identity" are intangible traits and norms far more complex than carrying a passport and living in the country. For instance, an immigrant in Canada can experience subtle discrimination during a job interview because of their inability to speak English without an accent. "For urban young, Black men of Caribbean and African descent this social exclusion is fundamental to their understanding of themselves in Canadian society and is reinforced daily in

the cues they receive from the media, educational institutions, and law enforcement officials"

(Davis, 2017). These traits do not necessarily equate to a "Canadian identity" and those who do

achieve them are not guaranteed acceptance into mainstream Canadian society socially or

economically. These socially constructed benchmarks of embodied values are quite common

among many ethnicities. Regardless of credentials, legal status or class, first and second

generation African immigrant children will always have their race - and the social identity

attached to that race - to differentiate them from being a "true" accepted Canadian, despite the

encouraged multicultural aspect. Today, there are countless second generation African

immigrants all over the world; a subgroup with yet another specific unique identity. As

immigration increases, so will the number of second and third generation immigrant children

increase in Canada.

In theory, the second generation of any immigrant group would be assumed to have a

smoother identity navigation than a first generation immigrant because they have grown up in the

country and have become accustomed to particular Canadian socialization norms and values.

Most are able to speak fluent English or French without an accent, attain a Canadian education,

and often do not have a 'settlement' experience. Collectively, the notion of a multicultural nation

can be critiqued for constantly being measured at the standard of a non-racialized and non-

immigrant uniform understanding of ways of being. There is an emphasis on all immigrants

going through the same acculturation process to become accustom to Canadian norms. Rather

than each immigrant living their life as they would if they were in their home country, Canada

has instead placed notions of homogeneity and uses barriers as a way to exclude those who do

not conform. For example, taking English proficiency tests and accreditation courses to gain

employment where the proper resources are not available to help complete these requirements

such as translators, available childcare or affordable modes of transportation. This can be a very confusing process for young second generation African immigrants trying to understand many things at one time through their parents post migration. Second generation immigrant children can be seen to have more of an advantage than their parents through their ability to grasp new concepts quickly, but this may not be the case for all families - particularly through bifocality of immigrant parents (Sefa Dei, 2017; Vertocvec, 2004).

METHODOLOGY

When conceiving the idea to pursue this research, it was very important to be able to let the participants authentically share their perspective free of judgement. I have always wondered, with genuine curiosity why some parents intentionally send their children to a place they have worked so hard to leave in search of a better life. The curiosity amplified after the same thing happened to someone close to me. This research was conducted in a qualitative manner to derive at the root of the research question – why are some Canadian born children of Ghanaian and Nigerian decent sent "back home" temporarily?

The broad notion of this research was examined through diasporic migration with an unusual twist. To migrate from one location to a perceived more desirable location, settle, have a family and send children to the place that was originally left, carries cause for curiosity. As mentioned earlier, this phenomenon has also occurred within the Chinese, West African and Latin American culture (Bledsoe & Sow, 2011; Bohr & Tse, 2009; Waters 2001) but little documented research has been done for the Ghanaian and Nigeran Canadian community.

For the purpose of this research I chose to have the demographic focus on participants from two West African countries - Ghana and Nigeria - currently residing in Canada. The table below shows the home country of each participant, the age of which their child(ren) were sent to Ghana or Nigeria, the length of their stay and brief context.

	Home Country	Ages when children were sent	Length of Stay	Context
Participant A	Ghana	15 17	1 Year	- Married to biological father - Strong transnational relationships
Participant B	Ghana	16	2 Years 6 Months	- Single mother - Little transnational relationships
Participant C	Nigeria	8 & 9	2 Years	- Strong motherly relationship with children
Participant D	Ghana	12	1 Year	- Married to biological father - Professional fields of work - Mild connection with Ghanaian community

Through in-depth qualitative style interviews, a much more personal aspect was captured than what a quantitative approach would have engaged with. All aspects of this study stemmed from phenomenological strategy to uncover why this process occurred within Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian migrant communities in Canada. The interview process embodied a narrative or biographical strategy in the sense that the participants retold instances about their own upbringing and how that has impacted the ways they have chosen to raise their children in Canada.

