Identity and mothering: The second generation of Ghanaian migrants

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<u>Acknowledgments</u>

RESEARCH APPROVAL AND ORIGINALITY STATEMENT

All work contained in this dissertation is original, unless referenced otherwise. It is the result of my own research, and has not been published elsewhere. The research proposal and title were approved at a Programme Approval Panel (PAP) viva in June 2016. Ethical approval was obtained from the NSPC/Middlesex Ethics Board in June 2017 (see Appendix A).

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<u>Abstract</u>

Despite the vast literature in existence concerning the topic of 'motherhood', limited studies have been attempted to explore the mothering experiences of British ethnic minority mothers living in the United Kingdom. This study was undertaken with the aim of exploring, clarifying and describing the phenomenon of 'identity' and its influence on the mothering practices of eight minority mothers, giving voice to their experiences. A reflexive heuristic methodology was applied and Van Kaam's modified method of analysis was utilised. The findings revealed that 'identity' is a complex phenomenon. Rather than remaining defined by their racial, intergenerational or cultural group associations, the mothers were altering their mothering techniques to suit their preferences and this process appeared to be one which remained open to modification.

<u>Key Terms:</u>

Existential: The philosophical study of human existence and all its qualities as promoted by such authors as Soren Kierkegaard, Friedrich Nietzsche, Jean Paul Sartre and Martin Heidegger. It is concerned with the understanding of people's position in the world and with the clarification of what it means to them to be alive (van Deurzen, 2006).

Mothering: It is a term constructed to describe the caregiving role and work of female parents as they participate in the task of bringing up their child or children. (O'Reilly, 2010).

Motherhood: The state of being a mother who has given birth to her child or the practice of mothering activities as defined by the society in which the mother exists (O'Reilly, 2010).

'Self' Identity: A combination of biological and social traits and/ or characteristics that define who one is (Oyserman et al. 2012).

Ethnic Identity: An individual's sense of membership to their wider ethnic or racial group (Phinney, 1988).

Second Generation of Ghanaian Migrants: The children of Ghanaian migrant parents who migrated permanently, prior to their birth and have been born and brought up in the United Kingdom.

1.0 Chapter 1- Background to the study: Introduction

The subject of 'motherhood' has been a topic of interest for decades (Oakley, 1997; Miller, 2000; Stern, 1995). Within the vast literature that exists on the experiences of motherhood for British mothers living in the United Kingdom (henceforth UK), there has been little written about the experiences of motherhood for black ethnic minority British mothers. Furthermore there appears to have been no attempt to research the experiences of the motherhood journey for the black ethnic minority British mothers of Ghanaian decent, who are often referred to as the second generation of 'in-migrants or migrants' (Tromans et al., 2009, p. 29).

As an ethnic group the mothers who identify themselves as belonging to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population will have been born in the United Kingdom and may therefore be considered by the office of national statistics (2013) as being black British African or black British other (Office of National Statistics, 2013). Currently data suggests that a population of 84,000 Ghanaian migrants are resident in the United Kingdom (Green, 2011) and whilst the statistic of second generation Ghanaian migrants has not been provided, as settled members of the British population it is important for us to gain insight into the lives of these British families to understand more about their cultural identities, especially as they are often grouped into the generic category of ethnic minorities, despite their 'cultural differences', practices and/or traditions (Iqbal, 2012).

The process of becoming a mother', represents a life changing process which often leads to a re-assessment of 'who one believes oneself to be' (Baker and Donaghy cited in van Deurzen and Baker, 2005, p. 35). For me, March the 30th 2011, the date in which my daughter was born, signified the start of a philosophical journey of what it means to become a mother for the first time. During this time, I began questioning my sense of self, as I no longer recognised the person I had become.

I felt pressured by my mother's cultural expectations of the appropriate ways to care for my child, which appeared to be different from the information and advice that had been provided by the healthcare professionals I came into contact with. In feeling disconnected from my mother, I started questioning my relationship to her and my Ghanaian culture.

During this time, I became struck by a newspaper report in the Guardian Newspaper (2011) detailing the case of a baby whose mother; 'a 31 year old nurse of Ghanaian descent who had been residing in the United Kingdom for approximately 9 years' (Waltham Forest Safeguarding Children Board Executive Summary, 2011, p. 2) had been found guilty of force-feeding her child to death (Davies, 2011). What caused this case to stand out for me was her insistence that her force-feeding practice had been reflective of her cultural upbringing and not an intentional act to hurt her child.

In the case review executive summary produced by the safeguarding children board, it was concluded that the practitioners who had dealt with both parents before the child's unfortunate demise, 'were insufficiently sensitive to obtaining an understanding of the significance of the cultural and individual values with regard to…feeding practices' (Waltham Forest Safeguarding Children Board Executive Summary, 2011, p. 3).

This case led me to reflect on my own mothering experience, as a second generation Ghanaian migrant because it demonstrated the impact that 'perceived' cultural norms, expectations and values, can have on the way a mother may choose to care for her child. As a result of this, the questions that came up for me were:

1. What is my identity?
2. Am I Ghanaian or am I British, or can I be both?
3. Does the way I identify myself influence how I practice being a mother?
4. What are the values and beliefs that I hold and how much have they been influenced by my westernised upbringing and/or Ghanaian culture?
5. What does my second-generation status mean for my child, who will be of the third generation?
6. Is my experience of being a British born second generation Ghanaian mother similar or different to other mothers of second-generation Ghanaian descent?

I have been reflecting on these questions in my own personal therapy for a number of years now and have been fully engaged in taking notes in my reflexive journal. As this study has been largely influenced by my own personal lived experience of becoming a mother for the first time, I have been inspired to embark on a heuristic exploration of my

own mothering experience alongside the accounts of eight other British mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent.

1.1 Aims of the present study:

This research was created with the aim of exploring, clarifying and describing the phenomenon of self-identity and its impact on the mothering practices of an ethnic minority group of mothers by asking the following question:

On becoming mothers, how do the second generation of Ghanaian migrants identify themselves and does this identity contribute to how they mother their children?

It attempts to explore my lived experience of becoming a mother with the descriptive accounts of eight individual mothers, from an existential phenomenological perspective.

I position myself as an existential psychotherapist who is curious about the human predicament and all of its qualities. This curiosity is something innate in that I am always seeking to uncover more about my personal life journey and seek to understand more about how others from all walks of life respond to their life predicaments and their wider world experiences. This curiosity has acted as a source of inspiration and has encouraged me to embark on a doctoral level training course of this nature. The existential phenomenological approach is a philosophical approach to psychotherapy, which is interested in elucidating more about the human predicament and the meaning of existence. It therefore seems fitting for a study of this kind, which is concerned with the meaning of one's mothering experience and sense of self-identity.

1.2 Structure and Content of the Dissertation

The first section presents a brief review of the literature concerning the subject of first time motherhood. The review starts by looking at the meaning of first time motherhood from an existential perspective. This is followed by two sections detailing the history of migrations from Ghana to the UK by members of the first generation and the mothering specific practices being enacted and upheld by the Ghanaian community to provide a cultural context of the study of focus. Next, a summary of the research on the motherhood

experiences of mothers from black ethnic minority backgrounds living in the United Kingdom is briefly discussed, with a view to further identify the true nature of the gap that currently exists regarding this subject area. The third section attempts to offer a presentation of the literature regarding the theory of identity formation and is closely followed by a section dedicated to discussing the topic of 'identity formation' for ethnic minority population groups. Next, a presentation of the literature on the group often referred to as the 'second generation of migrants', is attempted, to highlight what the literature suggests about how the second generation appears to develop their sense of '*self-identity' and the subject of 'self identity formation'*. This is lastly, followed by a section dedicated to looking at the existential phenomenological views on the concept of 'identity'. Concluding remarks are offered which addresses the relevance of such a study.

The following section focuses on highlighting the methods originally considered. It concentrates on describing the aims, intentions and processes of my chosen method and analysis. The chapter also describes and discusses more about the steps involved in my analysis process and reflects my experience of the entire analysis.

The subsequent section presents the findings drawn from each of the interviews conducted. The first part of the findings section begins with the presentation of my own personal experiences of the phenomenon and draws on the individual findings of each of the eight participants interviewed. The additional segment of the findings section presents a composite description of the phenomenon with the recurring themes presented. This is closely followed by the discussion section, which discuses the themes as presented during the combined analysis process, whilst drawing references to the literature reviewed initially and to the literature of relevance from the wider field.

A section dedicated to thinking about how the current study meets research validity and researcher reflexivity is then presented and lastly followed by a conclusion. The entire dissertation concludes by highlighting the current studies limitations and suggests possible areas of interest for future researchers.

2.0 Chapter 2: Literature Review

To begin a database search on the PsychINFO database was attempted using the following phrases.

2.1 Sourcing the literature

a. Maternal Identities in Migrant or Minority Mothers

This term was adopted in hopes to generate the type of literature in existence looking at the topic of maternal identity in migrant and/or minority populations. I decided not to include the term 'second generation' in the search and hoped that the literature would be inclusive of mothers belonging to the migrant second generation, without me having to narrow the search entirely. The results yielded 314 entries of which 242 were academic journals, 57 were dissertations and 12 were books. The results drawn looked at ethnic minority single mothers, adolescent mothers, Lesbian mothers, and measuring the stress, poverty levels, accessible social support and parenting experiences of Polish, Mexican, Black, Latino, Mexican and Japanese mothers resident in America, Israel, Germany as well as generalized articles of minorities as a grouped population.

b. Maternal identities in Africans or African Mothers

Using the same database search engine I decided to change the phrase as I was seeking to narrow down my focus in my search for the relevant literature. I did this because I wanted to gain access to the literature, which was directly related to African mothers specifically, as opposed to the wider minority population groups, which were appearing in the previous search. The search managed to yield 1,685 results, of which 1,126 were academic journals, 459 were dissertations, 97 were books and 3 were electronic collections. The results consisted of literature related to African- American mothers, South African mothers, Latina mothers, East African refugee mothers and explored their parenting experiences, and social support networks from a qualitative research perspective.

c. Maternal Identities in West African mothers or African second generation

Phrase 3 was typed into the search box as I wanted to locate the literature on mothers of second-generation West African backgrounds. Although I could have included the term 'Ghanaian' and included 'UK' as part of the search, I felt that the two phrases would narrow the literature possibilities too rigidly and potentially diminish the possibility of finding closely related material worldwide. The search generated 51 results, of which 37 were academic journals, 11 were dissertations and 3 were books. The content of the literature drawn consisted of text related to the subject of identity in Nigerian, Senegalese, Ghanaian, Surinamese and African-Caribbean groups, all of which were second generation migrants. These studies were conducted in France, Canada, USA, Germany, India and the UK.

	British Nursing Database	Sage Journals	Web of science	PsycARTICLES	JSTOR
Phrase One	11,311	2084	1,780	10	5,347
Phrase Two	15, 871	9493	4,582	87	629
Phrase Three	7,432	4633	330	288	328

The fact that phrase three appears to produce limited responses across the majority of database resources highlights that in regard to this particular population group there is a distinct gap in the literature.

2.2 What does it mean to become a mother?

The process of becoming and being a mother can be experienced as both a public and yet personally private event. As Tina Miller (2000) describes 'on becoming mothers women are often confronted with an array of public and lay knowledge through which their expectations and experiences of motherhood will have been mediated prior to and throughout the process of reproduction' (p. 1).

It has been argued by some psychologists such as Romito (1997) in his essay on the psychological and social constraints of motherhood, that 'the identity of being a woman is closely intertwined with the identity of becoming a mother' (p. 162). Based on this biological 'given', in his view 'the biological fact of giving birth…simultaneously leads to a redefinition of an individual's identity as being inextricably linked to family and motherhood', suggesting that 'a woman's fate is tied to her biological role, in reproduction' (ibid). The process of becoming a mother has therefore been acknowledged as a biological given, due to the role that biology plays in the woman's fundamental ability to reproduce. However, although some women actively make life choices which may not include the will to reproduce, according to Phoenix and Woollett (1991), 'regardless of whether women become mothers, motherhood is central to the ways in which they are defined by others and to their perceptions of themselves' (p. 13).

The biological perspective has been helpful in making generalisations and describing the process of becoming a mother from a medical viewpoint. However, researchers within the psychological field (Stern, 1995) have also offered varied perspectives on the topic of motherhood and have attempted to gain understanding of the emotional and psychological facets of motherhood (ibid).

From the perspective of some psychoanalysts, the process of becoming a mother involves changes that occur in the internal psyche of the mother, prior to and shortly after giving birth (Klein, 1932 ; Winnicott, 1971; Neumann 1973; Stern 1995; Priel and Besser, 2001; Mayo and Moutsou, 2017). Daniel Stern (1995) suggests that following the birth of a baby, the mother passes into a 'new and unique psychic organisation called the 'motherhood constellation' (Stern, 1995, p 171). He describes this constellation as a 'psychic organiser' (ibid), which can last months or even years, acting as an axis to determine the new

mother's fantasies, fears, wishes and realigning her overall characteristics and sense of self identity. Centred on this idea, he denotes that when experiencing this process, the new mother participates in an internal and external process of psychic discourse with herself, her baby and her own mother, in relation to how she was mothered as a child (ibid). Stern's contributions have successfully highlighted the complex psychological challenges faced by mothers as they adapt to their new role, an experience of which I can personally relate.

Sociological and anthropological approaches (Oakley, 1997; Miller, 2000; Doswell, 2001; Stopford, 2007; Mantovani, 2010) 'have also contributed various perspectives' (van Deurzen and Arnold Baker, 2005, p. 31) reiterating the role that the mother's social-cultural position can play in her mothering choices and overall identity. Of the research in existence, there has been an acknowledgement of differences existing between the choices of mothering styles and the practices of women living in various African countries (Quinn and Mageo, 2013) in comparison to mothers from Western societies. These approaches were devised to explore the impact that societal and cultural differences has on the mothering identities and choices being implemented by first time mothers, living in Western societies and beyond (Oakley, 1997; Miller, 2000; Doswell, 2001; Stopford, 2007; Mantovani, 2010; Quinn and Mageo, 2013). The findings from such studies therefore reiterate that the practice of mothering and the meanings derived from the mothering journey are socially and culturally specific.

Hays (1996) asserts that 'mothers are as unique as the children they raise' and their mothering identities and preferences are shaped by their class, race, ethnic heritage (intergenerational position), religious beliefs, sexual preferences, physical abilities, immigration statuses, cultural practices, educational qualifications and the mothering techniques adopted by the mothers' own parents based on the ways in which they were mothered (p.76). In taking all of these perspectives into consideration, it is clear that the meanings derived from the mothering journey will be largely dependent on, how the woman identifies and positions herself in the world, the socio-cultural context in which she exists and how she processes her emotional and psychological feelings during this process.

2.3 Existential Perspectives: The Journey of Motherhood

Many views have been offered by existential philosophers looking at the process of becoming a mother for the first time from various angles, some of which are reflected upon below.

Some existentialists such as Simone De Beauvoir (1965) have focused on the feminist perspectives of motherhood, looking at the experience of motherhood with a focus on the role of being a mother and in regards to how the new mother experiences her sense of self-identity during this process. In her book: 'The Second Sex' (De Beauvoir, 1965) she discusses her view that on becoming a mother, the woman becomes reduced to being just a mother, a role defined by the society in which she belongs and in the process loses her individuality and sense of who she is. She argues that there is nothing natural about the maternal duty as 'nature can never dictate a moral choice' (De Beauvoir, 1965, p. 500). De Beauvoir's views highlight that on becoming a mother, the new mother has more autonomy over her choice of child rearing practices and how she may choose to identify herself following the birth of her child, than the society she is a part of may lead her to believe.

It seems clear that there are aspects to society that are socially constructed. It is my view however, that there is a natural facet to motherhood which cannot be ignored, this view is echoed by medical researcher Lupton (1994) with her acknowledgement that there is a 'uniqueness' to the 'women's embodied experience' (p. 131) which she appreciates should be celebrated.

Elizabeth Butterfield (2010), expands on De Beauvoir and Lupton's concepts further in her quest to understand 'the meaning of the identity of a mother from a philosophical position '(p. 67), by reflecting on Sartre's (2010) perspective which suggests; that the being is 'thrown into a world…abandoned in a situation', exists in the world and is responsible for creating an essence or an identity 'for-itself' (p. 103). She asserts that 'maternity is not an objectively defined experience' (Butterfield, 2010, p. 67-68), but one, which is open to societal, cultural, historical and individual influences. She does however recognise that there are determined physical realities to motherhood, which should also be acknowledged.

For Butterfield then, motherhood is ambiguous in that it is both determined; due to 'the physical realities of mothering' (ibid), and individually freeing, as it is open to one's choice of mothering style and/or individual preference. I admire Butterfields contribution as she creates room to consider the meaning of motherhood and identity from an *individual* perspective. She therefore recognises that there will be many influences to how a mother may choose to care for her child, as well as how she may choose to make sense of her new identity following this and that this may differ from one mother to the next. I agree with Butterfield's views of motherhood being based on the individual preferences of each mother, as it has certainly felt this way in my own personal mothering journey. To gain an understanding of how other British first time mothers of second-generation Ghanaian descent may be experiencing their individual mothering journeys this study has been created to explore the voices of other mothers belonging to this specific population group individually. Both De Beauvoir and Butterfield's philosophical contributions were written in an attempt to reframe the definitions of motherhood, which they argue have been socially constructed. In response to this, a limited number of studies have been conducted looking at the experience of becoming a mother from an existential perspective.

Prinds et al. (2013) conducted a scoping review of a total of eleven studies seeking to explore '*how mothers of full term babies make existential meaning in transition to motherhood in Western oriented countries'* (p. 735), had been completed in Europe, Russia, North America or Australia and between 1990-2010. This study was created in an attempt to explore how meaning is created in the transition to motherhood, using Emmy van Deurzen's (2005) four dimensions of existence for her analysis. The four dimensions of existence as introduced by van Deurzen are known as: the physical world (Umwelt), which represents 'our bodily existence', the social world (Mitwelt), which represents our 'existence with others', the personal world (Eigenwelt), which represents our 'existence with ourselves' and the spiritual world (Uberwelt), which represents our 'existence in relation to a system of meaning' (p. 135).

The findings from this review suggest that motherhood is an existentially challenging experience, which causes mothers to confront, re-evaluate and redefine the meanings of their new world. Prinds' (ibid) study has been helpful in drawing attention to the impact that becoming a mother has on the existential dimensions of the woman's existence. However,

as the review was conducted based on the findings from previous studies, there is room to explore the experience of becoming a mother as it is being lived.

More recently, Claire Arnold-Baker (2014) conducted a study to explore 'the existential dimensions of the transitions to motherhood' (p. 209). I have chosen to reflect on Arnold-Bakers study as it is the most recent study that has been conducted looking at the experience of becoming a mother as it is being experienced from an existential perspective. She interviewed eight first time mothers whose babies were aged between 6-12 months on their experiences of becoming mothers. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed using Van Manen's (1990) hermeneutic phenomenological analysis. Drawing on van Deurzen's (2005) four existential dimensions of human existence, her findings suggest that the transition to motherhood is a complex phenomenon, challenging each dimension of the mothers' existence, echoing Prinds et al's. (2013) scoping review.

Arnold-Baker's study found that the eight mothers reported changes to life as they knew it, as well as changes to their experiences of 'self' (ibid). She also found that on becoming mothers for the first time, the mothers became confronted with previously unaware aspects of 'freedom, choice and responsibility' (Arnold-Baker, 2014, p. 2) and described having to redefine their social relationships, sense of values, beliefs, expectations and self-identities.

Overall, Arnold-Baker's study has been successful in narrowing down the experiences of becoming a mother for the first time for a group of eight white British mothers aged between 32-39 and linking their experiences to existential concepts. Her study has demonstrated that becoming a mother is a complex process, which requires the mother to be open to redefining how she will exist in her new role and her various modes of existence. Although her study had not sought out this particular participant population group specifically and did not focus on the topic of ethnicity, the details on the demographics of her participant population such as; their ages, their marital statuses and ethnicity, has led me to question what it would be like if a study were to be conducted looking at mothers belonging to an ethnic minority population group in the midst of their mothering experience, from an existential perspective.

Based on the studies that have been conducted thus far, it is in my own view that there is room to explore the many individually lived experiences of the journey of motherhood for <u>all</u> British women living in the United Kingdom. To summarize the literature review thus far suggests that motherhood possesses both a deterministic reality and socially constructed quality and that the woman's motherhood journey will be influenced by experiences arising from this 'ambiguous paradox' (Butterfield, 2010, p. 68). It has offered the view that motherhood is different for each woman as the meanings derived from the experience will be dependent on how the woman processes, chooses to identify or position herself in her new role and how she faces the challenges to previously upheld values, beliefs and expectations.

As this study was produced to explore more about the experiences of Ghanaian mothers from the second generation of black British ethnic minority population living in the UK, the following section focuses on illuminating more about the migratory journey of first generation Ghanaian migrants who relocated to the UK, to provide readers with the cultural context from which the study has been centred. This is closely led by a separate section, which focuses on providing a background of the traditional mothering practices of mothers from the Ghanaian culture specifically.

2.4 History of Ghanaians Migrating to the UK

Ghana is a country located in the sub-Saharan coast of West Africa, which has been revered for its democratic sustainability (Zagel, 2010, p. 57) and international export markets of gold, cocoa, oil and gas (Department For International Trade, 2016). Formally referred to as the 'Gold Coast', Ghana was 'the first sub-Saharan African country to gain its independence in 1957 (Zagel, 2010, p. 57) following colonial rule' by the Portuguese (between the years of 1471-1637), the Deutsch (between the years of 1637-1665) and the British (between the years of 1665-1957) (pp. xxiv-xxxiii). Although much has been documented on the history of Ghana during the colonial age and beyond, there appears to have been very little insight into the history of Ghana in the years leading up to colonial intercession (Zagel, 2010).

Of the limited insight that remains available, looking specifically at the migratory relationship between Ghanaians travelling to the UK prior to Ghana's independence from

the British (which occurred on the 6th of March 1957), we know that Ghanaians had been migrating 'either by coercion or in time through trade' (International Organisation for Migration, 2009, p. 5), for higher educational purposes or through personal choice to the United Kingdom, dating as far back as 'the last century' to the present day (Arthur, 2008, p.158).

When thinking about Britain specifically, we know that the post 1945 period following the second-world war resulted in an influx of immigrants and their families from the Caribbean who had set off on the 'empire windrush voyage' (National Archives, 2017) to rebuild the United Kingdom. Whilst the majority of the immigrants were from the Caribbean, members of the common wealth state which included countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Ghana (post 1957) (The Commonwealth, 2017) were given less restricted visa and citizenship requirements to enter the UK with the same intention of rebuilding the country, giving birth to the diverse British 'ethnic minority' population group in existence today (Iqbal, 2012).

The initial upsurge of Ghanaian migrations to the UK, which took place during the early 1980's (International Organisation for Migration, 2009, p. 5) were fuelled by the political and economic problems being faced by the country. As there were few Ghanaians settled in the UK prior to this date, we know that the majority of the *permanent* Ghanaian migrations to the UK occurred between 1979 to the end of the year 2000 (Arthur, 2008). As this covers the period in which the parents (also referred to as members of the first generation) of the population of focus would have migrated to the UK permanently, there is reason to suggest that members of this group may now have 'British-born children, grandchildren' or even great grandchildren (Iqbal, 2012, p. 1), with a distinct British-Ghanaian cultural identity, waiting to be explored.

John Arthur (2008) conducted a large-scale sociological study seeking to explore the migration process of first generation Ghanaians who had migrated to the USA and two countries in Europe (Britain and Italy) and to look at the experiences of second generation Ghanaian migrant adolescents living in the USA. His findings suggest that migrant Ghanaians belonging to the first generation who have chosen to settle abroad '*form institutions and organizations to connect them to their homeland… by attending Ghanaian-based social functions like weddings, funerals, parties, celebrations of Ghana's*

Independence Day and child-naming ceremonies' (p.12) to maintain and uphold their cultural values and traditions. In maintaining these social relationships he argues that members of the first generation combine their resources with other Ghanaian migrants to better position themselves in their new society.

Arthur's work has been greatly influential to the study of ethnic minority population groups living abroad in the west. I have chosen to discuss his study as it is a one of a kind study which focuses on the first generation of USA and European migrants as well as the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the USA. Whilst he does attempt to think about the experiences of identity formation in the adolescent children of these migrants, who happen to belong to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the USA, his study lacks a detailed focus of this group directly and only alludes to the speculation of difficulties in the identity formation of members of this group.

As previously stated there currently exists no literature to date looking at the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group from a solely British perspective specifically. As settled members of the British population however, it is important for us to gain insight into the lives of these British families to understand more about their cultural identities especially as they are often grouped into the generic category of ethnic minorities, despite their 'cultural differences', practices and/or traditions (Iqbal, 2012). As there are limited studies looking at this particular group of Ghanaians, the following section aims to sift through some of the traditional customs upheld by Ghanaians living in Ghana and aims to demonstrate why a study which seeks to explore how members of the second generation may be negotiating the cultural influences of their parents, who belong to the first generation of migrant population group, is necessary.

2.4.1 An Introduction to the tribes of Ghana and their culturally specific mothering practices

In all human societies and cultures the process of mothering, which can be described as the practice of bringing up a child or children, happens to be a phenomenon which is prevalent in all societies yet differs in practice. Kingsly Nyarko (2014) highlights that there are indeed great differences in the mothering practices of those living in western cultures, which are individualistic in nature, in comparison to what he describes as the 'collectivistic culture' in Ghana (Helaine, 2014 p. 231). A society that is described as individualistic, places an emphasis on the needs and desires of individuals as opposed to one that is collectivistic and therefore emphasises the desires of its population as a unit or a whole. This implies that societal and/or culturally influenced traditions may be influencing the practice of mothering rather than the biological process itself (Rich, 2010).

From the Ghanaian perspective, we know that a population of 27,043,093 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014) currently resides in Ghana and within this overall population there are approximately seventy-five diverse tribal ethnic groups (Ghana Embassy Washington DC, 2016). The most nationally recognised tribal groups, the Akan, the Mole Dagbani, the Ewe, the Ga Adangbe, the Guane, the Gurma, the Grusi and the Mande Busanga (Yussif, 2013) are briefly described below. As this study was created with the intention to explore the identities of mothers belonging to the second-generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the UK, I feel it is important to firstly identify more about the cultural and tribal customs of mothers from Ghana, as such insight may reveal more about the socio-cultural facets of the Ghanaian identity and may also highlight some specific practices that members of the British Ghanaian second generation, who were born in the UK to Ghanaian migrant parents may be adopting.

The 'Akan' (pronounced Akarn) tribal group is the largest tribal group in Ghana and comprises of approximately 21 sub groups (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Whilst the subgroups appear to house their own individualistic customs, they are grouped and referred to as belonging to the Akan population due to their shared linguistic dialects of Twi or Fante (Asante and Gyima-Boadi, 2004, p. 12) and 'matrilineal system of inheritance' which offers economic inheritance to the women of the tribe, on an inter-generational basis

(Yussif, 2013, p. 76). As part of this system of inheritance, the children of this practice are said to belong to their mothers kin group and 'possess the right to pass kin identities on to their children' (Selin, 2014, p. 235).

The matrilineal system of inheritance also determines the child rearing practices of women of the Akan tribe whereby the mothers are expected to promote a special kin group attachment to their children, therefore taking on more of the child rearing duties, financial needs of the children and mothering responsibilities than their partners (Nyarko, 2014). The concepts of inheritance and lineage are important facets of the Ghanaian society in that the average size of families in Ghana is often nearly five children per mother. The general view in Ghana is 'the higher the income, the fewer the children a couple have' (Nyarko in Selin, 2014, p.233).

The 'Mole-Dagbani tribe' makes up about approximately 15% of the Ghanaian population and comprises of four ethnic sub-groups' (Yussif, 2013, p. 33) and the 'Ewe' tribe (pronounced 'eh weh'), makes up approximately '13.9%' of the Ghanaian population (Ghanaian Statistical Service, 2013, p. 61). Both tribes operate on a patrilineal system of inheritance, offering greater economic responsibility to the males of a family. Unlike the Akan tribe, the Mole-Dagbani tribe's social structure is based on a 'patrilineal system of inheritance' (Lobnibe, 2007, p. 32), which provides economic inheritance to the men of the tribe on an intergenerational basis (ibid). Fathers who have inherited this patrilineal kinship practice tend to take more interest in their father's family business, which offers economic inheritance to the men of the tribe, on an inter-generational basis.

Despite these matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance divisions both the mothers and fathers are expected take on the responsibilities of all child-rearing needs, whereby the spouses rely on each other for all child-rearing concerns. However, In most of the patrilineal families the father is designated as the family's 'bread winner' who is responsible for all economic and financial provisions whilst the mother exercises her stay at home child rearing wife duties (Nyarko in Selin, 2014, p.236). There are indeed variations in the ways in which some matrilineal tribes (Ashanti's) have been found to exercise their 'maternal devotion through hard work in addressing children's financial needs and not by staying at home with them' (ibid).

Traditionally, when a child is born in Ghana a naming ceremony (referred to in its English translated form as the 'outdooring ceremony') (Yussif, 2013, p. 45) is organised by members of his/her extended family. It is called the 'outdooring ceremony' (ibid) because this is the first day the new born child will have experienced being brought outdoors following his/her birth, it is also the time in which the child is given a name. Naming a child in Ghana is an important traditional practice as without this ceremony the child with no name 'is considered a stranger' (ibid) to the wider community and family.

The day in which the outdooring ceremony occurs differs from tribe to tribe. For members of the Akan tribe specifically, this ceremony tends to take place on the eighth day of the child's existence (ibid) 'the reason behind waiting for the eight days, is to know whether the child really came to stay or not' (Yussif, 2013, p. 49) as it is believed 'that some children might not like the weather or just came to look around and go back to wherever they came from' (ibid).

To begin, the process often tends to be facilitated by either the local priest (an Akan and Ewe tradition) or a male or female family member (the Mole Dagbani tribe's tradition) of respectable character, as it is believed that 'the child will grow up with the same character' (Yussif, 2013, p. 48). This ceremony either occurs at the father of the child's home or another family member's residence. Whomever takes on the task of facilitation is then handed a selection of potential names for the child representing the child's soul name (dependent on the day that the child was born, this is an Akan specific practice), ancestral name (this is an Akan, Mole-Dagbani and Ewe practice), Christian name (this is an Akan specific practice) and/ or Islamic name (a Mole-Dagbani specific practice) (ibid).

Following this, the chosen facilitator pours 'gin, corn wine, schnapps' (ibid) and/or water offerings to the god/s and goddesses of the tribe, the ancestors of the child, the earth and forces of nature spirits 'to instil within the child a consciousness of morality; this is a necessity to always live in harmony with truth for all his or her life on Mother Earth' (Yussif, 2013, p.52). Once this process has been completed, the child is offered a taste of the beverages (mentioned above) and has his/her name confirmed (ibid). The name becomes shared among members of the family and community at large and a celebration commences.

In summary this section has highlighted that there are indeed many tribes in existence in Ghana with diverse values, ways of implementing their childrearing practices and values. There are two differing tribal values, which appear to be greatly exercised in the Ghanaian society and this appears to be largely influencing the mothering practices of the mothers and fathers in Ghana. I am left to question whether these traditional practices and others like this, may be being transmuted to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the UK.

As this study has been created to understand more about the identities of the British mothers of second-generation Ghanaian descent, who happen to belong to the ethnic minority population group, the next section begins to look closely at what the literature suggests about the identity of African and Afro-Caribbean ethnic minorities living in a western context.

2.5 What is known about the mothering experiences of migrant mothers of African and Afro-Caribbean descent, from a western perspective?

There has been very little research or literature to date regarding the experiences and child rearing practices of ethnic minority women living in the UK and United States of America (henceforth USA) (Lim, 2012) from a qualitative research perspective. Roy Moodley (2006) in his chapter, *Race and Culture in counselling research* (in *Race, Culture and Counselling Challenge in: The ongoing challenge by Colin Lago, 2006)* argues that research amongst the black and ethnic minority group in the counselling profession is 'marginal, underfunded and not taken seriously by the counselling and psychotherapy research community' (Moodley and Lago, 2006 p. 229). Of the research that does exist it appears that there are many themes of counselling research that have yet to be explored, such as topics involving 'culture and the family functioning' of black and ethnic minority populations (Moodley & Lago, 2006 p.237).

In regards to the topic of motherhood specifically much of the research currently available has focused on measuring the parenting styles of ethnic minority families from a quantitative research perspective (Phoenix and Husain, 2007), however more research is

needed to understand the uniquely diverse cultural experiences of ethnic minority parents from a British perspective specifically.

The research regarding African immigrant mothers, who are described in this study as belonging to the first generation of migrant population group, are often faced with challenges upon migrating to Britain. Philips-Mundy (2011), suggests that some African mothers are challenged by their refugee status, have to learn to navigate the trauma of being from a war torn country, have to face language barriers, cultural differences, poverty, often struggle to process the complications associated with membership 'in a religious and ethnic minority group' and have to face the 'social ramifications associated with discrimination, marginalisation altered gendered relationships and...single parenthood', (Philips-Mundy, 2011, p.1). Philips-Mundy implies then that immigrant African mothers face a multitude of complex gendered and racial oppressions (ibid).

The obstacles faced by immigrant mothers are often not fully considered, as are the distinct ways in which migrant mothers from ethnic populations cope with maintaining their cultural practices in the British context. Sharon Hays (1996), argues that differences in social class can influence the ideologies of motherhood. She implies that in the western context there are contradictory 'intensive mothering' expectations whereby mothers (particularly working class mothers) are expected to take on at times, the need to work and manage the kids. This 'intensive mothering' expectation shapes the mothers views of her identity, ideals and adds a burden of guilt to the mother, who is expected to have these ideal mothering behaviours upheld (Hays. S., 1996, p. 8-9).

Of the research in existence globally, it has been noted that when thinking about the mothering experiences of Africans living in the west, the literature thus far suggests that mothers from third world countries who migrate to a western context are faced with extra burdens of having to balance mothering responsibilities, working responsibilities and daily struggles with their identities and traditional customs in the western context in which they are living (Hays., 1996; McGrew, 1997; Momsen, 1991). In addition to these responsibilities, housework can also include the preparations of traditional dishes for extended hours, caring for their own children on an individual level and caring for their wider communities (McGrew, 1997). These activities tend to shape their individual

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identities and mothering identities, which will be evident in their choice of mothering practices.

These mothers' experiences do not represent the dominant idealised conceptions of motherhood in existence in the western world, which has been based on white middle class mothering experiences (Hays, 1996). It is important to note that these ideas exclude many groups of mothers whose experiences do not reflect this narrative/structure, including ethnic minority mothers, but not exclusive to this population group alone.

As well as the maintenance of much of these tasks, mothers originally from third world populations including those from Africa, but not isolated to them alone, attempt to honour intergenerational practices 'maintain kinship linkages, develop neighbourhood and community networks and maintain religious and social obligations' (Momsen, 1991, p. 28). This is particularly relevant to the current study because members of the second generation, who will have been exposed to such mothering techniques, may uphold these practices as cultural or traditional, without truly acknowledging the impact that the migration process may have had on the practices being enacted. Each of the complex factors mentioned could act as challenges to a mother's maternal identity, which will impact her choice of appropriate maternal practices and may result in such mothers developing a 'troubled maternal identity' (Tangir, Cohen and Peled, 2017, p. 518).

Mothers who tend to deviate from societal expectations of the 'Good mother' (Hays, 1996; O'reilly, 2010) may experience a troubled maternal identity, whereby their view of their mothering identity, which is social and individual identity, which is personal, becomes impacted by societal expectations and norms. Gubrium and Holstein (2001) suggest that memberships in devalued societal categories, such as ethnic minority mothers or mothers not living with their children may lead to such mothers developing a devalued perception of themselves (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001). It is in their view that the personal self is always engaging in its identity processing and therefore has the ability to 'transcend or contest these social categories' (Abrams and Curran, 2010, p. 3).

Phillips-Mundy (2011) argues that 'stereotyped representations of immigrant women depict immigrants...through the perspectives of western feminism, which stresses the obstacles of immigration and belonging to a minority ethnic and faith background' (p. 22). With aims of

exploring this notion, she conducted her own study to explore the mothering experiences of first generation Somalian (East African) Muslim mothers living in Bristol, in England, using an ethnographic and narrative mixed methodology. Phillips-Mundy's study focused on elucidating more about the experiences of Muslim Immigrant Somali mothers of African descent, which is a different population to the one of which the current study of interest is centred. However, it is of relevance because it centred itself on giving voice to the mothering experiences of a minority African population residing in the UK.

Phillips-Mundy conducted open-ended semi structured individual and group interviews, participant observations, a home stay, an approach, which may have largely impacted her participants' responses. Her findings revealed that for this particular population group snowball sampling was a desired method since she had anticipated difficulties in gaining access to members of her community.

Her study also found that for the East African Somalian mothers who participated in her study, their mothering identities were being shaped by their culture of origin and religion and these were areas that needed to be significantly transformed to accommodate or take into consideration, their new cultural context of Bristol. The mothers strongly identified with their culture of origin 'which shaped their mothering practices' (Phillips-Mundy, 2011, p. 178). They were forging new and positive cross-cultural identities, values and practices within their new host societies (p.23) as a result of feeling alienated by a 'predominantly secular country' (p. 178). The study also revealed that the mothers were reinterpreting their traditions to provide them with structure and 'security' (p. 179) and were using Islamic values 'to preserve their religious and ethnic identities for their children and future generations' in Bristol.

Rather than remaining constrained by the difficulties attached to mothering in a culturally different context the mothers developed their own 'bicultural' maternal identities (p. 187), whereby they had chosen to either adapt or adopt new strategies or traditions, based on a merge of their traditional practices and the ideas being encouraged by their new host country. For example the mothers in this study seemed to have shifted their views on divorce, sought ways to enact communal mothering practices and appeared to be instilling traditional Islamic values to their children, as a method to resist the 'oppression' they faced in their new host society (p. 192). In conclusion, she suggests that ethnic minority mothers

are resourceful entities who seek to resist negative stereotypes and forms of oppression in their mothering identities and practices.

A similar focus on the challenges faced by first generation African migrants was echoed in a study conducted by Amayo (2009) in his study of 16 Nigerian parents (mothers and fathers) with at least one child under 17, who had migrated to America from Africa within the last 5 years. I chose to include Amayo's study as it was felt that his focus on the adolescent parent population could be helpful in revealing more about the parenting decisions of African parents with older children. He conducted home observations and interviews and found three dimensions of challenges being faced by the Nigerian parents of focus relating specifically to the preparations required for their children's college admissions.

The first was the way in which each of the parents had high expectations for their children's success, yet faced difficulties or challenges attempting to understand the American school system. This meant that their parenting techniques were 'harsher than the practices of typical Americans because they felt they had so much riding on their children's success' (Amayo, 2009, p. 31). This according to Amayo (2009) is because 'In some African countries, parental participation in schools is not encouraged and is even disparaged because it is considered to be the school's job to deal with school-related issues' (p.37).

The second was that these parents were facing difficulties in their parenting practices as they were attempting to teach their children the cultural customs and norms of their traditions, which did not reflect the cultural context in which they were living. His study found that the African immigrant parents were trying to adjust their parental roles in their new host country and were trying to determine which parts of their old culture to uphold or discard (p.52).

To conclude he asserts that the style of parenting that African parents enact tend to be different between countries and can also vary between the mother and the father, but that cultural influences will be significant in determining the parenting choices that may be implemented and upheld for generations.

Phillips-Mundy and Amayo's studies highlight the challenges faced by ethnic minority parents of first generation African descent upon migrating to a Western environment. They recognise the impact that traditional customs appear to play in the identities of this population group when they voluntarily remove themselves from their countries of origin. Their studies allude to the experiences of the second generation as they acknowledge the challenges faced by members of the first migrant generation of being exposed to differing cultural norms, but as they are centred on the experiences of the African first generation, their findings can only allude to the idea that there may indeed be room to explore how members of the second generation may be responding to such challenges.

In an attempt to explore the mothering experiences of African- Caribbean mothers, Tracey Ann Reynolds (1998) conducted a study to construct a discourse on what it meant to be a black mother in the UK. She interviewed twenty African-Caribbean mothers using a semi structured free flowing interviewing style drawing on the themes she wanted to explore. These interviews were conducted in the comfort of the mothers' homes, a decision which, may have impacted the mothers' responses and overall research outcomes. In this study, she found that for the mothers interviewed there seemed to be four mothering identity factors, which united their mothering experiences collectively. These were: the way in which their 'mothering was informed by a re-constituted collective Caribbean identity, which relies on memory and re-memory in order to re-construct itself' (p. 325), the ways in which these mothers individually engaged 'in creating diverse childrearing strategies to challenge and resist racism' (ibid), the role that a work identity had in influencing their overall African-Caribbean mothering identities and lastly the impact that black African-Caribbean fathering had on their identities, mothering experiences and the social constructions of black mothering (ibid).

Though there were clear commonalities in each woman's mothering experiences, Reynolds found various differences among them such as: their ages, marital statuses, social classes and generational differences which may have heavily influenced their mothering experiences. As part of her conclusion Reynolds reflects that in-order to understand the true nature of mothering experiences, 'homogeneous and stereotypical images of black and white mothering, should be separated' and advocates the use of a universal mothering model, which allows for an exploration of 'the mothering experiences of all women to be heard' (Reynolds, 1998, p. 335), however, this is a model that has yet to be implemented. I

find Reynolds' overall contribution useful to an extent because it highlights how important it is for the lived experiences of _all_ mothers to be explored, however, her study lacks a focused participant selection criteria, as mothers belonging to the first, second and third generation of British Caribbean population group were permitted to participate in the study, despite their diverse generational group identities, an aspect of their identity likely to influence their overall mothering journeys.

Dr Nadia Mantovani (2010), set out to explore 'the experiences of fifteen young black single, teenage mothers who were being looked after by the local authority' and were aged sixteen to nineteen (p. 3). In her study she found that the mothers all seemed to experience stigma, shame and blame, but responded to this in differing ways. While a proportion of the mothers in her study rejected their perceived 'public identity', to validate their own sense of identity, some mothers appeared to embrace a 'self-limiting identity' (Mantovani, 2010, p. 237, 249). They all experienced identity conflicts due to their sense of self-identity clashing with 'the expectations and representations of others' (ibid).

The findings from Philips-Mundy, Amayo, Reynolds and Montavani, draws greater attention to the impact that societal expectations, can have on a mother or parents identity and choice of mothering practices. While Reynolds and Montavani's studies shed light on the individual experiences of black and/or African-Caribbean mothering from a UK perspective specifically, their lack of homogeneity in the selection of their participants', such as Reynolds' choice of African-Caribbean mothers who were members of one, two or three migrant generations, in combination with Mantovani's participants', some of which were seeking asylum in the UK and one of which became a mother as a product of being raped, may have influenced their personal journeys to motherhood dramatically and therefore their overall findings.