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for further analysis on themes and subgroups detected. The overall reoccurring theme of childrearing brought forth four different subgroups which were coded as respect, language, parenting and school. All participants spoke to their unique experiences around the four subgroups and seemed to have had encounters and significant quotes to further explain why respect, language, parenting and school played a role in sending their child "back home". The transnational themes within the interview questions

provided participants an opportunity to explain their relationship to their home country and the differences and similarities evident to them - many of which resulted in storytelling and nostalgia that better articulated their feelings and motivation behind their decision.

Methods used for the primary research process included a snowball sample where participants were interviewed and audio-recorded. They were recruited through local Ghanaian and Nigerian communities in the Hamilton and Greater Toronto Area. Participants were expected to answer a series of demographic questions followed by a semi-structured interview (See Appendix A). These questions allowed participants to speak about their decision to send their children to Ghana or Nigeria, differences noticed about their child taking place as a result, and how the parents believed this experience has or will affect their child in the future in relation to understanding their heritage as Ghanaians and Nigerians through a transnational understanding. Not only will this research provide insight to Canadian migration studies but it will allow Ghanaian and Nigerian readers to analyze this occurrence from a parental perspective.

The participants of this research were limited to only Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian citizens and of the following criteria. They were to reside in Hamilton or the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and to have raised at least one child in Canada. The Canadian born children were to have been sent to their parents' home country for a period of time before their 18th birthday. This research only concerned the perspective of the parents and did not include any feedback or data from their children. Those who have not personally sent their children "back home" were excluded. Although their opinion could have provided additional perspective, the focus was to capture the reasoning behind the actions by those who had completed it.

The semi-structured interview design created the most authentic interview environment for the participants. It allowed for a direct idea of what information to provide while allowing

them to expand on details that better created a clear picture of the questions they were answering.

Because the information involved personal information, prompts were used to encourage the

participants to provide detailed answers to the original question and introduce themes that had

not been considered. All names of participants and their children were replaced by pseudonyms.

LIMITATIONS

Limitations involved in this study concerned the finite published data around this focus on West African children as "satellite babies" in Canada. Although researchers have published works on similar topics, content has primarily been within the United States and European countries. These two geographical areas differ greatly from Canada because of its multicultural nature, large immigrant population reputation and settlement history. In addition, there are currently no formal records for the number of families who have engaged in this type of migration for their children. Therefore, the experiences included in this study cannot be used to justify the reasoning for others or all who have undergone similar situations. However, the small sample allowed for personal, in-depth and stronger analysis to focus on fine details of the participants. Generalization of this specific topic would not highlight the true nature of the qualitative data. Though common themes can be found, each experience carried a unique story.

FINDINGS AND THEMES

*"I think my mom made them understand
that before you are a Canadian citizen or whatever... you are a Ghanaian…
a child of Mother Africa. We do things differently."*
(Participant A)

R-E-S-P-E-C-T

Within African culture, respect presents itself as one of the key requirements when interacting with others. Through expressing reasons for sending their children "back home", respect was consistent within all interviews. However, it was the lack thereof which encouraged the trip to take place. The behaviours learned in upbringing within Canada seem to have differed from that of Ghana in the opinion of Participant A.

> "The reason I sent my kids to go live in Ghana is simple. They were misbehaving. There's a saying in Ghana that translates to "you don't respect". Simple. Basically they were just fooling around. They wouldn't respect their teachers. George more than Rebecca but I sent them both." (Participant A)

> "We sent them because it seemed like the best decision for us as parents for our children at the time. We wanted them to learn about where they came from but also to gain traits as children of Ghanaians. The Canadian things we saw were not okay with us. Our children don't act like that… We did what we thought was best" (Participant D)

Parents did not feel as though they were receiving the type of respect they were due. It was expressed that the friends their children made outside of the home negatively impacted their own children. The way their children responded to them was similar to what was observed by their friends and depicted on television and movies - which did not reflect traditional African upbringing. The conclusion made by some of the parents was their children were not socializing with other children from similar backgrounds in order to practice what was being taught in the home. Respectful gestures such as greeting parents upon entering the home and obeying the instructions of parents were dismissed and defied by their children. Some worse than others. It

was apparent that once the children had left the house for school they would conform to the

practices of their peers - which to the understanding of the parents were not respectful.