To summarise, the studies reflected above have provided insight into the lived experiences and complex identity challenges faced by African parents who happen to belong to the first generation of migrant population living in the west and the influence that such challenges may have on their parenting choices and overall identities. When combining all of their findings into one lens, the literature reflected above has also revealed that a mother's maternal identity will be largely influenced by many aspects of her individual identity

factors, such as her race, class, societal factors, familiar structures, personal parenting experiences and individual characteristics or preferences.

Each of these studies were conducted as a response to the limited research on the experiences of mothers from black ethnic minority groups, a phenomenon which, remains under researched. As previously stated, the current study was created to explore the self-identities of the first time mothers whilst acknowledging their cultural identities as second Generation British-Ghanaians. As the previous sections have focused on the literature surrounding ethnic minority mothers the following section discusses the topic of identity formation first. This is followed by a section dedicated to looking at the psychological literature surrounding the subject of 'ethnic identity formation' (Erickson, 1968).

2.6 Identity Formation

The concept of 'identity' has been a topic of scientific and psychological interest, particularly over the last 50 years in both Europe and America (Chryssochoou, 2003). There have been many attempts to gain an understanding of what makes us who we are. 'Identity' as a term can be described as a combination of biological 'traits…characteristics, social relations, roles and social group memberships that define who one is' and which is subject to change over time and can be dependant on the context (Oyserman et al. in Leary and Tangney, 2012, p. 69).

When thinking about some of the classical theories concerning the phenomenon of 'identity' there appears to be two main psychological schools of thought, which have been advocated by the field of developmental psychology and social psychology. One of the initial influencers from the arena of developmental psychology was Erik Erickson (1968), with his stages of 'ego identity formation'. His theory states that all human beings tend to go through some process of continual identity formation from infancy to adulthood, which becomes particularly heightened during adolescence approximately between the ages of 12-18. He argues that it is during adolescence that young people seek to establish an identity whereby they reconcile the identities imposed upon them by their families and the societies in which they live, with their 'need to assert control and seek out an identity that brings with it feelings of 'satisfaction… and competence' (French et al. 2006, p.1). His

perspective states that it is only during adulthood that an achieved identity becomes fulfilled (p.2).

Whilst Erickson's (1968) contribution, which was ground breaking for its time has helped us to think about the process of negotiation that all individuals may have to engage in as they attempt to reach an 'achieved' of identity, it fails to acknowledge the impact that an ethnic minority identity may have on the child's sense of self-identity prior to adolescence, especially as the physical appearance of the child's ethnicity would have been observed by the child very early on his/her development. It also implies that there is an achieved sense of identity in adulthood.

The field of social psychology (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) unlike developmental psychology does not view identity formation from a developmentally staged perspective but rather recognises the impact that social status may have on how an individual may go on to develop their sense of identity (French et al., 2006). Tajfel and Turner (1979), suggest that those belonging to highly valued groups of society will develop a healthy sense of self-identity, but that those who belong to devalued groups of society will have to engage in strategies of negotiation to develop a healthy perception of self.

They describe these strategies as:

a) 'Individual mobility', (French et al. 2006, p. 2), which is the process whereby members of a devalued group choose to leave the group. If this membership cannot be re-negotiated due to fixed membership (such as race, gender or ethnicity), group members may choose to disassociate with the group 'by psychologically leaving' (ibid).

b) 'Social Creativity' (ibid). This is when members of the devalued group challenge societal perceptions of the group by redefining the values of the attributes assigned to the group from a negative to a positive.

c) 'Social Competition' (ibid). This is whereby the members of the group as a whole challenge and fight societal perceptions.

Tajfel and Turner's contribution has demonstrated the complex strategies that those belonging to devalued groups of society, such as those from ethnic minority group populations living in the west, but not isolated to this population alone, may have to adopt to attain a healthy perception of self. However, their theory places huge emphasis on the role that society plays in influencing one's identity and does not fully account for the role of personal life experiences and/or individual preferences. The following section looks at the literature concerning the topic of ethnic identity formation with this topic in mind.

2.7 Ethnic Identity Formation

As a result of the increases in global migrations to countries all over the west over the last century, many researchers from various fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology and criminology have sought to understand more about the 'race' and 'ethnicities' of minority group populations. Although both terms have often been used interchangeably some academics have argued that 'race' implies that there are biological and genetic differences between ethnic minority group populations and the majority population group, when this is not the case (Phoenex and Husain, 2007). It is for this reason that Banton (1997) and Miles (1989) argue that the term race should be replaced with the word ethnicity. Enid Schildkrout's (1978) defines ethnicity:

> *'as a set of conscious or unconscious beliefs or assumptions about one's own or another's identity, as derived from membership in a particular type of group or category' (p. 10).*

I have chosen to highlight Schildkrot's understanding of ethnicity as this definition recognises the many group identities that members belonging to the same population group may form, unlike that of race which relies on racial differences whilst ignoring other forms of cultural, community or religious differences. For example when thinking about the Black African or British African population group referred to in the UK governments equal opportunities monitoring form (Census, 2011), it is assumed that all Africans due to their race and nationality should be grouped into one category. However, as mentioned in the previous section (section 6.1.3, on page 137) even in a seemingly homogenous population group, differences in values and beliefs can occur (Reynolds, 1998; Montavani, 2010).

Ethnicity therefore seems like a more inclusive phrase as it accounts for the various identities that members of an ethnic minority group population may be actively balancing.

Ethnic identity as a term differs from one's individual identity as it is focused on an individual's sense of membership to their wider ethnic group, yet influences 'the self' of the individual, which as stated above (section 2.6) will be greatly influenced by a combination of societal, cultural, personal and/or contextual factors (Phinney 1988; Oyserman et al. in Leary and Tangney, 2012).

There is an acknowledgement in the field of psychology that due to the absence of literature regarding the topic of ethnic identity formation, more research will need to be undertaken to understand the many diverse ethnic group populations living in western societies (Phinney 1988; Oyserman et al. in Leary and Tangney, 2012). Presently, of the research that exists we know that at around age seven or eight (Suarez-Orozco, 2001) the children belonging to minority group populations are faced with the challenge of negotiating between their individual identities and their ethnic group identities (ibid,) and will need to confront issues of 'prejudice… discrimination and institutional barriers of opportunity as they reach adolescence', however more needs to be done to explore the experiences of members belonging to this population group of various ages (Suarez-/Orozco et al., 2012, p. 44-45).

Jean Phinney (1988), in her quest to bridge the research gap, administered a questionnaire to three hundred ethnically diverse undergraduate students as it was felt by her that Erikson's model of identity formation did not account for ethnic differences. The students who took part in her study were black, Asian and white and were first and second generation migrant Americans, (meaning that they had either migrated to America from another country or had been born and brought up in America).

When their responses were analysed, Phinney noted that the topic of ethnic identity was an important factor for all the groups interviewed, irrespective of their ethnic origins. In her attempt to understand how ethnic minorities develop an achieved sense of identity (p. 2), Phinney found three stages of ethnic identity formation:

1. An 'unexamined identity', in which the individual takes on the society's perception and/or attitudes of their ethnic identity without question (Phinney, 1988, p. 9).

2. 'Moratorium', whereby the individual encounters a crisis situation in which he/she is left to confront 'racism' and their positioning of their racial group in their wider society (ibid). The individual begins to explore and opens himself/ herself up to a new perception of identity (p. 11).

3. 'Internalisation', this is where the ethnic identity formation achievement occurs and the individual learns to accept their identity differences (p.12).

As a result of what was found, Phinney went on to develop her 'ethnic identity formation model' (ibid) based on the findings listed above. Although her study has contributed to the discourse regarding the topic of ethnic identity formation in ethnic minorities living in the west, her research populations were students of various ethnic minority population groups, some of which were born in America and some of which were born elsewhere. Her study therefore cannot fully account for the contribution that these differences may have had on their perceptions of 'self' and their views about their ethnic identities.

There have since been other studies conducted (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012) implying that contextual factors, gender differences (Chae, 2002), generational differences (Phinney, 1988), individual circumstances and choices will certainly influence how ethnic minority adolescents may go on to form their identities. More research is therefore needed to understand these individual differences.

To summarise the literature on ethnic identity formation has highlighted that there are many developmental, social, cultural and individually complex factors that will influence how members of an ethnic minority population group develop their sense of ethnic group 'identity' and individual sense of 'identity'. As the subject of migration remains a topic of global debate, it is becoming vital to gain an understanding of the experiences of minority group populations globally from a cultural, individual and intergenerational perspective, as these differences are likely to influence their identity perceptions. The next section of the literature review looks specifically at how members of the second generation, who were

born and raised in the country that their parents migrated to, may be defining and negotiating their identities.

2.8 Second Generation Research

According to anthropological researcher Ballard (2003), the term 'second generation' refers to the children of migrants, who have been born and raised in the UK (p. 31). This is the definition I am referring to in this study.

Despite the fact that a number of studies have been conducted in America, Israel and within various European countries including that of the UK seeking to understand the identities of the second generation of migrant population group, (Ballard,1994; Anwar, 1998; Portes and Rambuat, 2001; Cowley-Sathiakumar, 2008) I have been unable to find studies specifically conducted to understand the second generation of Ghanaian migrants, living in the UK.

The research results appear conflicted. Some researchers suggest that the second generation of migrant population group are located within and between two competing cultures (Ballard, 1994; Anwar, 1998) and that the relationship between the older and younger generation tends to be characterised by 'conflict and tension' (Brah, cited in Cowley-Sathiakumar, 2008, p. 57), while other researchers suggest that there are differing individual approaches to how they 'experience and construct their social worlds' (ibid).

Ballard (1994), proposes that the second generation of migrant population group, often balance their sense of identity by participating in the act of 'code switching...culturally navigating their way through the blurred cultural lines of the world they inhabit' (p. 31). He refers to these codes as being cultural markers, like language and religion, which he says are informed by certain social norms, whereby members belonging to this group 'switch and change according to the context in which they are moving' (ibid). From Ballarrd's perspective, identity is therefore influenced by culture and can therefore be shifted or manoeuvred, rather than possessing a fixed or objectively determined disposition.

Additionally Crul and Heering (2008), suggest that rather than switching accordingly, members of the second generation appear to experience a sense of belonging at 'cultural, local and national levels' (p. 164) challenging the idea of a 'mutually exclusive identity', which prioritises one identity over the other (ibid). Ballard, Crul and Herrings contributions are useful, as they shed greater insight into some of the processes that members of this

population group employ, in their attempt to form new identities. This implies then that the relationship between identity and culture is one, which is synonymous, as both will be influenced by each other.

Zubida et al (2013), conducted a survey research method to examine the identities among 125 adolescents belonging to the immigrant population group living in Israel. The adolescents of focus were aged between 12-19 and had either migrated to Israel before reaching adulthood (referred to throughout the study as the 1.5 generation) or had been born to immigrant parents living in Israel (referred to as the second generation) and were recruited from 'a school in central Israel' (Zubida et al., 2013, p. 9).

The results from the survey suggest that the majority of the adolescents involved in the study (belonging to both population groups as clarified above) chose to embrace a 'bicultural tendency' (Zubida et al., 2013, p. 23) whereby both the host country of residence (Israel) and country of origin, appeared to be influencing the group's sense of self-identity. They also found varying individual preferences whereby the self-identities held by members of both groups, appeared to be influenced by 'the host country (alone), the country of origin (alone), both of them or neither of them' (Zubida et al., 2013, p. 4).

To conclude, Zubida et al., (2013) assert that rather than generalising the identities of both groups, future researchers should attempt to explore their identities on an individual level. This study suggests that there is indeed room to explore the many preferences to self-identity formation, for members of the 1.5 and second generation. However, as the study focuses specifically on the adolescent immigrant population group living in Israel using a quantitative survey research methodology, I would like to explore how members of the second generation may be identifying themselves throughout adulthood. By embarking on a qualitative research method I hope to gain greater insight into a group of women belonging to the ethnic minority population living in the UK from a distinctly British perspective. As the majority of studies looking at the ethnic minority second generation have been conducted in countries outside of the UK, this study is therefore seeking to add value to the gap in the British literature.

Bandana Purkayastha (2005) conducted a qualitative research study looking at '48 highly educated south-Asian Americans belonging to the second generation of American Indian,

Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Nepalese population group' (p. xiii). Her description of those belonging to the second generation population group differs from that of Ballard's (highlighted above) in that she describes them as, those who have been 'born and brought up in the USA or came to the USA before they were twelve years of age' who would have spent their 'formative teen years in the USA' (Purkayastha, 2013, p. 179). These participants were then interviewed using semi-structured interviews, with themes to explore.

Purkayastha's findings echo Zubida's findings as she asserts that members belonging to the second generation of migrant population group appear to participate in a process of negotiation, merging all of their socio-cultural influences together. Her study also found that the majority of her participants had experienced some level of racism within their home or work environments and wider society at large, but found ways to focus on their ethnic identities, to disengage from the 'structural constraints' (Purkayastha, 2005, p. 167) inherent in their societies. Culture from this perspective has been used as a creative strengthening tool, which helps to mould one's identity, since it is a facet of identity, which may be either negotiated or combined. This therefore challenges the view that culture is a separate influencing factor, which defines one's identity.

Whilst I can appreciate Purkayastha's overall contribution, that even when tensions to identity formation are experienced, creative methods can be adopted to challenge this, I find her justification for including those who moved to the USA prior to their 'formative teen' (p. 179) age of twelve difficult to understand, particularly as my view is that earlier childhood life experiences will be just as formative, and influential when thinking about the identity formation process (Freud, 1997 ; Erickson, 1994; Bowlby, 2005).

Overall, the literature on the second generation of migrant population group as well as the 1.5 migrant population group presented above has shown that there may be many individual responses to how they attempt to balance their socio-cultural identities. The following section will consider the existential philosophical view of 'identity'. As the current study centre's itself as an existentially focused study, it seems important to consider the existential perspectives position regarding the subject of 'identity'.

2.9 Existential Perspectives on 'identity'

The literature review thus far has shown that the concept of 'identity' is a complex phenomenon, which is likely to be influenced by both the internal and wider external context in which an individual exists. This implies then that the concept of 'identity' may not be pre-determined but open to evolution. This coincides with the fundamental beliefs held by existential thinkers, as they assert their position that the 'self', is always in the process of becoming and open to possibilities and this perspective is an assumption held by all existential authors (Heidegger, 1962; Sartre, 2003; Buber, 1970; Jaspers, 2003) in differing ways, some of whom are discussed below.

From Heidegger's (1962), perspective the 'being' is thrown into the world, which exists prior to the individual's birth (Heidegger, 1962 refers to this as *'Dasein'*, this a German word which is translated in English as meaning 'being there'), exists in an already defined human condition but has the ability to respond to the human condition from an individual place, and this is open to change. His perspective recognizes the 'beings' agency as being influenced by the world in which it is immersed as described below:

> *'Dasein is thus absorbed in the world; the kind of being which it thus possesses and in general the being which underlies it are essential in determining the character…of dasein (*Heidegger, 1962) *p.114)'.*

Similarly, Buber's (1970) views coincide with Heidegger's views as he argues that the 'self' exists as an I-thou, in which the 'self' is immersed in the social world in relation to others on a human level or as an I-it, which is the self in relation to how it experiences itself and defines itself as a result of the I-thou mode of relating. He therefore acknowledges that 'identity' is freely open to change but emphasizes the influence that the relational context has on the identity an individual has the freedom to create.

Unlike Heidegger and Buber both of whom view 'identity' as influenced by the social world in which it is immersed, Sartre (2003) suggests that human beings are subjective 'beings' with the freedom to create themselves and are free to respond appropriately to the world in which they exist. Sartre says that the human being is therefore a being first and foremost

who is *'thrown into a world and abandoned in a situation'*, exists in a world and is responsible for creating its 'essence' or an identity (Sartre, 2005, p 103). From his perspective, although the 'being' is always in the process of becoming, has the choice to create a 'self' out of nothing, redefines itself and participates in an on-going journey of creating its own identity, it aspires to be both a 'being-in-itself' (an object) and a being-for-itself, exercising this freedom. This struggle to be both, represents the human inability to cope with the responsibility of being nothing and having the freedom to reinvent 'self-created personas' daily (Deurzen, 2005, p 81) and results in a 'constructed' way of being, designed to allow us to hide from ourselves, the 'anguish' and 'the veritable immediate given of our freedom', referred by him as 'bad faith' (Sartre, 2005, p 67).

I can certainly accept Heidegger, Buber and Sartre's perspectives as I feel that it is possible that there will indeed be moments whereby some individuals may endeavour to create a life for themselves in their attempts to define themselves and that whatever decisions are made will be likely to be influenced by their life experiences and wider relationships. I can certainly relate to this, as there have been times in my own life whereby I have wanted to acquire a sense of a defined identity. Despite the variations in Heidegger, Buber and Sartre's views, the existential perspective recognises that 'identity' is a phenomenon, which is open to change, opposing the idea of a fixed sense of 'identity'. Being immersed in a world, whereby we are always in relation to others, the self-identities in which we have the freedom to create will be likely then to be 'socially constructed, historically specific…culturally varied' (Miller, 2000, p 22) but will nevertheless represent our freedom to choose.

2.10 Literature Review Summary

The literature as presented above has greatly highlighted the complexities that exist for women, as they become mothers for the first time. It has demonstrated that whilst it appears that there are biological and physical realities to the role, a mother's identity cannot be defined, theorized or assumed. Rather, the societal, cultural and individual circumstances of the mother's world will largely influence how she identifies herself and her overall choice of mothering style. Whilst the literature presented above does indeed highlight the complexities faced by Africans (those of Ghanaian, Somalian and Nigerian)

and Afro-Caribbean mothers living in a western context, it has shown that maternal identity will be influenced by ones culture, but not shaped solely by this aspect. Rather, it has presented the view that the identity of a mother is subjective and may differ on an individual, societal and cultural (or tribal) level.

The literature review has also demonstrated that there are indeed many individual choices available to the second generation of migrant population group, as they attempt to negotiate and make sense of their dual-identity influences. Whilst the review has helped to shed light on the techniques employed by some members of this population group living in various other western societies, it has also helped to highlight the scarcity in the amount of studies focused on those belonging to the ethnic minority population of all backgrounds living in the UK and most specifically on the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group, who are the current focus of the present study.

As the existential perspective is interested in elucidating more about the human predicament and the meaning of existence, it seems fitting for a study of this kind, which is concerned with the meaning of one's mothering experience and sense of self identity.

I am keen to understand more about my identity and the identities of other black British first time mothers of Second generation Ghanaian descent, who have spent their lives living in the United Kingdom. I am certainly interested to explore how the population of mothers in the current study may be embarking on this journey, how they may be identifying themselves during this process and which choices may be being made in regards to their choice of mothering care practices, in the hope that these areas may help to reveal something more about their mothering identities and influences. In terms of my own personal illumination, I feel that learning more about this population of British mothers will also help me to understand more about my own identity.

As the mortality rates of maternal deaths of Black and minority ethnic (Black and minority ethnic or BAME) populations appear to be five times higher than in white British women in the UK, it has become vital to explore the maternal experiences of mothers from this group (Chitongo, 2019). It is my view that due to the absence of literature surrounding this group of British mothers, this research will offer a unique contribution in acknowledging and

amplifying the voices of these women, whilst addressing the clear gap that exists in the profession. The following section overleaf focuses on the choice of method.

3.0 Chapter 3: Methodology

Academic research may be approached from a quantitative or a qualitative perspective. Quantitative research is an approach to research, which seeks to analyse observable variables in numerical form (Mcleod, 2011). John Mcleod (2011) describes quantitative research as a form of 'deterministic research' (p. 2), which measures casual factors of a stimulus. He explains that quantitative research is often largely advocated in the fields of 'medicine, the physical sciences and technology', as these fields seek to evaluate observable facts about the world in which we live (ibid).

Qualitative research on the other hand, is a research method, which recognises the value of narrative forms of knowing (ibid). It seeks to understand the underlining meanings of a particular experience, phenomenon or issue and is an approach, which can be usefully combined with quantitative forms of research for researchers seeking to adopt a mixed methodology (Mcleod, 2011). As this study was produced with the objective to explore the experiences of members of a distinctly diverse population group, it felt fitting for me to opt for a qualitative research method as opposed to a quantitative one.

Wellington et al. (2005) state that it is impossible to take the researcher out of any type of research or of any stage of the research process as:

> *'The biography of researchers, how and where they are socially positioned, the consequent perspectives they hold and the assumptions which inform the sense they make of the world, have implications for their research interests, how they frame research questions, the paradigms, methodologies and methods they prefer and the styles that they adopt when writing up their research' (Wellington et al., 2005, p. 21).*

I certainly resonate with Wellington et al'., perspective of researcher involvement as I think all researchers should be clear about their research interests and motivations in a transparent way. Since this study relates to my personal story I have therefore opted to engage in a qualitative study, which acknowledges the role of the researcher as part of the entire research process.

3.1 Alternative Methods Considered

3.1.1 Auto-ethnographic method

Initially, I had considered using an auto-ethnographic research methodology because according to Hayano (1979), the auto-ethnographic approach paves the way for researchers to study their 'own people' in relation to themselves (cited in Chang, 2008, p. 47). It is an approach, which aims to evoke in readers a sense of the personal world of the researcher's 'self' and/or culture (Etherington, 2004, p. 141), alongside his/her participants and can be considered as an 'ethical and politically sound approach' for academic research (ibid).

The auto-ethnographic approach combines ethnography, which is 'the study of a way of life or culture with autobiographical writing' (McLeod, 2011, p. 209). It is not an approach which seeks to generate a theory or a 'fixed set of themes or ideas' (Ibid. p. 210), nor does it 'appear to seek or claim to have attained a point of illumination' (Ibid, p. 212) but rather, one that gives the reader the opportunity to reach his or her own interpretations and/or understandings of the material presented in the study in an evocative way.

As I identify myself with the population of this research focus and plan to reflect upon my own personal lived experiences alongside that of my participants' experiences, my feeling was that the auto-ethnographic approach would help me to fulfil my task. However, after exploring the methodology further, I became concerned that if I were to adopt this method the research would be disproportionately focused on my own personal experience to the expense of my participants' experiences, due to its evocative and autobiographical emphasis (Chang, 2008). To clarify I was seeking an approach which would enable me to place equal value on the voices of my participants alongside my own, in a 'disciplined' and rigorous way and in a way that would further my understanding of 'self' (Moustakas, 1990), whilst gaining insight into the phenomenon of focus. Based on these preferences I therefore decided to consider the idea of adopting a narrative research inquiry.

3.1.2 Narrative Method

The narrative research methodology is a method which when employed focuses on the stories of participants in research, as a way to provide them with a greater sense of autonomy and/or space to share their lived experiences. It is an approach which is often adopted by researchers who want to reflect upon their own experiences, are seeking to embark on a reflexively engaging study, view themselves as narrators and those who are interested in embarking on an in-depth study on the lived experiences of others (Elliott, 2005).

The narrative approach places an emphasis on the belief that narrative stories help to reveal great insight into the underlining 'feelings, thoughts, attitudes, identities and values held by the storyteller' (Etherington, 2004, p. 75). As human beings are social beings by nature (van Deurzen, 2010) the narrative approach recognises the value of incorporating stories into the research context and promotes the use of an openly reflexive inquiry for both the researcher and participants. It is appealing because it is a methodology, which aims to strengthen the relationship between the researcher, participants' and audience due to its collaborative focus (Smith, 2008, p. 119).

Although the narrative research method may have provided me with the ability to fulfil all of the qualities raised above in the previous section, I became worried that the relationship between my own personal position of reflexive researcher would become blurred with the stories of my eight participants and that the lack of containment would be reflected throughout the entire study. In other words, I could not conceptualize how to put the study together whilst maintaining my reflexive stance and wanted an approach, which would provide me greater guidance as to how to put the method to practice. As a result of the points already stated, I began to consider adopting the grounded theory method.

3.1.3 Grounded Theory Method

The grounded theory approach is a method, which seeks to generate a theory based on the data derived from the research topic of focus. It was introduced and developed by sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967) who published their book, *'The*

discovery of grounded theory: Strategies of Qualitative Research' originally in 1967 (Glaser and Strauss, 2006) and has since been elaborated by Rennie (2006), .

There are three main principles for researchers seeking to adopt the grounded theory method. The first principle of the approach is that researchers' seeking to embark on this method, are motivated by their desire to 'discover' a new way of thinking about a phenomenon of interest (Mcleod, 2011, p.118). The second principle states that the researcher should embark on generating a theory from the data derived from the study itself, using a coding method. The researcher is expected to analyse the data 'line by line, whilst constantly coding each sentence' (Ibid, p. 119) to remain open to multiple understandings of the phenomenon, then sorting them into categories. Lastly, the researcher is expected to put aside all presumptions and generate the theory from the data itself, as opposed to working on an already defined hypothesis, or speculative question.

The grounded theory method is an approach, has gained sufficient popularity with qualitative researchers' keen to explore the underlining meanings of a phenomenon and is a reasonably well-suited method for social scientists of all disciplines (Mcleod, 2011). As it is an approach which encourages researchers' to immerse themselves in the material derived, I originally felt keen to consider adopting this method.

Although the grounded theory approach appeared to match my preference of a method, which emphasizes the researcher's immersed attitude towards the data derived from the study, it is based on the assumption that there is a tangible theory to be found. This point was reiterated by counselling professor William West (2001) who describes the method as demonstrating its underlining view of an 'objective reality' existing out there which can be '*viewed and analysed by following clearly defined rules of data collection and analysis'* (p.127).

As this study represents a small-scale study which seeks to explore how British first time mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent identify themselves, giving voice to their experiences without the intention of generating a theory, it felt right for me to continue my search for an alternate method.

3.2 The Phenomenological Method

According to Edmund Husserl (1938), 'to assume the phenomenological attitude means to regard everything from the perspective of consciousness that is to look at all objects from the perspective of how they are experienced' (cited in Giorgi, 2009, pp. 87-88). He believed that in research it is important for the researcher to search for the essence of the phenomenon being researched and to describe it as accurately as possible, in a way that allows for 'the use of language to articulate the intentional objects of experience', (Giorgi, 2009, p. 89) through the act of bracketing our own assumptions.

I felt that my research topic was representative of 'the phenomenological attitude of wanting to explore and find out the essence' (ibid) of how the mothers who belong to the second generation of Ghanaian population in the UK identify themselves and whether their identities contribute to the way they mother their children, however I believed that my own personal relationship to the research topic could not be entirely bracketed out of the study. I wanted a method which allowed for my own 'direct personal encounter' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 14) to be included as part of the research process in a way that is disciplined, valid, devoted, allowed for me to be 'personally involved' and in a way that would 'ultimately deepen my knowledge' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 11).

It was not until reading Kim Etherington's (2004) book: *Becoming a reflexive researcher and Clark Moustakas'* (1990) book: *Heuristic Research-Design, Method and application*, that I came to the conclusion that the heuristic research methodology would be of most benefit to the proposed study, especially due to its detailed description on the stages of the heuristic approach. I was seeking some form a structure to guide me through the project and felt optimistic that the stages would be helpful to my process. The following section will focus on summarising the nature of researcher reflexivity, as it is a necessary facet of the heuristic research design. Following this I attempt to define Moustakas' approach in the section further below.

3.3 Reflexivity in Research

Researcher reflexivity has gained greater popularity in the social sciences discipline in recent times (Etherington, 2004) due to its focus on the use of the researchers' personal reflections, and is encouraged throughout the entire research process.

Reflexivity aims to be a approach which acknowledges the researchers' ability to openly explore and document how their 'personal experiences and contexts' inform the process and overall outcome of a research study in a way that is 'valid, ethical and transparent' (Etherington, 2004, p 37).

According to Etherington (2004), when choosing to conduct a reflexive research study the researcher explicitly draws attention to any questions or moral dilemmas that may be faced during the research process, in a way that would often go unnoticed in non-reflexive research. Despite this, there have been several critiques to the use of reflexive research due to its emphasis on the direct involvement of the researchers' process, 'particularly by scientists who worry about the personal biases that may creep into the research as a result of being personally involved' (Etherington, 2004, p. 34). Using reflexivity in research creates an opportunity for connections, growth and new learning to arise, for the researcher, research participants and the reader (ibid).

The heuristic method is a methodology that promotes 'a passionate and discerning personal involvement in… an effort to know the essence of some aspect of life through the internal pathways of the self, which when utilised as a framework for research…offers a disciplined pursuit of essential meanings connected with everyday human experiences' (Moustakas and Douglas 1985, p. 39) in a reflexive way. It is for this reason that I decided to adopt this approach as it appeared to be a perfect fit for a study of this nature.

3.4 The heuristic approach

This section focuses on defining the heuristic approach, as introduced by Moustakas (1990). Moustakas suggests that in-order to identify and fully understand the research phenomenon, 'an open-ended inquiry, self-directed search and immersion' process should be sought' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 15). He states that the researcher should achieve this process in seven steps by:

1. Identifying with the focus of inquiry and participating in becoming one with the phenomena.

2. Participating in a 'self-dialogue' to discover the constituents and qualities' of their experience (p. 16).

3. Participating in the process of 'tacit knowing', which he suggests 'guides the researcher into untapped directions and sources of meaning' (p. 22).

4. Participating in the process of 'intuition' which: 'leads to the discovery of patterns, enhanced meanings, and extended knowledge' (p. 24).

5. Participating in the process of 'indwelling', whereby the researcher turns inward to seek greater understanding of the research phenomena and 'moves toward the ultimate creative synthesis that portrays the essential qualities and meanings of the experience' (p. 25).

6. Participating in the process of 'focusing', emphasising the researchers' attempt to stay with the meanings of the experience, in a way that requires dedication and focus (p. 25).

7. Participating in the process of the 'internal frame of reference', whereby the outcome of the research is connected to the context of the researcher/s themselves and along-side the experiences of those that are being researched (p. 26).

3.4 The heuristic approach

My understanding of the seven steps proposed by Moustakas are that they are necessary components of a reflexive piece of research. Researchers who are seeking to participate in a personally involved reflexive study will need to therefore be mindful of each of the processes listed above.

The phases of the heuristic method

According to Moustakas' heuristic research design, there are six stages that inform the research method, which is an organic process that is open to unfolding as the research progresses. He lists them as: initial engagement, immersion, incubation, illumination, explication and creative synthesis (further explanation for each stage is provided below).

3.4.1 Initial Engagement-

The ability for the researcher to 'discover…a passionate concern that calls out to the researcher...that holds important social meanings and personal, compelling implications' (Moustakas,1990, p. 27).

How was this phase achieved?-

The initial engagement process began the moment I started questioning my personal experience of becoming a mother for the first time. As this topic holds personal and social meanings for the cultural and ethnic minority group that I am a member of, I remained fully engaged with the research content throughout the entire study.

Activities

The activities, which have represented the initial engagement process, have been:
1. The process of narrowing down my research focus and question,
2. The process of thinking about my personal experience and questioning its relevance to the psychotherapy profession.
3. The process of considering potential methodologies.

During this stage, I found myself engaging in an on going process of self-discussion, as I sought to make better sense of my research topic. I had been warming to the idea of

embarking on a research study looking specifically at the topic of motherhood in which I would be personally involved, but felt uncertain as to how to clarify my research focus. In other words, I was struggling to make sense of whom my research focus was for and what it would be aiming to achieve. Feedback from my main supervisor suggested that it would be important to consider thinking about the study from a personal place first. Some of the questions that came up for me during this time were, am I British, Ghanaian or both, does my identity influence my mothering in some way and how do other first time mothers of British-Ghanaian descent born in the UK, identify themselves?

My process of becoming one with the phenomenon meant that I was constantly thinking about these questions and other women's mothering experiences in a way that I had not done in the past. During this time, I came across a Guardian Newspaper report (2011) detailing the case of a baby (as previously mentioned, see page 8) whose mother, 'a 31 year old nurse of Ghanaian descent' (Davies, 2011) had been found guilty of force-feeding her child to death. This case led me to reflect on my own mothering experience. I started questioning my mothering preferences, choices and overall decisions, an experience which contributed to me clarifying my research question. Once the research question had been finalised a number of methodological choices were considered. The heuristic research methodology, however felt the most fitting due to its emphasis on the researchers' involvement and overall illumination.

3.4.2 Immersion-

The researcher's ability: to engage in remaining alert 'to all possibilities for meaning...wherever the theme is being expressed or talked about' (Moustakas,1990, p. 28).

How was this phase achieved?-

I started a reflective journal the moment I began narrowing my research question, as I wanted to keep a record of my personal feelings, and thoughts about the entire mothering experience, my experience of being in research supervision, my experience of listening to and transcribing each of my participant's interviews and my experience of writing up my dissertation. This journaling process consisted of me noting down my thoughts, random

quotes, reflecting over conversations directly related to my research process and the dreams, which appeared to be directly related to the research study. I kept this process consistent, as I wanted to remain alert to all the possibilities for meanings, which were occurring in my own process. This journal was also updated during the initial participant conversation, following the interview and again once the interview had been transcribed and analysed, as I wanted to accurately note down my reactions to the stories being shared by the eight participants.

Activities

The activities which are part of the immersion phase includes the entire preparation and researching process:

1. The process of writing up the research proposal,
2. The process of applying for ethical approval,
3. Engaging in thoughtful discussions with fellow peers,
4. Thinking about the research topic,
5. The process of being interviewed by my clinical supervisor,
6. Having to transcribe my personal interview,
7. The process of writing up the pilot study.
8. The interviewing process,
9. The transcribing process,
10. The process of writing up my research findings,
11. The entire dissertation write-up,,
12. The process of revisiting and attempting to revise the literature review as part of the conditions specified by the examiners, following my final viva presentation.

I became fully immersed in each of the activities listed above. The process of illumination from my own experience appears to work as a core stage closely connected to the incubation stage (also reflected in the following section) and closely alongside the initial engagement, illumination, explication and creative synthesis stage. That is, it is very hard to separate out each stage and the process is more cyclical than linear.

Reflections

Initially I found myself struggling as I tried to make full sense of my research aims and objectives in written form. The process of writing up the research proposal was lengthy and resulted in numerous supervisory exchanges with both supervisors. At times I felt inadequate as I struggled to find the words to fully justify my research aims, objectives, methodological approach and ethically sound motivations. During this time I questioned whether to proceed, some of the thoughts that came to mind around this time were, how can I convey what I mean in a much clearer fashion and are my ideas valid?

On reflection however, I now realise that the process of exchange with both supervisors represents the immersion stage entirely, as each exchange helped to bring previously unconsidered aspects of the study to my awareness. As a result of this thorough process, when my application for ethical approval from the New School of counselling and Psychotherapy with Middlesex University was sought, it was immediately approved as the majority of the ethical considerations had been addressed in the proposal.

Personal Interview Reflection

As the fundamental and key attribute of the heuristic research design is that of the researcher's participation and involvement, I decided that I wanted to be interviewed by my clinical supervisor for the initial interview. I felt confident that my clinical supervisor would easily engage with the conversational style interview that Moustakas (1990) advocates and wanted to learn from his style of conversational questioning prior to interviewing my participants. I also felt comfortable with him due to our already established relationship. My intentions for being interviewed were that I wanted to experience the interview from the perspective of the participant and to contribute my own experience of the phenomenon being explored to the study. To begin with, my clinical supervisor was handed a list of a conversation guide of questions to explore, to guide the interview process. This interview lasted for one hour.

I found the interviewing process interesting, as through my supervisor's line of questioning I was able to explore previously untapped dimensions of my experience, in other words the conversational style interview prompted me to reflect and view my identity and experience

from a different perspective. One of my initial motivations for participating in this project was my desire to explore more about my second generation British Ghanaian identity with the assumption that this identity could be easily defined. I now recognise that my British-Ghanaian identity is one which has been created and shaped by my personally lived experiences and/or preferences. As a result of being interviewed first, I became aware of my identity assumptions and started to acknowledge the subjective nature of the concept of 'identity'. In other words, by being interviewed first I started to remain open to the possibility of identity differences existing for other British-Ghanaian mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent.

My interview worked as the questions posed, appeared to relate well to the topic of mothering and identity in its entirety. As my clinical supervisor had no direct relationship to the research topic and had not been fully briefed about my research aims prior to the interview, I felt more inclined to provide accurate explanations when responding to the questions posed. Although I wanted to experience myself as a participant, I recognise my advantage as the author and creator of the questions and overall study. This advantage worked in my favour, as I felt able to explore my mothering experiences with very limited prompts from my supervisor, an approach I anticipated would need to be altered when interviewing my participants.

During my pilot study write up process, I thought about the descriptions that had been provided during the interview and questioned whether participating in a heuristic study was something I could truly handle. I experienced a feeling of guilt when discussing the topic of discipline and questioned whether being so open about my personal views on the parenting style choices of my parents, was something I felt comfortable sharing. This is something that I have found interesting, particularly as the concept of discipline is a topic, which I had thoughtfully contemplated prior to my interview. I could not fully assess the impact that such a revelation could provoke until it occurred in real time, a subject that up until this moment had been rarely voiced. My thoughts following this experience were that since I couldn't fully anticipate the impact that my interviews may have on my participants, I needed to remain committed to clarifying their stories with them and honouring their rights to anonymity and confidentiality within the limits of the law. I began anticipating that I would need to protect each participant from experiencing harm by constantly checking in with them throughout the interview and after the interview had been conducted.

Participant Selection

As this study had been created to explore, '*how the second generation of Ghanaian migrants identify themselves on becoming mothers and whether their sense of identity contributes to the way in which they mother their children*', I wanted to capture a range of descriptions about the individual lived experiences of each participant in contrast to my own. I felt interviewing eight participants would allow me to do this and this was approved by the PAP viva and ethics committees.

As part of the selection criteria, participants were told that they would need to identify with being born and brought up in the United Kingdom to Ghanaian parents and were provided with a copy of the participant information form (see Appendix C), which stated that to participate they would need to identify as first time mothers born and brought up in the United Kingdom to migrant Ghanaian parents, to ensure that they had a considerable amount of knowledge and experience of what it's like to be born and raised as a British national with Ghanaian heritage. Participants were also told that they would need to be aged 18 and over at the time of the interview and have a child between the ages of 2-10.

Due to the risk of postnatal depressive symptoms occurring up until the child's first year of life (NHS, 2014) it was felt that if participants had older children it could prevent those at risk of postnatal depression from experiencing further psychological distress as a result of their participation. The law in the UK suggests that the legal age of criminal responsibility for a child begins at age 10 (Gov, 2014) this implies that mother's may be enacting a new type of mothering form from the age of ten onwards, as the child learns to exert his or her own sense of independence. It is with this in mind that I decided to interview participants with children aged 10 and under.

The limitations of this selection criteria was that mothers who may have had their children prior to the age of eighteen, were permitted to participate in the study, which may have impacted the research findings, particularly as their identities will have been shaped by this experience.

Exclusion Criteria

To minimise the possibility of an increased risk of harm to the participants interviewed, an exclusion criteria was adopted and stated that I would be excluding mothers presently taking psychotropic medications from participating in the study at the time of our initial contact. As these medications are capable of altering the moods of patients (NHS, 2015), my concern was that discussions on the topic of mothering could potentially expose such participants to further psychological distress. The following medications included in this list (which is not exhaustive) were anti psychotic medications and any mind-altering medications that were perceived to hinder the mother's participation in the study.

Participants suffering from diagnosed mental health issues at the time of our initial contact were also excluded, as were those who admitted to having no support systems in place. By applying the above exclusion criteria, I wanted to maintain my ethical practice requirements and reduce the possibility of exposing my participants to greater harm. The definition of support system for this study were defined as, a network of individuals who provide emotional or practical support to the mothers who want to participate in the study. This network included family members, community and/or religious support groups and those in receipt of counselling services. None of the mothers who participated in the study had been in receipt of any forms of medication.

The exclusion criteria were clarified during an introductory call, which lasted for around 10-20 minutes and had been arranged in advance at a time most convenient to each of the eight participants. This was arranged initially via email. My main motivation for offering phone discussions were that I wanted to provide each of the participants the opportunity to connect with me prior to the interview date, to introduce myself and to create space for our relationship to develop.

I also took this opportunity to check in with each of my participants to determine whether they matched my selection and exclusion criteria and to clarify my research aims, interview details, details of their support systems, to answer any participant queries and to clarify the childcare costs incurred for their attendance of our arranged interview. Participants who met my strict criteria and expressed a keen interest, were sent written information and consent forms via email prior to proceeding (See Appendix C and Appendix D).

Although I had initially offered to pay three hours worth of childcare for participants with pre-school aged children who may have required childcare cover to attend the interview (subject to verification of an invoice), none of the mothers opted for this opportunity. The two mothers with pre-school aged children who opted to participate in the study both stated that this would not be required as their children were to be cared for by family members on the day of our arranged interview.

In line with the heuristic research methodology I conducted eight conversational style interviews lasting for a maximum of fifty minutes. Moustakas describes these interviews as, a process in which the researcher participates in 'dialogues' with themselves and 'research participants or co-researchers', in a way that encourages the meaning of the experience to be 'expressed naturally' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 46).

Since the heuristic approach is concerned with 'the search for meaning and does not rely on the use of a set of formulated questions which have been planned in advance (Moustakas, 1990, p. 47), I decided to participate in a conversational style interview and drew on my conversation guide of themes to explore (see Appendix F) as a method to guide the interview process. However, as the heuristic approach is concerned with an exploration emerging from the authentic conversational style interview (ibid), I maintained an open stance, as I wanted to remain open to seeing how the interview would unfold naturally.

I recorded each interview using an audio recording device. I recognise that in opting for an audio recorder many gestures and body language cues may have been missed. However, my feeling on the issue is that if I were to participate in noting all non-verbal cues and gestures during the interview process, the authentic conversational style interview that Moustakas proposes, would have been hindered in some way. I acknowledge then that elements of non-verbal cues were missed, however, I noted down the non-verbal cues through my own process of recollection, once the debriefing process had been completed.

During the transcription process all the available non-verbal cues, utterances and/ or pauses were included. I maintained my journaling process by reflecting my thoughts, bodily sensations and emotional reactions to each of the eight participants responses after the interview and debriefing process had been conducted, during the transcription phase,

analysis and when drawing together my overall findings. I did this because I wanted to track and identify my own assumptions and/or personal relationship to the research context, to keep the study as transparent and valid as possible (Yardley, 2008).

<u>Advertisement</u>

Various adverts were placed in local adult education centres, colleges, libraries, universities, at local mother and toddler groups and on local community boards in the boroughs of: Lambeth, Southwark, Newham, Hackney, Haringey, Lewisham, Croydon and Brent as these are the boroughs in London with the highest population of Ghanaians living in the UK (COMPASS, 2014, p. 12) (See Appendix B for Advertisement). Three participants responded through the advert, which had been posted in the boroughs listed above. However, colleagues and friends of mine, who were familiar with my study and who had my adverts to hand, were extremely productive in informing and handing leaflets to potential participants.

Despite my efforts to distribute leaflets in the locations listed above, the most effective methods of advertisement appeared to be the use of the snowball research sampling method. This method is an approach to research designed to overcome recruitment challenges associated with inviting culturally diverse communities, less trusting populations or whereby participants may be less willing to contribute to academic studies (Sadler et al., 2010).