> "My husband and I were always working, so many of the times when we come home, these kids have come back from school, they haven't washed the dishes, the laundry hasn't been folded, garbage is overflowing, the school will call and say they have missed classes… even simple things like taking a bath they won't do without a fight! Can you imagine. Of course my husband and I would speak to them and take away their phones and whatever PS games but they would just outsmart us. It was tough because we are the parents and we've worked hard and come home to just mess." (Participant A).

Though Canada is often seen as having some of the most overly polite residents, not all

participants agreed and some had a different perspective. The conclusion was that the

disrespectful behaviours were a result of their children's Canadian social environment. It was

mentioned by a participant that the Canadian system does not value genuine respect for others

within the school system, public settings, and the workplace. In comparison, the value of respect

in both Ghana and Nigeria was explained as an essential trait all children acquired from a very

young age based on their role and position in the family. As a young child it was expected to

respect those who were older than you. These practices were an indication of whether the child

came from a good family and raised in a home with values and morals in mind. Children who

showed respect to others were said to be brought up by parents who understood the importance

of this.

> "My child is a direct reflection of myself because I am their mother. No one else will be able to show them right from wrong if I don't. I am his first teacher. There were things he needed to be taught – respect was one of them and Ghana was the place to learn it" (Participant B)

> "Basically, just overall being polite to those who are elder than you. You know how they say Canadians are so polite. That may be true but the respect of an African goes far beyond. It's being selfless and doing what you can to show that you are aware that this person is important to you. Listening to the person. Acknowledging them with the proper

title. If they need something you do what you can for them. It's genuine. God said it himself… treat others as YOU would like to be treated." (Participant A)

Language

While lack of respect and rebellious behaviour were stated as some of the reasons for sending the children "back home", learning the language was often an outcome. Most of the children of the participants were not able to speak or understand their native language before travel and English was their first language. However, it was evident that some parents would have rather had both English and their native language be practiced from a young age.

> "It is how we as Ghanaians communicate with one another. There are over hundred different dialects in Ghana but almost everyone is able to use Twi to communicate. It's an English speaking country but Twi is necessary… It's so nice to know your native tongue. It makes you unique." (Participant A).

Some parents found that teaching their children their native language was not a priority during their upbringing in Canada. There was, however, a collective focus on allowing their Canadian born children to learn English as their first language, as it would be their primary method of communication in the host country. Although they all had made it clear that language was an important part of their culture, only one parent had made an effort to teach and attempt to consistently communicate with their child in their native tongue. Even so, the participant found that as their child grew older, they would respond in English and eventually stopped using the language altogether. The following came from a participant who spoke about their spouses' stance. They felt regretful for not teaching their child the language yet saw it as an unnecessary skill to learn while growing up in Canada.

> "That was one of our mistakes as immigrants. We wanted our kids to just focus on English. My husband used to say, they will not get a job by being able to speak Twi so its not necessary for them to know anyway." (Participant D)

Every child who was sent to their home country returned to Canada with the ability to communicate in their own native language fluently. Family members and classmates were their teachers as they were expected to communicate with them on a daily basis. English is spoken in both Ghana and Nigeria but often times people in the markets, relatives and community members did not speak or understand the English language. Parents described this as an authentic learning opportunity to grasp essential language skills in order to communicate properly and engage with the community they were living in.