By participating in the snowball method the participants were able to hear from trusted individuals who had knowledge of the study of focus, which is an added benefit of the method for a study of this nature. By participating in this approach I had hoped to reach out to an unfamiliar population group to give voice to their experiences.

The limitations of enacting the snowball method suggest that this approach may lead to research biases existing in the data and analysis process, which may lead to inaccurate conclusions being reached, due to the similarities in the population and the 'inclusion of individuals with inter-relationships' (Atkinson and Flint, 2001, p.34). However, Atkinson and Flint (2001) suggest that to alleviate this possibility as much as possible, researchers could adopt differing 'chain' strategies to alleviate the possibilities of closely related links beyond

the characteristics required for participation, occurring between their respondents (p.34). Whilst there is a possibility of the risk of close links occurring, by distributing adverts via the various chain options of eight boroughs across London, colleagues and friends, I had hoped to diminish the possibility of intertwined inter links occurring, as much as possible.

Location:

Participants were offered the opportunity to be interviewed in a privately rented therapy room located in Clapham at The Awareness Centre: a counselling and psychotherapy centre- which provides low cost and private counselling services, to those in need (The Awareness Centre, 2014). I met my personal safety requirements by informing my next of kin of my whereabouts and kept an up-to-date log record of my interviewing schedule. A health and safety document was also submitted and approved by Middlesex University via the NSPC ethics sub-committee (please see appendix A).

Ethical Considerations

An ethical approval application form and participant information sheet with the research question, the requirements for participation, the risks involved in participating and the participant consent form included (see Appendix A and Appendix C) was submitted and approved by the New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling with Middlesex University (Please see appendix A). Participants were informed that their interviews were to be audio recorded. All recorded interviews were stored on an encrypted USB stick and to maintain complete participant anonymity all identifying details (apart from the details as specified by my selection criteria) and names mentioned, including that of the participants themselves or any significant others were changed or replaced with an alias identity. Participants were informed that they would have their anonymity and confidentiality protected within the limits of the law, at all times and could withdraw from the study at any point in time without repercussions. Participants were also informed that I would be transcribing all of their responses myself. Once the transcription process was complete, all of the participants were provided with the opportunity to read and/or make changes to their material.

According to the amended Data Protection Act (1998), which was revised in 2003 '*Personal data processed for any purpose or purposes shall not be kept for longer than is necessary for that purpose or those purposes*' (Data Protection Act, 1998 p. 48). In line with this, participants were informed that the data collected by myself would be kept for at least until 6 months after my graduation and would be treated as confidential.

Statutory guidance (HM Government, 2016) places a duty on professionals to promote the welfare of children by protecting them from harm, neglect or abuse and to consult with local authorities if it is suspected that a child has suffered harm or is likely to do so (Home Office, 2016). Participants were briefed that if they happen to disclose something about their child rearing practices that I suspect may be harmful to their child, I would have a duty of care to pass this information on to a third person or organization. My understanding of an act that is harmful is any act, which presents a neglectful or life-threatening risk to the self of the child as specified in the participant information sheet (see Appendix E).

A safeguarding Step-by-step protocol guide was also submitted (see Appendix E) as a

safeguarding resource for use in the case in which a disclosure to a third party such as that of a local authority would need to occur. By highlighting the risk of disclosure prior to starting the interviewing process participants were given the opportunity to think about whether they wanted to proceed.

Participants were fully informed of the risks involved (see Appendix C) and notified that they could withdraw from the study at any stage. To meet my ethical guidelines, I referred to the ethical guideline resources for researching counselling and psychotherapy as enforced by the BACP (2004) and 'Code of professional conduct' resources enforced by both the UKCP.

A debriefing process was also conducted after the interview had been completed in which the participants were thanked for their contributions. As part of this process they were asked how they felt being interviewed, whether they wanted some extra support as a result of talking about potentially sensitive issues and were encouraged to ask questions. Although none of the mothers opted for follow up discussions they were offered the opportunity to engage in a follow up phone discussion if they wanted. Each of the participants were offered the opportunity to proceed with the debriefing process on a separate day, however all eight mothers chose to be debriefed on the same day of their interview (after the interview had been completed). As part of the debriefing process participants were provided with a list of self-referring counselling services and informed that they could contact the services listed, to gain support from a trained professional if this was required.

3.4.3 Incubation-

This is a process of retreat whereby the researcher 'detaches from the involvement with the research question' to allow 'new understandings and perspectives to be revealed' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 29).

How was this phase achieved?

The incubation process has been described by Moustakas (1990) as the ability for the researcher/s to participate in a process of self-reflection, which involves taking the time out

to slightly detach from the research study. My experience of the incubation process has been that it is a necessary core process, which allows the researcher to gain greater awareness of the underlining qualities of the phenomenon of focus. In other words, it is a space of retreat, which gives the researcher a chance to disengage from the study in the hope that new insights are revealed.

Activities

The activities, representing the incubation stage are:
1. Having to take a step back from the write up process when addressing the proposal changes as encouraged by both research supervisors.
2. Taking a break from the research at each step of the data analysis process.
3. Taking a break from the pilot study write up.
4. Taking a step back from the analysis process while waiting for feedback from my research supervisor.
5. Taking a step back from the write up of each of the participants' findings and the composite description of their collective findings.

Reflection

I found the incubation phase difficult to grasp initially, as it is not something that can be easily described. Upon reading Moustakas' description of the incubation process I assumed that the detachment process that he describes was one that all heuristic researchers would have to intentionally enact, however my experience of this detachment process has been that it is a process, which naturally occurs in its own time.

My initial experience of the incubation process occurred during the process of my research proposal write up, I found that my research progress would alternate between moments of engagement which represents the immersion stage, to moments of silence, confusion and extreme stagnation. I became frustrated and disheartened when I found it difficult to proceed and found myself naturally detaching by distracting myself from the writing up stage of my proposal entirely. This process appeared to occur during the data analysis

phase, during the pilot study writing process, during the overall findings write up and again during the entire dissertation write up process. To conclude, there were several phases of incubation throughout the whole project.

There were numerous occasions in which I found myself failing to meet my personal deadlines. I questioned whether this was an expected experience of the heuristic research process or one I was experiencing alone. During these moments I found myself struggling to accept having to take a break from the study altogether. To combat the feelings of frustration that the incubation stage often provoked I began focusing my attention to other activities and upon returning to the work, I found that something new had been brought to my awareness.

The incubation stage is therefore a phase, which imposes itself upon the researcher with its naturally occurring flow and is a core phase, which connects with the immersion phase, with the two phases working as a duo. It is also a stage, which needs to be repeatedly revisited at various moments throughout the study.

3.4.4 Illumination-

This involves the process of awareness and the openness involved in the researcher becoming familiar with new knowledge and a 'modification of understanding' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 30).

3.4.5 Explication-

This involves the reflection of the researchers' awareness, whereby the researcher examines what has 'awakened in consciousness...identifies the core themes, bringing together discoveries of meaning and organising them into a comprehensive depiction of the essences of the experience' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 31).

How were these two phases achieved?

The fourth and fifth stages he refers to, in my own understanding highlight the rigour, dedication, awareness, self-questioning and lastly self-reflection involved in analysing the data.

Activities

The activities representing the illumination and explication stage are:

1. The pilot study data analysis process.
2. The interviewing process.
3. The data analysis process (for each of my participants).
4. Sending elements of the data analysis (both the pilot and participant analysis sections) to my supervisor/s.
5. Resending the entire dissertation to my research supervisor with changes as requested by the examiners, following my final research viva presentation.

Reflection

Illumination and explication are phases, which combined with the immersion and incubation stage, represent the entire data analysis process.

The initial phases of the illumination and explication stages occurred as I attempted to analyse the data gathered from my pilot study interview. At the start of this process, I found it difficult to analyse the data neutrally, in other words I struggled to detach from my experience and found it difficult to engage with the new levels of insight that the data appeared to be highlighting. As this was my first attempt of the data analysis process I questioned whether the themes that were being reached held relevance to the topic of focus.

There were times I felt overwhelmed and confused about where the analysis was taking me and it was within these moments that I found myself flowing from the illumination and explication phase to the incubation and immersion phase and back again in a sort of

circular moving motion. This process appeared to occur once again, as I attempted to analyse each of my participants' findings. I became perplexed by how vastly different each of their stories were. I had embarked on this study to find out more about their individual voices and lived experiences, but realised that I had been anticipating that our views and experiences of the Ghanaian culture or definitions of what we had each described as the British-Ghanaian identity, would be mirrored in some way. A view, which I can now upon reflection identify, represented my personal biases and assumptions.

Although there appeared to be some common threads regarding some of the views held by each of us, particularly in regards to the topic of 'discipline in the Ghanaian culture', there were also clear differing aspects, such as differences in our original childhood family structures, past experiences, values and/or current beliefs, which had become apparent. These are differences, which had not and certainly could not have been fully anticipated beforehand.

I felt disappointed at first but couldn't really make sense of what this feeling was highlighting. It took me some time to realise that I had been expecting some sort of group solidarity that I felt had been conveyed in other studies looking specifically at individuals belonging to the same population group. So whilst this was an opportunity to demonstrate our individualities in a seemingly homogeneous population group, I began questioning how I would be able to present each of our voices and stories accurately (mine and my participants' voices) from an individual perspective and felt that this would require much work (this is a task required for the next stage).

This study has inspired me to think more carefully about the assumptions I hold about what constitutes as a Ghanaian or British identity. I have learnt that there is no easily defined way of looking at the 'British' or 'Ghanaian' identity, or identities of any kind, as such terms will be subjected to one's personal experiences and/or preferences. This view came as a complete surprise and represents my researcher illumination.

To summarise, the illumination and explication phases are stages, which merge with the immersion and incubation stage in a continuous circular moving flow.

3.4.6 Creative Synthesis-

This stage refers to the ability of the researcher to take some time out, having analysed and reflected on the themes identified, in-order to put the 'components and core themes into...a narrative depiction, utilizing verbatim material and examples' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 32), perhaps maybe even expressed as 'a poem, story, drawing, painting or by some other creative form' (ibid).

How was this phase was achieved? -

The creative synthesis process is a phase, which draws all the core heuristic processes together in an attempt to answer the research question. This stage refers to the process where the narrative verbatim accounts of each participant are presented and are combined into an overall conclusion (this is explained in further detail below, underneath the method of data analysis heading).

Activities

1. Preparing the pilot study presentation with findings included
2. The process of writing up the findings from my pilot study
3. The write up process of my participants' Individual findings
4. The process of writing up the findings derived from the participants as a group.
5. The process of editing the entire dissertation, as a result of the feedback received from the examiners (after the viva).

Reflection

The creative synthesis phase represents the universal findings from each participants' interview with the verbatim accounts and core themes combined. I found that during this process, I felt fully immersed at times, yet slightly detached and incubated at other moments. As this is the stage at which the analysis, which was attempted during the illumination and explication phase, is presented and merged with examples of each of the participants' verbatim accounts, I wasn't entirely certain how I would be able to present the details of each of my participants' stories accurately, in a combined manner. When I reflected this concern to my supervisor and research peer group, it was suggested that I

seek out other heuristic studies on the Middlesex research repository site, for guidance on how to present my participants' findings alongside my own. At the time, I felt I needed some sort of inspiration to proceed.

I came across a number of heuristic studies but the one that stood out the most was Mcgregor's (2012), doctoral research dissertation, *'An Existential Formulation of Transformative Experience In Nature'*. When I read this particular study, I found that Mcgregor's findings section had been distributed into two parts. The initial section appeared to outline the individual narratives of her participants' experiences, whilst the latter section looked at the collective themes of the group as a whole. What stood out for me about her method of presentation was that the voices of her participants seemed intact, in that each of their experiences had been presented as described by the participants themselves, with verbatim extracts included. This also meant that when the themes of the entire group were presented, they appeared to represent each of their experiences, without any of their voices becoming distorted.

In reading Mcgregor's (2012) study I noticed how connected I felt to her participants and felt inspired to adopt the same style. My creative synthesis process at this point resulted in me having to immerse myself in the transcripts and findings as analysed during the illumination and explication stage, of each participant repeatedly. I read each of my participants' transcripts, reflected over their findings once again, made notes in my journal and took some time away to make sense of what it was that I was reading. I did this to understand my own views about their experiences, prior to presenting their stories into a clearly expressed individual narrative. All of the participants were sent their individual transcripts and findings, to provide them with the opportunity to check whether their experiences had been authentically expressed. Although none of the mothers requested changes to their transcripts or findings, four of the mothers wanted further reassurance that their experiences would indeed remain anonymous as we re-established our correspondence. Although, all of the participants had been made aware of this during our initial contact, upon reading the research participant sheet, consent form and at the start of the initial interview, it seems that as a result of observing their narratives written up, some of the mothers became nervous about the possibility of them becoming identifiable and wanted me to ensure their personal details would not be disclosed. I reassured these mothers and gained their permission to proceed.

Once the findings had been confirmed by each of the participants themselves, the next part of the creative synthesis process resulted in me presenting the themes derived from the group as a whole (with my own experience included). Some of the themes drawn represented all of the participants whilst others represented a smaller minority of the participant population. These distinctions have been discussed in the findings chapter (in section 5.1, on page 82).

Overall my experience of the creative synthesis stage is the stage at which I began to engage in a deep contemplation about how to present the narratives of each participant and seems to occur in harmony with the core processes of 'immersion' and 'incubation'.

4.0 Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Method of Data Analysis-

In Moustakas' (1994) book, *'Phenomenological Research Methods'* Moustakas presents two alternative methods of data analysis for the application of a heuristic study, known as: the 'Moustakas' modification of the Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method' and the 'modified van Kaam method (pp. 120-121)'.

The Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method is a method of data analysis, which is transcendental in nature in that it aims to describe the co-researchers' lived experience with as little interpretation as possible. This method attempts to maintain a pure descriptive quality as implemented by the followers of Husserl's transcendental method (Moustakas, 1994), meaning that a researcher who adopts this method would be required to focus on the descriptive account of each co-researchers' experience without providing further explanations, taking the co-researchers' descriptive accounts at face value.

The modified Van Kaam method unlike the Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method sets itself apart from Husserl's transcendental methodology by adopting a hermeneutic quality (Van Manen, 1990, p. 25). The hermeneutic quality can be described as a phenomenological method to research whereby the researcher employs a descriptive and interpretative analysis (ibid). It is descriptive in that it aims to describe the co-researchers' lived experience as it appears to the co-researcher and interpretative in that it aims to focus on what has been described, by making sense of the meanings associated with the co-researchers' description (ibid).

As I sought a method, which would allow me to present the voices of each participant (including myself), in their own words and recognise that 'all description is ultimately interpretation' (Manen, 1990, p. 25), I chose to adopt the Van Kaam method of phenomenological data analysis to analyse the data derived from the interviews (Moustakas, 1994, p. 120), (this is explained in detail further below).

Although Moustakas also presents the modified Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen as an alternative method for the heuristic data analyses, I feel that the Van Kaam method better represents

Moustakas' heuristic approach with its focus on descriptive interpretation. As it is inevitable for the researcher to be constantly interpreting and participating in an on-going process of self-reflection at each stage of the research process, this analysis seems more fitting than the alternative.

To begin the process of data analysis as proposed by Van Kaam's method modification, the researcher is expected to perform Epoche, which is: a process of setting aside and bracketing personal biases, assumptions and ideas, as much as is possible, as a way to remain open to 'new findings, new levels of awareness and understandings' (Moustakas, 1994, p. 86). He states that:

1. Following the transcription of each participant, the researcher is required to participate in a process of horizontalization. He describes the process of horizontalization as the ability for the researcher to list all the 'phrases and/or expressions' (uttered by each co-researcher) that relate to the phenomenon being explored (Moustakas, 1994, p. 120).

4.1.1 How this step unfolded in practice-

The interviews were transcribed and numbered in the order of our interaction. My supervisor was referred to as, '*S'* and my responses are initiated next to the letter '*J'*, while in the other 8 interviews 'J' was used for myself and my participants were referred to using the first letter of their alias initials. The phrases, which were chosen to represent the phenomenon of focus for each participant, were highlighted in red, as this made the file easier for me to read (please see Appendix H). An example of what this step looked like in practice however, is demonstrated below.

Pilot study transcript example:

J37- And I can say why I did that, it's because I felt that the midwives wouldn't get it. I wanted to do the right thing; I wanted to do it the right way because there is something about the way that the midwives and the antenatal health visitors speak to you. It's like they're taught to spin something to you, to teach you the most appropriate way of doing things erm so, I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.
S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?
J39- Yes I would say
S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?
J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their

ways of doing things. *When I say wider family I'm talking about my cousins and my aunts and family friends who are considered family members because that's what happens in Ghana.*
S41- But you were able to hold your own with that…
J41- I held my own but I was very resistant and very defensive, defensive is the correct word, in holding my own because I felt that I was being forced into something.
S42- Mmm

All non-verbal cues and utterances were noted and taken into account. As demonstrated above the areas highlighted in red were perceived by me to be directly related to the research question. Some phrases, which seemed harder to determine were highlighted and assessed in the following step.

2. Next the researcher is encouraged to test each phrase or expression to determine whether they relate to the subject and/or question of focus (the final phrase is referred to as the invariant constituent) by asking the following questions (Moustakas, 1994, p. 120 Moustakas, 1994, p. 120):

    a. Does it contain a moment of the experience that is a necessary and sufficient constituent for gaining an understanding of it? (ibid). In other words, does the phrase or expression contain enough detail to demonstrate an understanding of the subject or question being explored?

    b. Is it possible to abstract and/or label it? If so it is a horizon of the experience. Expressions that do not meet these criteria are eliminated, as are those, which are overlapping, repetitive or vague, if they are unable to be presented in an exact description. The horizons that remain are the invariant constituents of the experience (ibid).

4.1.2 How this step unfolded in practice-

When enacting step 2a and 2b, the highlighted phrases were organized and pasted onto a separate file, all phrases not highlighted were completely removed from the new file and placed in the order of our interaction. An example of this is posted below.

J37, I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.
S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?
J39- Yes I would say
S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?

J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things.

Transferring the highlighted sections to a new file helped to aid the elimination process as described above by Van Kaam. During this step I found that some of the statements, which had been originally highlighted in the previous file were being repeated, I therefore decided to dismiss these statements accordingly. The remaining statements were organised and referred to as invariant constituents.

3. Following on from this, the related invariant constituents of the experience (as referred to above) are then clustered into a label known as a 'thematic label' (Appendix I) (Moustakas, 1990, p. 46). The thematic label represents the core themes of the experience (ibid).

4.1.3 How this step unfolded in practice-

The remaining invariant constituents were continuously read again and then organised into four core themes. As I began narrowing the themes I noticed that major aspects of my mothering experience were becoming lost. I therefore decided to organise the themes into master themes and sub themes in the hope that this process would help to capture the richness of the experience in its entirety. These themes were highlighted and colour coded yellow, yellow seemed to be the most alternative striking colour (to that of the red colour chosen above) as this made it easier for me to read when referring back to the themes. A total of three master themes and eight sub themes were identified during this step. Examples of two core themes have been posted below (please see Appendix I for evidence of the process).

Example of thematic label/ core themes:

Pressures (Master Theme)- External Family Pressures, External wider community pressures, Internal Pressures (Sub Themes)

Identity (Master Theme)- Merged preference, Personal Identity preference (Sub Themes)

4. The next step requires the researcher to check the invariant constituents and their core themes against a complete record of the participant as part of the validation

process. As this is the researcher's way of participating in a final identification of the themes reached, the following questions are asked;

    a. Are they expressed explicitly in the complete transcription?

    b. Are they compatible if not explicitly expressed?

4.1.4 How this step unfolded in practice

The invariant constituents and core themes were read once more and presented together in the same document; this process was enacted to connect the core themes to the invariant constituents. The core themes, which were identified and appeared to have no direct relation to the complete transcript, were deleted. The core themes are highlighted yellow and the invariant constituents are highlighted in red. An example of what this process looked like in practice is demonstrated below.

Core themes and Invariant constituents example (see Appendix I):

Pressures (Master Theme)- External Family Pressures, External wider community pressures, Internal pressures (Sub Themes)

J37-I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.
S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?
J38- Yes I would say
S39- Or British way
J39- Yes
S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?
J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things.

Identity (Master Theme)- Merged preference, Personal Identity preference (Sub Themes)

J8-I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself erm and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but erm I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people- I guess I can only refer to my siblings have created too.

S9- Mhm, so you're not quite British and not quite Ghanaian, you're a bit of both?
J9- Yes, I'm a bit of both.
S10- Wow, so the British Ghanaian that's something that forms your identity in some way?
J10- Yes, yes I would say that because when I think about my culture and what is Ghanaian about me, I would say my colour and I would say maybe my preferences for certain dishes, the music and the liveliness of it and my want to always wear bright colours (laugh) but the rest feels very British

and I don't even know what British is, the rest feels erm kind of like (pause) ah I can't even describe what British is.

5. Next, the validated invariant constituents and core themes are then constructed to form a description for each co-researcher using examples of the verbatim accounts derived from the transcribed interview (Moustakas, 1990, p. 46). Moustakas refers to this description as the 'individual textual description' (ibid).

6. At this stage, the researcher is expected to: construct a textual description of the experience based on the 'individual textual description' (provided at stage 5) and implement the process of 'imaginative variation' (ibid). Moustakas (1994), describes the imaginative variation process as the process whereby the researcher approaches the phenomenon from an 'imagined, reversed or alternate perspective' (pp. 97-98).

4.1.5 How this step unfolded in practice-

My initial attempts of step 5 and 6 were met with feelings of confusion as I struggled to form an accurate individual textual description of the core themes. I felt extremely confused when attempting to enact this stage and found myself seeking reassurance. During this phase, I decided to refer to Moustakas' (1994) book, *'Phenomenological research methods'* as he provides step-by-step examples of Van Kaam's anaylysis on pages 133-156. As a result of what was shown in Moustakas' examples I felt that by combining the two steps together, I would be able to fully grasp the meanings and essences of the experience more closely (which is the aim of the next step).

I referred to Moustakas' *Structural description of Jim's Insomnia* (Moustakas, 1994, p. 136) as I needed help to describe my experience from a more generalised third person perspective, which represents the researcher and not from the first person perspective of the participant. After seeing Moustakas' example I felt more confident about having to describe my experience from a further removed position. Rather than attempting the individual textual description first (an expected task of step 5) I decided to enact the imaginative variation process (a stage 6 task) to really make sense of my experience. I suspected that by looking at the phenomenon from an alternate perspective, the individual

textual description process would then become much easier to enact, so it made sense for me to attempt this process first.

The imagination variation statement was highlighted in green on the same word document alongside the invariant constituents, core themes and verbatim accounts (as highlighted and mentioned above). I felt it was important to keep each part of the process colour coded as this made it easier for me to decipher and refer to, an example of the imaginative variation which was achieved, is exhibited below.

Imaginative Variation of the theme of pressures:

The mother is experiencing an externalised and internalised pressure to mother in a way that represents the mothers British identity, values and practices which have been mainly influenced by significant family relationships particularly in regards to the topic of discipline.

Imaginative Variation of the theme of a personally constructed identity:

Although the desire to uphold the British culture when it comes to the parenting of the children exists, the majority of the child rearing values and practices in regards to education and discipline have been influenced by both cultures and not based on the personal preferences or personal lived experiences of the mother.

All the statements above represent the phenomenon being described from an alternate perspective. By looking at the phenomenon from this perspective I was able to gain an accurate description of the essence of the authentic experience in a way that I could not before and by imagining what the phenomenon was not, I started to notice the experience for what it was. As a result of this process I felt more confident when attempting to make sense of the meanings and essences of each theme. An example of what this looked like in practice is demonstrated below (please see Appendix J for evidence of this process).

The meanings and essences of the theme of pressures:
Suggests that the mother experiences pressures to adopt specific cultural practices which are both external, due to significant family relationships and internal due to the cultural values and beliefs held by the mother, in regards to the child rearing topic of discipline.

The meanings and essences of the theme, identity: *Suggests that the child rearing practices chosen are based on the mothers personal experiences, preferences and overall British/Ghanaian influences in relation to the educational and disciplining needs of both children.*

7. Once the description above has been obtained, a textual-structural description is constructed to reveal the 'meanings and essences' of the experience, incorporating the invariant constituents (identified above, at stage 2.b) and core themes (identified above, at stage 3) (Moustakas, 1990, p. 46).

4.1.6 How this step unfolded in practice-

Step seven as suggested by Moustakas involves the researcher drawing all the above parts (excluding the imaginative variation statement) together, to form a description of the phenomenon, for each of the participants from an individual perspective. An example of this process is presented in the following section (please see Appendix J for evidence of this entire process).

=Invariant Constituents (AKA: Horizons)

=Thematic Label- (Core Themes)

=Individual Textual Description

Pressures (Master Theme)- External Family Pressures, External wider community pressures, Internal pressures (Sub Themes)

The overall meanings and essences of theme of pressures: *Suggests that the mother experiences pressures to adopt specific cultural practices which are both external; due to significant family relationships and wider community influences (midwives) and internal; due to the cultural values and beliefs held by the mother, as highlighted below.*

J37-I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.
S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?
J38- Yes I would say
S39- Or British way
J39- Yes
S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?
J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things.

Identity (Master Theme)- Merged preference, Personal Identity preference (Sub Themes)

The overall meanings and essences of the theme, identity: *Suggests that the child rearing practices chosen are based on the mothers personal experiences, preferences (dishes she serves) and overall British/Ghanaian influences as the following excerpt demonstrates.*

J8-I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself erm and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but erm I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people- I guess I can only refer to my siblings have created too.
S9- Mhm, so you're not quite British and not quite Ghanaian, you're a bit of both?
J9- Yes, I'm a bit of both.
S10- Wow, so the British Ghanaian that's something that forms you're identity in some way?
J10- Yes, yes I would say that because when I think about my culture and what is Ghanaian about me, I would say my colour and I would say maybe my preferences for certain dishes, the music and the liveliness of it and my want to always wear bright colours (laugh) but the rest feels very British and I don't even know what British is, the rest feels erm kind of like (pause) ah I can't even describe what British is.

8. In completing these steps, Van Kaam states that a description of the meanings and essences of the experience will then need to be constructed, as a way to represent the group as a whole (ibid). He refers to this description as the 'composite description' (bid).

4.1.7 How this step unfolded in practice-

This process comprises of the researcher's attempt to identify the themes of the universal group as a whole. I found myself re-engaging with the narratives of the participants individually and noted the similarities and differences between each of them on a plain piece of paper first, to make sense of the emerging themes. Once this was noted, I began organizing the themes that had been identified onto a chart, as I felt I needed a visual image to refer to. An example of this, is presented below:

Master Themes		**Sub Themes**
Identity	{	Earlier Childhood Perceptions
		Merged Preference
		Personal Preference
Mothering Practices	{	New born Practices
		Current Merged Practices
		Personal Preference
Influence	{	Family Influences
		Wider Community Influences
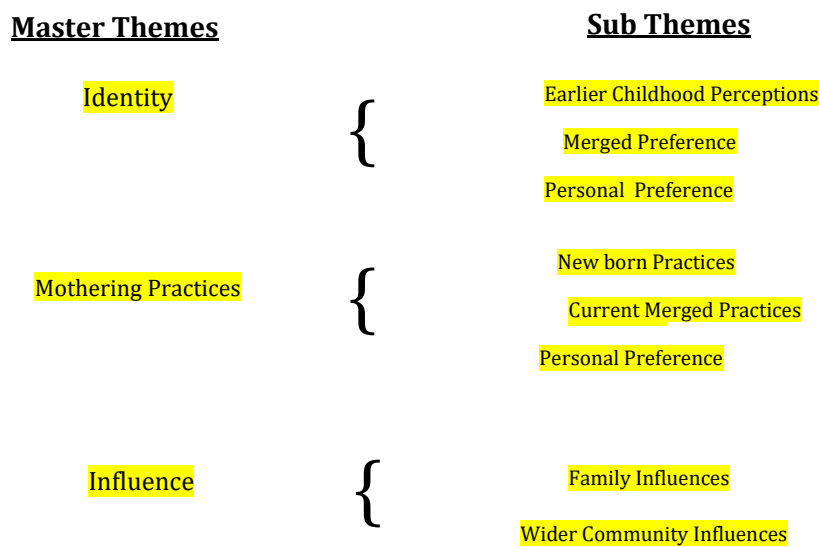
Each of the themes drawn were then described in detail to represent the similarities and differences between the participants themselves, with their alias names and verbatim statements included. I wanted readers of the dissertation to understand where the themes that were being described had emerged from and felt that by including the alias names and examples of the verbatim narratives as uttered by the participants themselves, they would gain a better understanding of my analysis process. Although this process seemed more lengthy and quite repetitive at times, I wanted to maintain a level of transparency, so other researchers seeking to adopt the same methods would gain a clearer understanding of my stance and to ensure that the themes that were being explored, genuinely matched the descriptions the participants had provided.

When this group process was attempted, the master theme of 'pressure', which had been previously identified, during the analysis of my own interview no longer held relevance in the same way, when combined with the experiences of the group as a whole. Rather than creating a separate theme then, I decided to allocate my experience of 'pressure' to the master theme of 'discipline', since the pressured feeling that I had described, had been experienced as a result of my attitudes to the child rearing disciplining practice. Renaming the master theme made it easier for me to merge our experiences together, without vital pieces of information being removed. An example of the composite process has been presented, in the findings section (located in the findings chapter in section 5.1, on page 82).

The modified Van Kaam method successfully captured the richness of my personal experience and the personal experiences of each of the eight participants, leaving very little room for researcher misinterpretation (and/or modification), due to its strict validation process (shown above in step 4). In the following chapter the findings drawn from the analysis process as described above, are presented and discussed.

5.0 Chapter 5: Findings

<u>5.1 Introduction</u>

The previous section has provided step-by-step examples of the entire data analysis process, in this section I present a summary of the findings drawn from the analysis. I have used excerpts from the interview transcript (in a non-sequential order*)* to narrate my personal story first, this is subsequently followed by a presentation of the individual stories of each of my eight participants. These stories are presented in my own words with examples of their interview transcripts. I would like to capture the entire quality of our experiences and feel that by presenting the findings as described in each of our interviews, readers of this dissertation will be able to make sense of each of our voices without facets of our individual experiences becoming lost, in an evocative way first, without interruption.

In the latter part of the findings chapter I present the results of my analysis. The themes drawn during my analysis are presented individually and later briefly viewed from a combined perspective, giving voice to the themes drawn from the group as a whole.

5.2 Demographic of Mothers Interviewed

The demographics of the mothers were collected during the initial phone conversation and discussed in greater detail throughout the interview. I decided to collect this information to help aid my process of analysis.

Table 2: Demographic information on participants interviewed

Name of Mother	Sex and Age of child at interview	Age of mother at child's Birth	Age at time of interview	Relationship status	Cultural heritage of child's father
Efya	Female, aged 6	17	23	Currently Single (co-parenting)	Nigerian
Ama	Male, aged 10	32	42	Married	Ghanaian,
Akua	Female, aged 4	33	37	Married	English, British
Esi	Female, aged 2	30	32	Married	Ghanaian
Adwoa	Male, aged 4 (currently)	37	42	Married	Ghanaian
Akosua	Male, Aged 8	21	29	Co-habiting (co-parenting)	British-Jamaican (his parents are Jamaican)
Abena	Female, Aged 10	16	26	Single	British-Ghanaian
Yaa Adoma	Female, Aged 3	29	32	Married	Sierra-Leone
Me	**Female, 6 Male, 3**	**23**	**30**	Co-habiting	**British Jamaican**

The data derived from the table above shows that although the mothers interviewed Identify as members of the same ethnic minority population group, there were many differences between them. The mothers were between the ages of 23-42 at the time of the interview and had become mothers at different ages whereby, two on the mothers had given birth to their children at age 16 and 17. This is a limitation of the current study as their ages at the time in which they became mothers would have most definitely impacted their transitions to motherhood and therefore their responses to the interview, as well as the studies overall findings. The children of the mothers interviewed were also between the ages of 2-10 as specified in the recruitment flyer. There were also differences in the sexes of the children of the mothers interviewed, as six of the mothers (myself included) had female children and four (myself included) had male children. Seven of the participants interviewed were also either married or cohabiting with their partner, whereas two mothers were single. Five of the mothers also had partners whose cultures differed from theirs.

Despite these differences however, there appeared to be no overall differences in the themes identified between the participants interviewed.

5.3 My personal Experience

> *'The most difficult part of birth is…when the soul of a woman must birth the mother inside her. The emotional labour pains of becoming a mother are far greater than the physical pangs of birth; these are the growing surges of your heart as it pushes out selfishness and fear and makes room for sacrifice and love, It is a private and silent birth of soul, but it is no less holy than the event of childbirth, perhaps it is even more sacred' (Kusek, 2010).*

The process of becoming a mother has been one of the most life transforming experiences I've ever had to endure. In giving birth to my child I have unwittingly given birth to my identity of mother, a deeply profound experience that cannot be fully anticipated nor premeditated, but one that can only be fully appreciated from a deeply personal level. I embarked on this project with the desire to understand more about my identity first and foremost and to explore more about how this identity informs my mothering style and other mothers who identify as second generation British migrants.

Growing up as British girl of second generation Ghanaian migrant descent, I always felt located somewhere between my Ghanaian culture and my British one, this was a feeling that was always felt but never fully articulated and which acted as an either-or dichotomy,

which I'd often fluctuate between. What I mean by this dichotomy is that I often referred to myself as Ghanaian or British, based on the external environments in which I would move, but never both. My self-identity was one in which I experienced in a state of flux, meaning it could never be fully defined; this is portrayed in the following quote from Ijeoma's Umebinyuo's poem, Diaspora blues:

'So, here you are

too foreign for home

too foreign for here

never enough for both'

(Umebinyuo, 2015, p.171).

For a long time I existed in this unclear space, I attempted to embrace both cultural identities but never felt fully whole or like I really belonged in Britain, Ghana or anywhere. In becoming a mother for the first time I felt a duty to make sense of my identity, my thoughts at the time were if I don't have a secure sense of who I am, where I have come from and how this identity may be being reflected in my mothering values, beliefs and overall style, then how will I be able to instil a secure sense of self identity in my child, who happens to be a member of the third generation? And thus this study was born.

During the interview with my supervisor I described the profound experience of going to Ghana for the first time and the realisation that whilst I had been identifying myself as solely Ghanaian or British (as previously stated above), when holidaying in the context of Ghana itself, I felt much like a British Ghanaian. This is described in the following excerpt;

> *'I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people, I guess I can only refer to my siblings, have created too' (from the master theme of Identity, see Appendix H, J8, p. 85).*

When asked about my identity in the present day context, I struggled to describe my understanding of my British Ghanaian identity but admitted that it is an identity, which merges my Ghanaian roots with my British upbringing and is one, which has been personally created. When thinking about my choice of mothering practices during the very

early stages of both children's lives, I recall that although I had a preference for a British way of caring for them, I felt pressured to adopt some British caring strategies, since the health professionals I came into contact with seemed to be advocating this. Specific Ghanaian practices were therefore chosen to resist this feeling of an externalised pressure, demonstrating a merged British Ghanaian mothering identity. These are described in the excerpts below:

> *'I just went with what the midwives said…in most things…* I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way' *(from the master theme of identity and the master theme of pressures, see appendix H, J21, J37, pp.82-89).*

> *'I would say that the things I did that were Ghanaian for my children were, well for my son if you are a boy born in Ghana you have to be circumcised, so I had him circumcised that was the thing that was a new-born practice that represents my Ghanaian identity. I breastfed… I co-slept with them, both of them… because in Ghana you don't leave the child on it's own, you want to protect the child so you sleep with the child or children' (from the master theme of mothering practices presented in a non-sequential order, see Appendix H, J15- 34, pp. 82-83).*

When reflecting over my present day mothering style, I explain that in regards to my child rearing practice of food preparation, although the desire to embrace more of a Ghanaian identity in my cooking preferences does indeed exist, my preferences have been mainly influenced by my British identity. This, I argue represents more of an eclectic approach which incorporates many cultural dishes, as opposed to a fixed set of solely Ghanaian dishes. This is shown in the following excerpt:

> *'My cooking is eclectic it's more open… what I am trying to say is that my British identity incorporates more of an eclectic approach to food, it isn't fixed, so many cultures have influenced my cooking style. However, if I want to hold on to my identity as a British Ghanaian woman I feel that I will need to incorporate more Ghanaian dishes into my cooking preferences and that's something I'm not doing right now… it's not a tension, but a desire to still hold on to a Ghanaian identity' (from the master theme of mothering practices, see Appendix H, J55-63, p. 84).*

Admittedly, during my interview I acknowledge that there remains a strong desire to keep elements of my Ghanaian culture alive, as described below:

> *'I never used to listen to Ghanaian music at all but I find that I am now intentionally listening to it so that my children will know about Ghana through the music...this is another way of passing my Ghanaian identity (from the master theme of mothering practices, see Appendix H J62, p. 84).*

Music in this capacity is therefore used as a thread designed to keep my Ghanaian identity current in my present day mothering journey and is transmitted to both children.

When discussing my child rearing practices towards the topic of educational attainment and strategies concerning my attitudes towards discipline and disciplining techniques, I admit that my mothering style appears to have been significantly influenced by my merged British Ghanaian identity and personal experiences. For example in regards to the topic of education I assert that my belief that education is important has been influenced by my Ghanaian identity, but that my British upbringing and personally lived experiences have influenced my preference of a honed and focused individual approach to education, this is described below:

> *'Education is very important in Ghana. I think that education is important…but I would like to think that as my daughter gets older I will want her to draw on whatever she's great at and enjoys…because of my own lived experience of not having anyone say you are really good at this particular thing lets grow this skill' (from the master theme of identity presented in a non-sequential order, see Appendix H, J94-104, p. 87).*

Similarly, when discussing the topic of discipline I highlight that my Ghanaian identity has influenced my perception that discipline should be used as a boundary reinforcement tool, to honour the authority of the parent in the parent-child relationship dynamic, but that my British upbringing, personal experiences and preferences have influenced my desire to remain attentive and to give voice to the emotional feelings of my children, as described below:

> *'…the Ghanaian way is that you respect your elders so the child doesn't have much autonomy… discipline is important to instil values in children… values of listening to authority, knowing that there is a place for authority, these are the types of values that I would say are why Ghanaian's discipline or why my parents disciplined me. If you don't do as you are told, you are punished… I feel discipline is important, that notion of discipline being important has been influenced by my Ghanaian culture…I don't physically touch them at all, my disciplining practice is…for them to go and sit in a reflexive space to calm down and to think about what has happened and then we discuss compromises later…It feels western to me (pause) because in school…they are now enacting the thinking chair or timeout chair' (from the master themes pressures presented in a non-sequential order, see Appendix H, J67-793, pp. 90-92).*

As the interview progresses, I reveal that I find myself experiencing an internal pressure to find the balance between my British and Ghanaian child rearing values and practices. This pressure is a theme which I assert existed during the earlier stages of both children's' lives

(highlighted in varying degrees in the excerpt's above) and which has continued to exist in my present day mothering style when it comes to the topic of discipline. This is described in further detail in the excerpt below:

> *'I'm struggling to find that balance between having a level of authority as a parent but still being mindful of their feelings. I find myself struggling with the idea of discipline everyday…because on the one hand, it would be easier to go with what I know or what's familiar… not because I want to smack but because I wonder if it is effective enough. I then have this anxiety that I am causing pain or that I am inflicting damage…even though my mothering style is very different from my mum's I still think she has influenced my mothering style…there was this loving and nurturing side to her, which I honour and I like to think I uphold...my experience is…I am going to use my lived experience not to fall back on it but to at least improve upon my mum's mothering style' (from the master theme of identity, see Appendix H, J103-J106, p. 88 and pressures, see Appendix H, J67-J83, pp. 90-92, presented in a non-sequential order).*

My current mothering style overall has therefore been largely influenced by my merged British Ghanaian identity, wider family relationships, experience of being mothered and most importantly by my personal preferences. I now view mothering as a tailor made journey, which is open to personal modification.

5.4 Efya's Experience

Efya was born and brought up in the United Kingdom to migrant Ghanaian parents. Her parents migrated and settled in the United Kingdom prior to her birth. Growing up as a British child of West African Ghanaian heritage, Efya recalled being teased by others in school for being African. As a result of this experience Efya started feeling a sense of embarrassment about her African identity during her formative years.

Despite her earlier experiences, Efya identifies as a black British woman with West African Ghanaian roots, this is described in the transcript below:

> *'I am a black woman with an African background who has been brought up in a Western society, which is British, I do also acknowledge that and embrace that as well because that is all I've known… even though I was born an brought up here there was a huge emphasis on where my parents were from and where my grandparents were from' (Appendix K, E58-E62).*

As described in the transcript above, Efya admits to embracing both her Ghanaian identity and her British one, but recognises that despite being born and brought up in the UK, her

family's influence has been largely significant in keeping her connected to her Ghanaian culture.

At the tender age of seventeen Efya became a mother for the first time, an experience that by her own admission had been met initially with fear and apprehension. When recalling her choice of care practices she expresses that during the initial stages of her daughter's life the majority of the practices enacted such as her decision to breastfeed, her choice of sleeping arrangements and child rearing personal skincare practices, had been chosen to represent her personal preferences, midwifery advices and family specific practices, this is described in the excerpt below:

> *'I did breastfeed, this decision was made on what I had been told and based on my own research, which stated that it was best…. my mum was pretty adamant but the advice came from both sides so it felt right' (Appendix K, E13-16)'.*

> *'She had a cot, I didn't really sleep with her when she was very tiny… my mum… taught me how to clean the belly button area, she taught me how to bath the baby with Shea butter' (Appendix K, E20-23).*

Efya drew on the support of the practitioners she came into contact with initially, but sought further support from her mother, a first generation Ghanaian migrant who at the time seemed to be offering practical child rearing tips. Although she was currently living alone at the time, Efya felt confident to draw on her mother's knowledge, which had been acquired during her own personal mothering journey, as described below.