School

While learning new Ghanaian and Nigerian languages took place in the school setting with peers, it became apparent that schooling was a significant aspect of their children's overall learning during their stay. With this benefit in mind, the parents had all predetermined that their children would attend school while in Ghana and Nigeria full time just as any other child. Enrolling Canadian and American children in schools in Ghana and Nigeria has become common over time and has even resulted in international schools within the countries. About 20 percent of students enrolled in Akosombo International School, for example, are from Ghanaian families living outside Ghana (The New York Times, 2003). Parents saw it as imperative that their children attended school during their stay to maintain their education level and remain on track with the Canadian system upon return.

> "Of course… they both went to school while they lived there. After all, this was not a vacation and they knew that. They had no idea what to expect but I have been through that school before. I knew they would come out smarter than ever. They are strict there. They instill fear… hmmm… nothing like these schools here. Not at all." (Participant D).

The school system in West African countries carried a strict schedule that all students were expected to adhere to. Excuses for missed classes and incomplete homework could easily result in severe punishment. Students were to wear uniforms and female students were to cut their hair short during the school year. Exceptional students were rewarded accordingly. In contrast to the African school system, parents found that Canadian schools were too relaxed with the performance of students and provided excessive excuses for poor conduct rather than reprimands and consequences. Instead of taking authoritative action, schools would respond by calling the home or writing a note. This form of response was seen as a "lazy and useless" way of correcting the failed achievement of students. For many of these parents, a close relationship with the school was not established and communication between the parents and the school were either failed attempts or missed altogether. A full time working immigrant parent was more concerned about making enough money to support the family and not having to fulfil the disciplinary tasks of the school.

> "Yeahh.. but George in particular was just not taking life serious… school grades! Hmm. They almost failed him out. I said nooo, this can't go on any longer. Rather than spending money on a tutor or just continuing to yell and complain we decided they go to Ghana and stay with my mom. Final! 'Go and see how I grew up and see if you will continue that foolishness when you come back.' Hmmm." (Participant A)

Parents who had experienced their own secondary schooling in Ghana and Nigeria may not have been aware of just how different their children's experience would be in Canada but were assured of what to expect in the schools from their country. The school setting was described to have a specific social structure and schedule. The children were to quickly become accustomed to the rules and were treated like any other student. Parents were, however, aware that their children would stand out because of their obvious differences. They knew their

children spoke English without an African accent, in some cases were already exposed to higher technology devices and were not familiar with the traditional single gendered high schools. There were cases where their Canadian identity and Westernized education allowed them to succeed in the classroom. On the other hand, there were more instances where it challenged their mind to think outside the box and broaden their understanding through an altered lens.

> "It's kinda like an environment that forces you to grow up fast if you haven't already done so." (Participant D)

There were plenty of opportunities to be involved in sports and clubs on campus and make friends as the parents described their time in school as eventful, however, the education system was difficult for a reason. Not all families in parts of the two countries were able to attend school. Similar to many other African countries, school fees were expensive and it was common for only the male children to attend school while the females stayed at home. Additionally, under new government administration the number of available institutions, teachers, supplies and means of attending the school are constantly changing. Going to school, unfortunately, can be understood as a privilege rather than a right for growing children. Children within some African countries are very aware of this and take school quite seriously - an experience that many Canadian children are not accustomed to.

It Takes a Village to Raise a Child

Going to Ghana or Nigeria for the Canadian born children in all cases was understood as a punishment upon arrival from the children's perspective (according to the parents) and as positive reinforcement from the parent's perspective. All of the participants mentioned that none of their children expressed immediate interest or excitement for the trip initially. The children

were also not told their true return date and found they were staying in Ghana or Nigeria longer than they expected once they had landed. All parents found this tactic useful as the children believed they were only visiting and would be sure to return to Canada in time to begin the new school year.

> "... he was taking it as a punishment…and it kinda was to be honest. Like I want you to see the place I worked so hard to leave to be able to live this life you have known in Canada since you wanna take it all for granted." (Participant B)

The trips were never explicitly expressed to the children as punishments. In fact, parents were prepared to embellish the reasons by saying they were going to spend time with grandparents and family members. In some instances, the children were well acquainted with their grandparents who had once visited them in Canada before. For a change, they understood the visit as their turn to go see grandma and spend time with her in her own home. This divergence did not heavily bother the children either. All but one was also traveling with a sibling and would therefore have a familiar face while away. Once arrived, the realization of their stay took form in different ways.

> "These Canadian born babies… hmm. All I can do is show them right from wrong and pray for them. You see, back home, where you live, the people in the neighbourhood or the area get to know each other very well. If an unfamiliar face is in the area we question it. We are close. So growing up in Ghana we were outside with friends in the area that our parents knew. Here… George will say they are going to Toronto for a concert, Rebecca will say they are staying at the friend's house. I don't know these things. I don't know these people so it's …You know the saying "It takes a village to raise a child" … its very true paaa. If my mom wasn't around, rest assured there was an aunty in the area who knew me and my family and would be more than happy to take care of me. And my mother would do the same. Canada, the family system is different. You are on your own. And if I am not there to take care of my child when they leave the house I will also get arrested. Its very hard. I don't understand why they always want to leave the house." *Slowly shakes head* (Participant A)

When asked about parenting styles, it was quite evident that the participants followed some of the behaviour their own parents had practiced with them, something that several participants spoke to quite openly. The difference in environment was mentioned as a challenge to navigate parenting because of the differences in norms within what was understood as acceptable parenting in Canada.

> "Parenting was a communal experience as a child belongs to the society. One gets lots of help from those around, and children are taught respect and other cultural expectations. Children are raised to respect their parents, help them cook, clean, and attend to the young ones, while parents provide food, shelter and education for their kids." (Participant C).

Similar to the Chinese community engaging with family child rearing (Bohr & Tse, 2009), parenting was seen as a task taken on by all members of the family as well as their community. It was common to have an instrumental figure in a young person's life who was not related to them by blood. Participants found that this type of cooperative parenting style was nearly impossible to accomplish in their city after moving to Canada initially. They felt the neighbourhoods they lived in were very isolated even though they lived next door to other families. The communal experience was not something the parents felt they could be involved in because of safety issues, differences in culture and unfamiliarity with people in the surrounding area. When the children were placed in a safe and familiar environment in Ghana or Nigeria, they were exposed to community upbringing.

> "The children in our area are our children. We know who belongs to who and we will look after them if need be. Not like here… I can't trust some people freely if I don't know them. And no one will also come out of their house for me to know them." (Participant D)

DISCUSSION

Earlier, the term bifocality was introduced as a way to strengthen just how complicated transnational identity can be. It was apparent that each participant experienced an instance of bifocality in one way or another. As the decision was confirmed to send their children to their country of origin because of wayward and rebellious behaviour, they were influenced by how they themselves had lived through their teenage years. The participants mentioned their upbringing and were not able to see the same in their children. The values and lessons acquired from back home differed greatly from the way of life in their new home country of Canada. The blurred line seemed to have occurred when their Canadian born children were at a stage where they could comprehend what a "Canadian" standard was and what an "African" standard was. It was at a certain stage where the children had begun to attempt to develop their own identity outside of their parents through socialization in settings outside of the home. Being at school and taking part in extracurricular activities are key factors in how young children express themselves.

The above four themes of respect, language, raising a child and schooling are all quite common in the Canadian context. The dissonance however, occurs where the cultural lines become blurred. At what point does a second generation immigrant child acknowledge their dual-identity? How are the parents of these children able to smoothly introduce their identity as not only Canadian but as an African as well? Bifocality can be understood as a confusing stage for immigrants to be in but in the same breath, can be utilized as a tool for empowerment. If we understand the term as a positive trait, perhaps children of immigrants will come to have a new understanding for their identity within their host country.