> *'When I actually think back I think initially I did have a huge amount of support from my mum…it was a very intense hands-on type of teaching because we didn't live together so she would try and cram in as much information as possible' (Appendix K, E22).*

In regards to the topic of her present day mothering practice of food preparation, Efya expresses her enjoyment at cooking both Ghanaian and British dishes, as her daughter welcomes them both equally. Despite her desire to welcome both her British and Ghanaian dishes, Efya admits that she intentionally attempts to keep her Ghanaian culture alive through her cooking choices and language preferences. Since Efya's daughter is half Nigerian, Efya explains that she often encourages her daughter to learn both Twi (a Ghanaian dialect) and Yoruba (a Nigerian dialect). Efya draws on the support of her

mother, wider family in Ghana and daughter's Nigerian family in her attempt to keep the various elements of her identity alive. This is highlighted below:

> *'She eats mostly African Ghanaian dishes, so I'll cook her Jollof rice, yam and stew. She doesn't have a problem with eating these dishes and I make pasta and mash from time to time so when it comes to food… either way she's happy… I especially would hate to leave the Ghanaian side out because I think it's very important for them to be familiar with these dishes because it's an aspect that needs to be passed on through the generations' (Appendix K, E25-26).*

> *'My mum will speak Twi to her and when she's with her Dad and his family they tend to speak Yoruba to her too. So in terms of language she is sort of like absorbing the dialect. It's helping to make her feel proud of who she is' (Appendix K, E68).*

This combined approach is further emphasised in Efya's choice of disciplining methods and attitudes towards education in which she describes how she likes to combine aspects of her Ghanaian identity with her British one, as she attempts to form a personally created mothering style. She expresses that growing up in an African household, she experienced a difference in the *disciplining* techniques that were being employed by her Ghanaian parents and British teachers in school. This is described in the transcript below:

> *'So in the British culture you are not supposed to hit your kids obviously, whereas in the Ghanaian culture that's not really an issue. When I say hitting I'm not meaning…one that harms or damages the child physically…this method was used quite frequently to keep me in check. But when I went to school and saw that this wasn't the same, as the teachers would use detentions or time-out chairs, it seemed totally different from what I was used to… but despite this clear difference I felt that the two worked well together' (Appendix K, E37).*

Efya views discipline as an important child rearing boundary reinforcement disciplining practice, which teaches her daughter about the importance of respectful behaviour. This view by her own admission has been influenced by her personal upbringing and awareness of what she perceives as the Ghanaian cultural approach to discipline. When discussing her disciplining technique Efya expresses her preference for the use of spoken communication. Communication she explains acts as a key function to her disciplining method. This is communicated in the following transcripts:

> *'The respect that you give to your parents is… very important...I teach my daughter to have respect for her parents. There should be respect on both sides but it should be higher for your parents, because they have more wisdom and have seen more and know what you are going through, so can help or guide you' (Appendix K, E31).*

> '...Communication is very important because at the end of the day children are expressive individuals anyway so having that conversation is necessary, it provides them with a level of understanding… growing up we weren't given any kind of explanation… it's something I've learnt along the way from being brought up in the UK' (Appendix K, E40-E42).

Similarly, when discussing the topic and attitudes towards her daughter's educational achievements, Efya acknowledges that her experience of being brought up by both parents has influenced her to expect higher levels of academic attainment for her own child. When unpacking this topic further Efya expresses her desire for her daughter to be personally interested in her educational pursuits as this is an aspect which she confesses appeared to have been lacking in her own upbringing. This is expressed in the following excerpt:

> '…when I was growing up there was a huge expectation on me academically (laugh), so in some respects I think I have the same expectation for my child as well. I mean she is pretty young now so I try not to badger her too much…this is definitely from me and from my experience of growing up in the UK and from school as well' (Appendix K, E43-44).

To summarise, Efya's current day mothering practices are therefore being largely influenced by her British-Ghanaian identity, her personal experiences, her family relationships and personal preferences.

5.5 Ama's Story

Ama was born and brought up in the UK to migrant Ghanaian parents who voluntarily decided to migrate to the UK, prior to Ama and her twin sister's birth. Despite feeling elements of embarrassment about the Ghanaian aspect to her identity initially, Ama has chosen to embrace both aspects of her identity equally. Ama therefore describes herself as a British woman but recognises that the colour of her skin links her identity to her Ghanaian culture. This is described further in the transcript below:

> 'I see myself as Ghanaian but I can Identify the fact that I am British first because I was born here, but like I explain to people when they ask me where I am from, they are asking me where I am from purely because of the way I look and because of that I will always say Ghana… I was born here but I am Ghanaian so…that is why I would say both' (Appendix L, A7).

When Ama became a mother for the first time 10 years ago, she drew on the support of her mother, a retired midwife of Ghanaian descent, her aunts and wider family members. Though her mothers training meant that she could seek her advice on matters relating to

her new born son from a British perspective, she was encouraged to participate in specific Ghanaian child rearing tasks. These tasks consisted of a particular type of baby massage and the decision to have her son circumcised. This is discussed in further detail in the following transcripts:

> 'My mum was a midwife for 49 years so any issues that I had I could always refer back to her, but like I said she is a born and bred Ghanaian so she would do or encourage me to do things her way' (Appendix L, A13).

> 'I brought him up more traditionally as a Ghanaian because that is all I know and because that is how my mum did it. So things like when he was born… arranging his circumcision, massaging his legs, stretching his limbs and his body, shaping his head. To someone else these things would be quite alien, but to me these things are natural as these practices are regular Ghanaian practices and are what feels familiar' (Appendix L, A8).

Although Ama opted for Ghanaian child rearing practices during the initial stages of her son's life, she admits that in regards to her present day mothering practices they seem to be representing both her Ghanaian and British identity. When discussing the topic of her cooking preferences Ama explains that she often combines her Ghanaian dishes with British one's, creating a type of merged Ghanian-British twist in her cooking, this is described below:

> 'I get him to eat whatever we're eating as a family, I try not to encourage too much 'I don't like this' because it is important to taste it, so now he eats a lot more traditional food because he has spent a lot more time in Ghana… now he'll have the Shitto with chips…if he wants a bit of spice he'll add it there, so you can mix it' (Appendix L, A19-21).

When discussing Ama's attitude towards discipline, she acknowledges that her Ghanaian heritage has contributed to her view, which suggests that discipline is an important child-rearing task helping to instil the norms and values of the Ghanaian culture. When expressing what this looks like in practice, Ama discloses her preference for an open form of communication as opposed to the physical forms of discipline she has seen some Ghanaian family members enacting. This is highlighted below:

> 'I prefer to have an open discussion with my son, he's 10. You can scream and shout all you want, you can beat them a hundred times but if you have to do that a hundred times that means the message hasn't been clear, something is not working. I get angry just like everybody else but I think some of the lengths that I've seen used in the past from specific Ghanaians are extreme. I like my child to be disciplined, I want to instil in him the basic culture that I learnt growing up, because my mum was born and bred in Ghana, but she was very open and modern in the way she disciplined us…it is more of a British influence and

that way my son knows that he can come to me with anything even if it will upset me'
(Appendix L, A28-A43).

As described in the transcript above Ama expresses a desire to pass on her Ghanaian culture to her son, yet chooses to merge both her Ghanaian and British cultural influences together, to create a modern type of child rearing practice reminiscent of her mothers mothering approach.

When discussing the topic of education Ama acknowledges that her experience of her specific Ghanaian upbringing and her experience of her black British identity has contributed to her decision to have her son enrolled to various extra curricular activities. She hopes to keep her son enrolled in these activities with the view that in engaging with peers of various nationalities, her son will develop a sense of pride about his differences. This is discussed in the transcript below:

> *'Our parents had a lot of time for us and I think that may be very different to other households because there's four of us… we were exposed to a lot of activities. So for me I always think I don't really want my child to lack anything because I don't remember my parents coming home and saying no you can't have that or you can't do this...it's a black British influence' (Appendix L, A45-48).*

> *'I expose my son to the multicultural society around him because I don't want him to be blindsided and think he's different so he can't achieve, no. I share with him that even though there are differences, he can work with his difference, he can move with different people form different cultures…you don't have to be ashamed of being African' (Appendix L, 48).*

Ama worries that her son may loose the Ghanaian part of his identity and wishes for her son to stay connected to his Ghanaian heritage and to maintain his sense of open mindedness. This she admits is based on her own personal preference. She therefore encourages her son to embrace her husband's Muslim faith alongside her Christian one and draws on wider community members who happen to belong to the British Ghanaian population group, to 'strengthen' her son's sense of merged British-Ghanaian identity. This is reflected in the transcripts below:

> *'…I am of a mixed faith marriage. My husband is of a Muslim background and I am Christian… So religion has played a little part in that because I take my son to the church he takes him to the mosque… I want him to understand and respect both religions because I don't want him to be judgmental' (Appendix L, A66-A67).*

> *'The Ghanaian community around here is lovely. They are very nice, supportive and caring. We are all very close as a result of this community tendency that Ghanaians have wherever they go'* (Appendix L, A68).

In summary Ama's mothering style at present is currently being influenced by her personally lived experiences, her personal preferences and experience of being mothered, she embraces both her British Ghanaian identity, yet has a desire to keep her Ghanaian identity alive in her current day mothering style.

5.6 Akua's Story

Akua is a second-generation Ghanaian migrant who happens to belong to the British Ghanaian population group and was born and brought up in the UK, to migrant Ghanaian parents. As a Second generation British Ghanaian, Akua has always solely identified as a Ghanaian, despite the fact that she was born and raised as a British individual, with a British passport.

When asked about her identity in her present day context, Akua recalls a turning point in her perception of her identity, in which a conversation about nationalities led her colleague to comment that she appears more British than Ghanaian. Based on the feedback received from those around her, Akua now acknowledges and remains more open to embracing her dual British Ghanaian identity as expressed in the transcript below:

> *'…I always say Ghanaian but people find that strange, given that I have been raised here. I have a British passport so I guess in reality I consider myself as having a dual identity…it's just the way people see me…I think irrespective of my skin colour I guess people do see me as British'* (Appendix L, AK3-Ak5).

Akua became a mother for the first time four years ago. When asked about this experience she recalls that at the time she wanted to remain mindful of her partners English identity when opting for the Ghanaian new born child rearing practices, that were being advocated by her mother and other members of her family. She therefore stayed with her mum and aunt during the first three weeks of her daughter's life.

Although Akua had contact with the midwives during this time, she drew quite heavily on the advice being offered by her mother and aunt. They were advocating Ghanaian care practices by encouraging her to bath her daughter in the first few days of her life despite the midwives insistence that this was not necessary, taught her the correct ways of cleaning the umbilical chord and encouraged her to breastfeed and co-sleep, as expressed in the transcripts posted below:

> *'Well my partner is English so in terms of things I did for my daughter initially, I had to be mindful of him…my mum was quite keen to get involved and help out. She wanted to support me... for the first three weeks or so, I did go to stay with my mum and my auntie without my partner… she was doing some of the things that they would do back home, whether it was the way that they deal with the umbilical chord, with the technique she used to clean it. Also I remember my midwife or health visitor saying to me well you don't have to bath the baby in the first few days and my mum was very much like oh no back home we do it this way' (Appendix L, Ak7).*

> *'I took the decision to breastfeed and I breastfed her for 15 months without her needing the bottle at all, but then because of that I also opted to co-sleep as well, so I would have her in the bed next to me. The midwives view was well actually you get the baby sleeping in the cot by itself quite early, but my daughter was with me throughout. My mum said they used to do this in Ghana as well' (Appendix L, A12).*

Akua admits that at the time she struggled when contemplating the most appropriate ways to take care of her daughter as she often had her mother and others around her offering suggestions as to how she should be caring for her daughter. These suggestions she explains had been based on the techniques that worked well for them during their own mothering journeys. This is expressed in the following transcript:

> *'In preparing for the arrival of my daughter I kind of brought books from the UK and read about the birth, things that you do, what the mother goes through and how the process works in terms of body and I had been reading up on these things from a book. So I was trying to implement the teachings from the books I had read, but my mum would say no we don't do that' (Appendix L, Ak9).*

In regards to Akua's present day mothering practices she admittedly draws on the support of her family members and colleagues when dealing with her parenting concerns. She believes that mothering is an individual phenomenon, which should be based on the mother's personal preferences and personal relationship with her child. This is expressed in the transcript below:

> *'…my aunt has been very significant as well…she is a little more tempered in her approach. My sisters are also significant…if I am getting frustrated because my mum is saying I should be doing something because in Ghana they do it, I ask my sisters what they think'*
> *(Appendix L, A29).*

'I used to think I was a really patient person (laugh) it is really a learning experience and you know the colleagues at work who have recently had children will ask for advice and the one thing I have taken away is that there isn't a one size fits all in mothering. If you want an opinion on how to mother, everyone has one' (Appendix L, Ak39).

When Akua was asked about her child rearing cooking preferences she acknowledges that she often cooks British dishes in her daily life but will opt for a more Ghanaian pallet during visits to her mothers home, therefore merging her two cultures together. This is demonstrated below:

'I would say when we are at home we tend to eat in a more British and western way but when we are with my family in the city then we tend to eat in a more Ghanaian way' (Appendix L, Ak17).

When discussing her attitudes towards discipline and education however, Akua admits to drawing on the values picked up from her own upbringing when disciplining her daughter. She describes her mother's Ghanaian approach to discipline and education during her earlier years, as one, which has contributed to her strength, sense of independence and well-mannered disposition and therefore feels a desire to uphold this. As expressed below:

'I'm taking my cue from my experiences and the way that my mother has raised me… I just want to impart those same things, because I feel that they are good values and that's important to me' (Appendix L, Ak22).

As Akua's partner happens to be English and has children from previous relationships, she often feels misunderstood by her partner who does not fully understand her mothering approach and overall style. This is described below:

'My partner has children from previous relationships so I tend to see one of his daughters more regularly…I think it creates conflict with my partner because he is very much, 'oh, I want the girls to be care free and kind of be independent and learn their own minds and he kind of just lets them do whatever they would like…whereas I wasn't raised in that way. My mum was very Ghanaian… I mean she was very strict, very disciplined, very focused on education. I would say that the Ghanaian way is having to be polite to your elders… being well mannered and well behaved and even just…having to be presentable' (Appendix L, Ak21-36).

Despite feeling at odds with her partner and family at times, Akua now views the mothering journey as a personal process, which develops over time.

5.7 Esi's Story

Esi is a second generation British Ghanaian, born and brought up in the UK to migrant Ghanaian parents, who identifies as a British Ghanaian. Although she admits to identifying as a British Ghanaian, Esi has always felt a huge sense of pride about the Ghanaian aspect to her identity as reflected in the transcript below:

> *'Well growing up…I would always go to the Ghanaian or African restaurants instead of the more Western one's, I would always listen to Ghanaian music. I love Ghanaian music and I chose to marry a Ghanaian man' (Appendix N, E44).*

With this sense of Ghanaian pride, Esi chose to marry a Ghanaian man out of concern that she would loose her Ghanaian identity, if she married someone outside of the culture, as reflected in the transcript below:

> 'I wanted my child to have that element of Ghana that I love and marrying a Ghanaian man from Ghana made me feel more connected to my roots' (Appendix N, E49).

As a result of this, Esi feels deeply connected to her Ghanaian culture but recognises that she also has a British element to her identity. When asked about this identity however she admitted that she finds it difficult to make sense of what the British element to her identity means to her. This is described below:

> 'I can't define it…but I would always feel British too'
> (Appendix N, E43-44).

Esi became a mother for the first time two years ago. During this time, she drew on the support of her Ghanaian mother and wider family members. She participated in various new-born child caring practices, such as that of a specific baby massage and outdooring naming ceremony, which also happens to be a Ghanaian practice. These practices are described in the following transcript:

> *'Well when my child was born, my mum and some elder members of my family came to support me and the baby. So my mum was responsible for bathing my daughter. She used a special massaging technique, with a really warm cloth and Shea butter. My baby also had an outdooring naming ceremony where she was named after an elder, named after the day*

she was born and given a Christian name… these practices are specific to my cultural tribe and what I've been used to seeing in my family' (Appendix N, E10-E12).

As admitted above, Esi chose to adopt the Ghanaian practices that her family members were advocating, as these practices felt familiar. Despite her initial preference of Ghanaian specific child rearing practices however, when discussing her current day mothering practices of food preparation, Esi acknowledges her preference for British dishes. She explains that since British dishes are much easier to prepare, she currently combines both aspects of her British and Ghanaian identity together in the dishes she currently prepares for her daughter. This is reflected in the transcript below:

'I prefer British food to be honest…they are much easier to prepare than Ghanaian food. Before I was married I would eat pasta, chips…she eats more British foods like spaghetti and mash potato when she's with me but when we go to my mums, my mum will give her Kenkey or Chicken ' (Appendix N, E18-47).

When discussing the topic of discipline, Esi acknowledges that as her daughter is only currently two, she is hoping to teach her daughter about the importance of discipline which she describes acts as an important boundary reinforcement tool.

'I think boundaries are important and…I want my child to feel free to come to me, this is very important' (Appendix N, E23-25).

As the discussion proceeds, Esi explains that she found it difficult to speak with the elder members of her Ghanaian family and wider Ghanaian community members during her childhood, as they were too old fashioned and seemed less open-minded. She would like to maintain an open stream of communication in her household between herself and her daughter, by giving value to her daughter's sense of self-expression. This is described in the transcript below:

'I remember, growing up I found it difficult to speak to my elders because they were too old school. I want my daughter to feel able to express and communicate with me so I can support her. It has come from my own experience, my upbringing and my understanding of the Ghanaian community who moved to the UK to rebuild their lives' (Appendix N, E20-24).

Esi expresses that her belief in the benefits of parental communication stems from her personal experience of being mothered and her awareness of what she perceives to be the British cultures tolerance for open communication in the family dynamic. Although she recognises the value of upholding this dynamic, she worries that if she allows this stream of

communication to proceed without boundaries being placed, her child may loose respect for her or view her as being too soft. She expresses that as her husband holds old-fashioned Ghanaian views, he influences her to adopt a softer stance much similar to that of her mothers. This is described below:

'My husband is old school…he was born in Ghana and his ways or mind-set remind me of my dad. He influences me to want to be like my mum, representing a softer approach…I don't want to be a push over though, just softer…based on what I've seen of the British or western approach is that… there isn't enough discipline in the household' (Appendix N, E16-25).

Esi is therefore aiming to merge her Ghanaian and British views on discipline together, however as her daughter is only currently two she is hoping to instil these values much further along the mothering process. In regards to the subject of education, Esi values education as an important basic life skill that needs to be acquired, a view which she believes, has been reiterated by the British society in which she has been brought up. This is demonstrated in the transcript below:

'I think education is important, it just is. If my daughter were to want to be a musician I would say have the basic qualifications to fall back on before perusing your dreams. Education is key in life… it isn't just a Ghanaian thing, this is…the society in which we live' (Appendix N, E29-30).

Esi has high hopes for her daughter's academic prospects and recognises that her British upbringing has greatly influenced this perspective. As a practicing Christian she admits to drawing on her faith and church congregation when seeking extra support for her mothering decisions in the present. This is reflected below:

'The church congregation have been extremely influential… they are supportive as they help to instil life values. Church reminds us of what is important in life and helps to keep my family grounded… reminding you that the spiritual world is important and comes before the material world we live in' (Appendix N, E31-33).

For Esi, her religious values and beliefs help to keep her spiritually minded when making decisions for her daughter, a view picked up from her specific Ghanaian family who happen to view Christianity in the same way.

To summarise then, Esi's mothering practices, beliefs and values are currently being influenced by her British Ghanaian identity and upbringing, her personal experiences of being mothered and by her personal views and preferences.

5.8 Adowa's Story

Adowa is a British Ghanaian who happens to belong to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group residing in the UK, whose parents migrated to the UK prior to her birth. As a British Ghanaian growing up in the UK, Adowa always felt more British than Ghanaian as she experienced a huge disconnect to the Ghanaian culture.   This is emphasized below:

> '*When I was younger, I believed that I was British...I also didn't feel like I had any ties to Ghana, apart from my family. My parents and wider family were the only connection I felt I had'* (Appendix O, Ad6-8).

Adowa recalls a turning point during her university student years in which she encountered peers of different African nationalities who exuded a sense of pride about their African heritage. She discloses that in witnessing this, she felt more confident about embracing her Ghanaian identity, as disclosed in the transcript below:

> '*I went through a period…when I went to college or university and met other peers from different cultures. These were the people I hung around with who influenced me to have a different view of life. They were just very proud… and invited everyone to share their culture with them. I started to think…I'm happy to be Ghanaian…and very proud' (Appendix O, Ad8).*

With her newfound sense of pride in her Ghanaian heritage Adowa attempted to embrace her identity by organising a trip to Ghana, yet found that on arrival the individuals she had encountered at various places of attraction were questioning her Ghanaian heritage by asking her about her country of origin. This is described in further detail in the following transcript:

> '*When I did go to Ghana, they would turn around and say that I am not a Ghanaian and it wasn't subtle, this happened everyday when we were out there. When we went to places like the national theatre or the places of national attraction…they would ask where do we come from and with my accent, I would say that I am British, yet I'd always think oh British people don't want to accept me either' (Appendix O, Ad8).*

Adwoa recalls feeling torn between her British culture and her Ghanaian one. In toying with this difficult phenomenon Adwoa found solace by drawing on her family and members of her wider community for support, in coming to terms with accepting her identity. When asked about how she feels about her identity in the present day context, Adwoa declares that she now identifies as a British Ghanaian and therefore chooses to embrace both aspects of her identity. She describes her British Ghanaian identity as one, which has been personally created, whereby she embraces aspects of her Ghanaian culture by adjusting it to fit into her British context. This is disclosed in the following transcript:

> *'Because of the influence from others within my family and outside…I just grew to be happy in my own skin…I've noticed in my family and other families I have seen that as we age something that may have been done by the older generation hasn't been continued. I am…tweaking bits that I like… into the British way of life…but keeping the culture alive'* (Appendix O, Ad8-59).

Adwoa and her migrant Ghanaian husband became parents for the first time four years ago. When discussing her experience, Adwoa admits that at the time she had the privilege of drawing on the support of her mother, during the first year of her son's life, this is expressed in the following transcript:

> *'You have a child your mum comes to stay with you it is priceless. I don't know of many cultures that do that… it is more of a partnership or like a teacher student relationship and it is just absolutely priceless the support you receive from your mum for the first year'* (Appendix O, Ad27).