"Ethnic identity … is a critical development task of adolescents, particularly in complex modern society" (Phinney et. al., 2001) and cities such as Toronto. The struggle stems from

finding a common ground between the two as an attempt to peacefully integrate the best of both worlds. However, it can be argued that this struggle may deteriorate over time as the settlement process lengthens for immigrant parents. If there is an unequal balance between the two cultures, eventually, one may become more poignant than the other. Among second generation African immigrant children who struggle to belong into social groups due to their ethnicity, it may be easier to strip away from their original ethnic identity and "convert" to the dominant and socially constructed "Canadian identity". This transition, becomes difficult when the dominant group does not accept the change. The key within understanding social and ethnic identity is that it encompasses an emotional component as well. According to Tajfel's social identity definition, without the emotional investment the identity will never be complete (Tajfel, 1979). Even if an African child can speak, dress and act like a Canadian they must also feel like one too - which can be based off of how others feel about their identity. Likewise, with the children who traveled to Ghana and Nigeria. Although they may be descendants of Ghana and Nigeria, the acceptance must come from within to fully embody the identity.

The participants in this study all concluded that they sent their children "back home" initially to correct disrespectful and rebellious behaviour. Their children returned to Canada with positive changes in behaviour and deeper understanding within their transnational identity. For others outside of this study, it is possible their children may not have had the same experience. For example, upon return, not much may have changed other than the fact that they were no longer physically in Ghana or Nigeria. Ethnic bonds create a sense of community where members tend to have their initiatives and expectations aligned and embedded in their way of thinking (Cassarino, 2004). Children who do not experience an ethnic bond may possibly be trying to navigate their identity aside from ethnicity. The bond that their parents would like them

to engage in has been projected onto their child in hopes of assuming a sense of unity. While immigrant parents may continue to buy and eat the same traditional foods, speak their native language and attend the same church in their new home country, their Canadian children may just never find these practices appealing, a part of their identity or lifestyle. Transnational relationships between Canada and their home country may simply not take form at all.

According to the parents in this study, upon return, the children had an increased acceptance of their West African identity and engaged in transnational relationships and identities. Throughout all the interviews, remarks made about how important culture was to the participants as Ghanaian and Nigerian families currently living in Canada was very personal and at times conveyed as disheartening in an attempt to show a sense of patriotism for the children before travel. The children showed little to no interest in their ethnic cultural background and instead wanted to adhere to the norms of the mainstream - which in many cases were not favoured by their parents which seemed to greatly upset them. The emotion behind their words displayed senses of failure to uphold their traditions, as well as disappointment about how these traditions were being transferred to the next generation. Their inability to engage in transnational relationships and identity may have even caused some to believe they had betrayed their own kind though they tried their best. As a result, the trips to Ghana and Nigeria were used to replace unacceptable behaviour and encourage a sense of community and empowerment through a community that looked like and spoke like one another - something that can be hard to find at times even coming from Canada.

Though none of the participants spoke directly about the emotional aspect of this migration, Coe (2008) described the strain it could have on families because of the loss in connection by distance and travel. The Westernized understanding of family differs from that of

the African understanding. In Canada, often times a nuclear family setting is the only available definition of the word. In other places around the world, the word family may also include extended family and those who may not even be blood related. When families spend extended amounts of time apart, this can impact the way they once interacted with one another and the dynamic they shared particularly in single parent homes (Coe, 2008). Participant B spoke about being a single mom and how difficult it was for her when her son left for Ghana. As a parent, Participant B was able to keep a transnational relationship with family, but it seemed to have a different outcome when it came to that of her own child. However, there still remained a sense of family hood even through the distance. Similar to Participant A and C the use of communication through social media was a tool to keep the connection fulfilled as mothers and fathers.

An interesting observation made within the recruitment process was also the representation of who was interested in sharing their story. All the participants were mothers and spoke on behalf of their partners. This presents a significance in the way childrearing occurs within these homes. Perhaps there are families where the father had decided to send their child back home but were not captured within this sample. Another observation made was the ways in which the parents referred to what their sons and daughters were responsible for. African countries typically promote gender specific norms. Women are to cook, clean and take care of the family with love and compassion. Men, on the other hand, are to provide financially for the family, be good with their hands and work hard to support the family. It was evident that the parents were keen on the type of roles they wanted their children to adapt to. For instance, when Participant C mentioned that she wanted their daughter to be able to learn how to cook all the traditional meals for her siblings - a trait she has not mastered until travelling.

Thinking Back…

Each participant was asked to reflect on their decision to send their child to Ghana or Nigeria at the end of the interview as an afterthought. None expressed regret in their decision. In fact, they believed it was the reason as to why their child is who they are today.

> "They saw for themselves where we grew up, the things we learned as young people, how the schooling system works, how to respect… They understand the Ghanaian way before the Canadian way now. They have the best of both worlds" (Participant A).

> "It's strange but we became closer as a family. It's as if we all had a better understanding. You know, being with my grandmother because she wasn't soo strict on them she may have probably explained things better than I would have in terms of what is expected of them as children of Ghanaian heritage. They seem to understand why I wanted them to do the things I wanted them to do. I wasn't questioned as if I had 7 heads when I asked them to clean their room. Yeah, we became closer. I think my mom made them understand that before you are a Canadian citizen whatever that is you are a Ghanaian… a child of Mother Africa. We do things differently." (Participant C)

> "I think it was one of the best decisions I made sending them over to their country of origin to understand where they come from and appreciate the greater opportunity of living in Canada, a first world country." (Participant D)

> "Difficult… although he was driving me insane it was something that I needed to do to just be able to get a hold on things. I always had to remind myself that he's with my mom, he's safe, he's in good hands and I took that time to really focus on myself, to save money, to better our home environment…" (Participant B)

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to explore the reasons as to why hard-working immigrant parents from Africa choose to send their Canadian born children back to a country they chose to leave in the first place. Considering the age range for which this is the most common, the children undoubtedly are in their most vulnerable socialization time, where the things they encounter may greatly impact how they navigate who they are as they mature.

The findings from the participants clearly indicate that there are morals, values and practices that Canadian born second generation West African children are not exposed to directly. They are placed in a wedge where one identity condones one thing and the other condemns. The participants vividly painted a picture of what it was they wanted their child to carry through in terms of norms and values and where they would best receive that knowledge. The African customs carried similar notions among the family settings and the upbringing of the children. When placed within this specific environment where others were brought up the same way in Africa, it created an inviting space for raising children to adapt to the same morals and values. When taken out of that environment, which many immigrants to Canada are, the teachings may not be as enforced, and parents may not have the means to raise the child with such understanding.

The literature was reinforced by the words of the participants. Bifocality may not be as simple as it seems. The blur between cultures, the societal norms and transnational relationships all play a role in how these decisions are made and how the children come to understand their social identity. Similar to that of the Chinese-Canadian culture, the family dynamic was a key role as well. Financial responsibility in the hands of the parents easily becomes one of the top priorities and creates difficulty when trying to be present as a parent. Temporary migration to a

country of origin can occur for a number of reasons. For instance, economic advantage, business and family reunion or sickness (De Haas & Fokkema, 2011). However, De Haas et. al's., (2015) study of Moroccans travelling back to Morocco living in Europe, found that host country cultural attachments did not necessarily play a large role in the reason to return. Having a spouse or children outside of the home country did not have an impact on the likelihood of the participants to return, take or send their children to Morocco (De Haas et. al., 2015). Castles and Miller (2003) strengthen this argument with immigrant assimilation theory which states that immigrants will eventually begin to assimilate into the host country's society and slowly start to leave behind all transnational ties. Similarly, Rouse (1992) presents the bipolar model within immigration settlement, which assumes that with time, transnational relationships to the home country will be unattainable and that settlement is understood as a transitional process inviting assimilation to take place. However, it can be argued that all of these arguments are what Ghanaian and Nigerian-Canadian parents who have sent their children to Ghana and Nigeria want to stay away from and avoid. Instead, perhaps they would much rather encourage a transnational relationship for their children to their ethnic origin. This contraction to assimilation theory looks to keep the generational transnational identity present through strategic socialization (De Haas et. al., 2015; Asiedu, 2005).

This study has created an additional stepping stone to understanding the importance of transnational relationships for second generation African-Canadian immigrants. The data collected by the participants showcase that this was a decision made by a portion of people and have displayed outcomes that would have otherwise not been documented. It stands as the preliminary avenue leading to the next chapter which would focus on the children themselves and their take on the decision made. A generation of African-Canadian children will now be

influenced by a decision made. Though each participant spoke about very different instances leading to their decisions, the end result in reasoning highlighted just how important transnational relationships within customs, traditions, morals and values are to the Nigerian and Ghanaian immigrants to Canada. Being in that environment contributed to the authentic experience of passing on those same relationships to their children. When accounting for both first and second generation African immigrants there should be a much more holistic view. Not in the sense of compiling the groups together because they still have different experiences and needs, but holistic in a sense of positive outcomes that are barrier free. This notion does not currently exist in a world where systemic barriers are purposely placed in order for certain groups to never be able to reach certain goals and maintain social and ethnic hierarchy and inclusion.

As their children grow, they now have an experience unmatched by any Canadian culture festival or any initiative to become inclusive within their community. The experience was witnessed first-hand and taken back with them to Canada to possibly be passed down to their own children. Transnational relationships, though at times can be a blur of clashing cultures strengthens the identity of those living in such a multicultural country such as Canada. Their culture lives on.

Interview Questions

Preamble:

This study will explore transnational relationships between Ghanaian and Nigerian Canadian immigrants who have sent their Canadian born children "back home" to Ghana or Nigeria temporarily. You will be asked to share information about this experience and outcomes observed as a result. Your participation is voluntary and will involve this interview of approximately one hour. You have the right to refrain from answering any of the following questions. If during this interview you would like to stop, let me know at any time and we can either take a break, continue or discontinue the interview.

A) Introduction/Demographic Questions
   1. Where were you born?
   2. In what year did you migrate to Canada and what is your current status?
   3. What city do you currently live in?
   4. How many Canadian born children do you have and how old are they?
   5. How many of them have stayed in Ghana/Nigerian on their own?
   6. What is your relation to the child of whom you are referring to?
   7. When was the last time you visited Ghana/Nigeria?

B) Interview Questions:
1. You mentioned you had migrated to Canada in _____, can you explain what that experience was like for you?

2. How have you stayed connected to your country of origin – for example through business, customs and traditions, and social networks?
      a. How have these relationships impacted your life?
      b. Does your child share this experience?

3. To what extent are Ghanaian/Nigerian customs reflected in your home in Canada?

4. How would you describe parenting in Ghana/Nigeria?
      a. Are your parenting techniques similar to that of your upbringing?

5. Since living in Canada, how have you dealt with any the challenges as a parent of a child born in Canada?
      a. Are there any advantages?

6. My best friend actually stayed to Ghana when she was 14 and lived there with her grandmother for 2 years. She went to school in Ghana as well. What were the reasons that motivated you to send your child to Ghana/Nigeria?
      a. How old were they and how long did they stay?

7. How did your child feel about going to Ghana/Nigeria before-hand?

8. Were they aware of why they were going, and did they know when they were coming home to Canada?

9. While they were there who did they live with?
   a. What was their relationship with this person before travel?

10. How important was communication with your child while they were away?
    a. How often did you communicate with them?

11. Your child spent XX amount of time in Ghana/Nigeria. Can you explain what it was like when they returned home to Canada?
    a. Can you describe some of the changes that occurred upon return?
    b. How did their overall behaviour change?

12. Has your child expressed a changed outlook on Ghana/Nigeria?

13. How do you think your child navigated their Canadian-Ghanaian/Nigerian identity in Ghana/Nigeria?

14. Have they made any impactful relationships with Ghanaians/Nigerians they met in Ghana/Nigeria? Do they still communicate?

15. Thinking back, how would you describe your decision to have your child live in Ghana/Nigeria temporarily?

16. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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