With this teaching dynamic, Adwoa's mum encouraged her to bath her son contrary to her midwives advice, using a specific Ghanaian bathing technique. The practices consisted of her son's limbs being stretched and head being shaped, following his discharge from the hospital. Adwoa experienced this process as an intimate one, which helped to strengthen the relationship between her son and herself. The new-born child rearing practice of significance to the Ghanaian culture that Adwoa chose to adopt was that of male circumcision. This is reiterated in the transcript below:

> *'After you give birth and the first thing the midwife says is don't wash the baby for a few days… and my mum would say no wash him…*I listened more to my mother than to what the midwives were suggesting…*even the washing of the baby it seems such an intimate thing, like you are building a relationship with the child. It is something unspoken. So what you do is you shape the head and you kind of like stretch the limbs and you massage the body and all of that, it is all bonding at the same time…I forgot to mention…he was even circumcised'* (Appendix O, Ad30-58).

When discussing her present day child rearing practices Adwoa admits that she still draws on the support of her family members as they have demonstrated the ways that worked well for them. Despite Adwoa's heavy family influence, she is worried that her son may disregard aspects of his Ghanaian identity over time. This is expressed below in the following transcript:

> *'I worry…because none of me or my siblings speak the language so that is a part of the culture that has already been lost, it is gone never coming back…my son does not speak any of the Ghanaian languages so I feel like I have nothing to pass on to him. So therefore I'm thinking something else is bound to get lost that he won't be able to pass on to his children' (Appendix O, Ad60).*

To combat her fears when discussing the topic of food preparation, Adwoa admits to opting for a more Ghanaian pallet when cooking for her son and husband. Her Ghanaian preference has meant that her son has had to get used to the chillies often used in many of her dishes. Adwoa wants her son to embrace his Ghanaian heritage and hopes to keep her culture alive through her cooking preferences. She has even taught him how to eat with his hand, a practice often encouraged in Adwoa's household and by her wider Ghanaian family. By introducing him to Ghanaian dishes, Adwoa hopes to keep him familiar with the dishes cooked by members of his Ghanaian family and wider community. This is highlighted in the following transcript:

> *'…in my household we definitely have more of a spicier pallet and so my son had to embrace that. He had to get used to it…I would say here take a little bit, then I'd let him try it again until eventually he started to prefer spice…he knows how to eat with his hand and he likes Jollof too. He has got to be able to eat our food because if he goes to an aunt's house he needs to be able to eat what is being cooked' (Appendix O, Ad35- 36).*

When discussing the topic of education Adwoa discloses her experience of having to give up her dreams of a gymnastic career, to please her Ghanaian parents who had high expectations for her academic progression. As a result of her personal experience, Adwoa now recognises the importance of creative endeavours and chooses to encourage her son to engage in extra curricular activities. She hopes to introduce him to the idea that he has various career opportunities available to him. This is further expressed in the following transcript:

> *'Before it was all about reading your books… now I am going to let my son be creative…this is what I am learning and trying to instil, it is not always about being academic, he can be an athlete, or a designer, or a creator' (Appendix O, Ad39-42).*

Adwoa explains that when she was much younger her parents often took her and her siblings to various holiday destinations around the UK or Ghana and in doing so, they started to feel comfortable engaging with others of different cultures in different social environments. As a result of this Adwoa encourages her son to connect with others in the hope that her son will experience himself in the same way, yet acknowledges that this particular desire represents her personal experience of being brought up in the UK to migrant Ghanaian parents. This is highlighted below:

> *'It really did turn me around when I went to Ghana and also in my parents taking me and my siblings away it made us feel like we can stand up even if we are the only black one's we can do things, we can achieve. They took us out of our comfort zone to experience different things and to not be afraid. It is a positive thing and I want my son to experience this too'* (Appendix O, Ad44).

In regards to the subject of discipline, Adwoa discloses that her migrant Ghanaian family chose to discipline Adwoa and her siblings through the use of open communication as opposed to a physical form of discipline, therefore merging their Ghanaian identities and their British mind-set's, together. As a result of their merged perspectives, Adwoa adopts the same method with her son or will often take things away as a form of discipline. This process has been entirely influenced by her British upbringing and not particularly related to her Ghanaian heritage. This is disclosed in the following transcript:

> *'…when my parents came here they were determined to bring up British children…but we are Ghanaian at the same time…they merged the two cultures together…my parents had to realise there was a different way to discipline us…both my mum and dad…would communicate… rather than just beating us…now with my son my first point of call is to talk about things with him'* (Appendix O, Ad37-50).

5.9 Akosua's Story

Akosua parents were born in Ghana but migrated to the UK prior to her birth. As a second generation Ghanaian migrant Akosua identifies as a British Ghanaian, valuing her British and Ghanaian influences, equally. Growing up in a Ghanaian household Akosua always felt solely Ghanaian. However she acknowledges that she feels British and has memories of growing up in the UK too and therefore chooses to embrace both, in a way that feels meaningful to her. This is expressed in the following transcript:

> *'I guess me being British makes me feel like I have a sense of security… It is like I am part of something, in the way that I can go to Ghana and feel Ghanaian when I am there, I feel being British makes me feel included here too, it is like I am part of this society, I feel proud to be British too…they are both important parts of my identity'* (Appendix P, Ako8-11).

Akosua and her British Jamaican boyfriend who happens to belong to the second generation of Jamaican migrant population group, born and brought up in the UK, became parents for the first time eight years ago. As Akousua had given birth to a male child roughly around the same time that her nephew was born, both her and her sister chose to have their sons circumcised. Akosua's awareness of this Ghanaian tradition meant that she felt no hesitations when opting to have this procedure done, representing a solely Ghanaian child rearing practice. This is discussed in the following transcripts:

> *'Ghanaians believe that we should have our sons circumcised, so obviously I had to get that sorted out, which I was happy to do…I know it is not just Ghanaians that choose to circumcise but in the question of which practice is British or Ghanaian, this was the only Ghanaian practice I participated in'* (Appendix P, Ako23-25).

As the interview transpires Akosua explains that as her son got a little older, she started feeding him the jars of baby food sold throughout the UK, whilst supplementing him with Cerelac, a Ghanaian specific preference. She also chose to bathe him in a bucket, a practice that from her perspective represents her Ghanaian identity. Despite these few activities however, Akosua emphasizes that from her perspective there really is no difference between the Ghanaian or British ways of caring for a child. This is expressed in the transcript below:

> *'…also his bath, I think as he got older he started to bath with a bucket and my non Ghanaian friends would say why are you allowing your child to bath with a bucket. This to me is a Ghanaian practice that Ghanaian's use that non-Ghanaians might not understand…he would also eat the food from the jar like other British or English children would normally eat… the only difference actually is that I gave him Cerelac… this is a Ghanaian preference but apart from these things I would say everything else was the same as what other British people would do…there really is no difference'* (Appendix P, Ako26).

Akosua at the time therefore picked the practices that were of personal value from both her British and Ghanaian cultural influences. In regards to her current child caring practices of food preparation, Akosua explains that her present day cooking preferences also seem to be reflecting both aspects of her identity. This is reflected in the following transcript:

> '*He loves a bit of Ghanaian food, his favourite is Banku and I wonder how he even likes it because I think he has only eaten it about three times in his lifetime.* I make a mixture of different dishes it isn't mainly Ghanaian at all to be honest…I mean sometimes I might make

chicken with gravy rather than a Ghanaian stew or…I might make chips or pasta here and there, or lamb chops or steak' (Appendix P, Ako42-45).

Similarly, when discussing the topic of discipline Akosua explains that she was taught to respect her elders by her migrant Ghanaian parents and has started to teach her son about the importance of this belief. She therefore views discipline as a boundary reinforcement tool and acknowledges that this has been influenced by her Ghanaian identity. On further exploration however Akosua explains that in-order to teach her son about the concept of respect in the parent child dynamic and to help him understand appropriate forms of behaviour, she tries to create room for open discussions in her household. Akosua therefore recognizes the importance of communication, a practice which she implies has been encouraged by the British society she grew up in. These points are addressed in the following transcripts:

> *'I think it is important to voice your opinion but still listen to your elders. I am the mother and he is the child, what I say goes. I grew up in a house where I was looked after, but I was influenced by friends and others outside, I want him to grow up to know that even if others outside influence him, he knows how to be or behave' (Appendix P, Ako50-52).*

> *'…you need to communicate. I remember thinking when I was younger, why is my mum beating me… Ghanaian people don't talk…I'm sorry but this is the reality…so it is more of British view I think…it is not beatings children need, it is talking they need' (Appendix P, Ako60-63).*

In regards to the topic of her son's educational attainment Akosua expresses that her knowledge of the Ghanaian educational system and the costs involved for those accessing it, has helped her to value the British educational system. She therefore motivates her son to strive to be the best and honours his ability to voice any struggles he may be having, without fear. This she explains has come from her personally lived experiences and preferences, as reflected in the transcripts below:

> 'I tell him it doesn't matter if you are not the best, strive to be the best because there is always room for improvement and you can always work your way up… it is my knowledge of Ghana and knowing in Ghana you have to pay school fees. I don't want him to fail at school, I want him to reach his full potential' (Appendix P, Ako65-66).

> *'I could have worked harder in school or put in a lot more effort…my thing at the time was that I couldn't ask for help, because I was so scared of the response I would receive. So I try to teach my son to dismiss that fear and I say to him even if you are afraid, if you do not ask you will never know'* (Appendix P, Ako66-73).

Akosua's current mothering journey is therefore being influenced mainly by both elements of her British- Ghanaian identity, as she is currently choosing between the qualities she wants to embrace or discard. Although Akosua recognizes that her partner has significantly influenced some of her more harsh and strict child rearing decisions, she admits that she is learning to find her personal style. This is discussed in the transcript below:

> '*the father of my son is not a Ghanaian… he is totally British, his parents are Jamaicans born and brought up in Jamaica but he is more British and hasn't seen what it's like in Jamaica really as he was born here. So he finds my strict approach too harsh. He doesn't understand my way sometimes*' (Appendix P, *Ako20- 77*)

> '*I think that there is no way to be a parent, you just find your own way to be honest, so sometimes I think…differently*' (Appendix P, Ako77)

5.10 Abena's Story

Abena is a second-generation migrant born to Ghanaian parents who migrated to the UK prior to her birth. Abena identifies as a British Ghanaian despite the fact the she has never been to Ghana. She embraces both elements of her identity, viewing herself as a Ghanaian by culture and British by birth, as highlighted in the following transcript:

> '*I am British because I was born and brought up here and this is all I know but I'm a Ghanaian because…that is my culture and heritage and where I come from, originally. I love my culture…*I am definitely a bit of both' (Appendix Q, Ab7-8).

Abena became a mother for the first time nine years ago at the tender age of sixteen. As Abena's mother had passed away suddenly, a month before her daughter's birth, Abena's aunt flew over from Ghana to take care of her, her siblings and the baby (as her father had left the family home prior to her mother's death). Due to Abena's young age her aunt acted as a role model, demonstrating the most traditional ways to care for her baby. This is disclosed in the transcript below:

> 'I was a very young mum… I was sixteen at the time and my siblings and myself were just too young, we were minors so my aunt came from Ghana shortly after my mum's death to take care of us and of course the baby. She helped me with the baby in some really odd way' (Appendix Q, Ab9-10).

'She would get a very warm cloth and pour water on the baby's tummy and stretch her limbs and hold her arms and legs…my daughter would fall asleep during this process. I was scared initially thinking she would harm her but she loved it' (Appendix Q, Ab11).

Abena found her aunt's child caring bathing methods strange at first particularly as the midwives she came into contact with had already demonstrated the most effective ways of bathing her daughter. When Abena witnessed her daughter responding well to her aunt's caring methods, she chose to enact the same practices. However, when she came into contact with the health care professionals at her local general practice, she was met with resistance when she shared her methods with them. This is highlighted below:

'Well because I was young and my mum had passed away, the health care professionals visited us twice a week, but when I would explain how I bath the baby they would say: "don't do that, you shouldn't stretch the limbs you will cause the baby harm". My aunt showed me how to carry the baby on my back with the cloth like they do in Ghana…one time, just the once I carried her on my back with the cloth on my way to the surgery to see the health visitors and they were like you shouldn't do that, you need a baby carrier to support her neck and I was like no this is what happens in Ghana all the time and the babies necks I have seen are fine' (Appendix Q, Ab14-17).

'…they…would complain if I would take her to the surgery with the baby on my back… almost dismissing the Ghanaian traditional way as less than or …favouring the British or western way' (ibid).

Abena was surprised to hear differing modes of advice, yet chose to uphold the Ghanaian traditional ways of caring for her daughter, due to her daughter's positive response.

As the interview proceeds, Abena explains that though her aunt supported her during the earlier stages of her daughter's life, her individual mothering journey has been one, which has had to adapt over time. As the eldest daughter of her mother, Abena's personal circumstances and family relationships have contributed to her desire to hold on to her culture more closely.

'I want the culture alive because my sisters and I, we speak the language frequently but because our mum isn't here we are loosing it… they've influenced me to want to keep the Ghanaian influence alive' (Appendix Q, Ab26-50).

When discussing her modern day mothering practices in the present, Abena explains that she became eager to cook Ghanaian dishes, as she wanted to hold on to aspects of her

mother's Ghanaian culture more closely, particularly as the culture represents her mother's essence. By embracing her Ghanaian identity more closely her daughter who is now nine years old, enjoys Abena's Ghanaian cooking preferences, as highlighted below:

> *'She loves Ghanaian food, I must say I am so proud of myself for learning to cook Ghanaian dishes, she loves eating fufu and Jellof rice, I mean if she could eat fufu for breakfast, lunch and dinner, she would' (Appendix Q, Ab22).*

> *'…when my mum passed, I became more eager to learn, I hope to be half the mum she was to us, so cooking Ghanaian dishes for me is an important skill to keep the Ghanaian culture alive' (Appendix Q, Ab23).*

In regards to the topic of discipline however, Abena admits that she currently combines both her British and Ghanaian influences when dealing with her daughter's disciplining methods. When asked to distinguish her cultural influences, Abena explains that her Ghanaian identity informs her belief in discipline, acting as a boundary reinforcement child rearing practice. However, Abena expresses her preference of a communicative approach, which leaves room for open discussions. This desire she explains has been mainly influenced by her British upbringing and personally lived experiences as disclosed in the transcript below:

> *'Discipline is a must and I am a believer in being firm. I don't feel a need to put my hand on my child for her to be respectful, communication is enough… the communication part of my disciplining choices, I would say that Is more me and actually yes… I do feel like the communication idea has definitely come from my British upbringing too'* (Appendix Q, Ab33-37).

Abena is therefore merging both aspects of her cultures together in the way that she finds personally meaningful. When discussing Abena's attitude towards her daughter's educational prospects, she acknowledges that she has many regrets about not meeting her age expected educational milestones. This is discussed in the following transcript:

> *'I wasn't focused at school, I didn't end up even completing my GCSE's' because I was heavily pregnant and I had just lost my mum, so I didn't get to pursue the things I wanted to do at school, so I disappointed myself (Appendix Q, Ab41).*

As Abena left school without her GCSE qualifications she has first hand experience of the struggles faced by those without the appropriate skills and would like to prevent her

daughter from experiencing the same fait. She now takes on an active role in her daughter's educational requirements. This is disclosed in the following transcript:

> 'I am so involved in her education or schoolwork…if help is needed she has me or I am also happy to invest in a tutor to help her. I do not want her to complete school with no GCSE'S or qualifications, I just would never want her to go through that' (Appendix Q, Ab41).

Abena's personal circumstances, experiences of her Ghanaian-British upbringing and relationship to her daughter combined, are therefore shaping her current mothering choices.

> 'I have just been going with myself, with what I believe to be a great method. I look at what seems to be working for her and just continue on in that way. I am her main influence so if I don't bring her up correctly she won't prosper in life. I go with each milestone to be honest, I want her to be raised the best way I can' (Appendix Q, Ab46).

5.11 Yaa Adoma's Story

Yaa Adoma is a second generation Ghanaian migrant who was born and brought up to migrant Ghanaian parents who moved to the UK prior to her birth. Growing up as a British girl of Ghanaian heritage, Yaa Adoma always felt a heightened sense of difference with others at school initially, but now chooses to embrace her Ghanaian heritage and British identity equally. This is highlighted in the transcript below:

> *'…as I got older… probably in year 10 in secondary school around age 15…I started to get in touch with my roots and started to learn more about Ghana and stuff and now I am happy to consider myself Ghanaian' (Appendix R, Y11-13).*

When asked about her identity Yaa Adoma explains that the colour of her skin makes her stand out as a British person with cultural roots elsewhere and though she is able to embrace her Ghanaian identity more so than in the past, she recognises that she is also British and therefore chooses to embrace both. This is discussed in the following transcript:

> *'Well first of all I'm black so I can't really be considered solely from England … I feel like if someone asks me where I am from, I will always say Ghana… I am a British National but I am Ghanaian...I would say both' (Appendix R, Y6-9).*

Yaa Adoma and her husband who happens to belong to the migrant Sierra-Leonean population group became parents for the first time three years ago. During this time Yaa Adoma recalls drawing on the support of her mother when taking care of her new-born

daughter as this (in her view) is a traditional approach of Ghanaian mothers. This is expressed below:

> *'Well normally in the Ghanaian culture when you have a child your mum comes over. It is always your mum and not your husband's mother, so she will come over for the first few months…I stayed at hers' (Appendix R, Y21-22).*

Whilst staying at her mother's home some of the activities they participated in with the help of both her mother and Grandmother, who had flown in from Ghana due to the birth of her daughter were, a special Ghanaian bathing practice and a celebratory naming ceremony. These practices are described in the following transcripts:

> *'…my mum gave her a special bath… I had to sit on a chair and you put your legs in like the baby bath and you fold the baby up against your leg…it is so hard, I have never tried to describe this before. I guess you just bath the baby…then you get a warm flannel and rub it over the baby's body to relax them' (Appendix R, Y24-26).*

> *'…she had a naming ceremony…everyone just came over and it was like a special day dedicated to giving the child a name… my daughter is half Sierra Leonean so we had to include her dad's side of the family as well' (Appendix R, Y44-47).*

Although Yaa Adoma respected the maternal contributions of her mother and grandmother at the time, she found her mother's approach hard to deal with at times, as reflected in the following transcript:

> *'…my mum bathed her every single day…I just couldn't bath her the way my mum bathed her and my mum was just really dominant, she wanted to do it and do everything so I just let her do it. At the time I didn't mind when it came to things like bathing her and stuff…as it was easier for me, but for some other things it was a bit annoying…just being told what to do all the time when it is your own child. I wanted to practice being a mum' (Appendix R, Y27-3).*

Despite feeling slightly annoyed at her mother's dominant approach, Yaa Adoma chose to participate in the bathing and naming ceremony child rearing practice with the knowledge that both practices hold specific relevance to the Ghanaian culture, yet views these practices as slight variations to the British way of caring for a new-born child. She therefore views both cultural influences as equally valid. This is reflected in the following transcript:

> 'I think that we all do the same things but I think the British way would be to *Christen the child too, but it's slightly different because with African's we do it within the first week of the child's life. So the cultures or cultural practices are similar in some ways, similar yet slightly different'* (Appendix R, Y48).

In regards to Yaa Adoma's present day mothering practices she explains that with her three year old, she is finding that she is currently cooking more Ghanaian dishes than British one's, but is combining the two nonetheless as demonstrated below:

> *'She eats Ghanaian food like Kenkey, Fufu and Jollof rice…I would say the majority of Ghanaian dishes and just a small number of British dishes' (Appendix R, Y49-53).*

When discussing the topic of discipline, Yaa Adoma explains that she is currently struggling with the concept of disciplining her daughter, as she is only currently only three. The main source of her worry is that she is concerned that if she starts disciplining her daughter too early, she may rebel as she may not have developed the full understanding of her intentions or posses the moral understanding of appropriate forms of behaviour, due to her young age. This is highlighted in the following transcript:

> *'I think that is something I struggle with, because even though she's 3, at her age, sometimes I want to discipline her, but I'm just not sure if the understanding of what she has done is there. So I am uncertain as to whether I should wait for her understanding of the appropriate ways to behave begins to develop or whether I should start from now.' (Appendix R, Y54).*

When unpacking her views on discipline further, Yaa Adoma acknowledges that whilst she values discipline as an important child-rearing task, she views communication as a necessary function to any enforcement of discipline. However, as she doesn't want to repeat the disciplining techniques that were employed by her own parents, she plans to remain firm without the use of physical forms of discipline, as expressed in the following transcripts:

> *'I wouldn't say it is from my parents at such, because I feel like the things my parents did to me as a child, I would never do to my child…I feel like, too much discipline will make your child rebel…communication is important, you can be firm but still communicate without smacking' (Appendix R, Y57-61).*

> *'I feel like there are two approaches, you can have a good relationship with your child without smacking, by rewarding them but being firm at the same time, your child will behave better' (Appendix R, Y59).*

For Yaa Adoma then, rather than drawing on the techniques employed by her Ghanaian parents, she has chosen to rely on her own preferences in regards to her present day mothering choices and practices. When asked to reflect her attitudes towards her daughter's education Yaa Adoma explains that although she acknowledges that education

is important, she hasn't thought that far ahead about her daughter's educational attainment potential due to her daughter's young age. This is expressed below:

> 'My dad was all for education, if there were any concerns about education he was always there thinking about it. If I needed anything for school he would deal with it because for him education was very important. I feel education is something I haven't thought that far ahead with yet as she's not old enough' (Appendix R, Y63).

In regards to her modern day practices then, Yaa Adoma appears to be drawing on her own personal preferences, irrespective of her dual British Ghanaian identity, as highlighted in the transcript below:

> *'You have the British way and then you have the Ghanaian way or African way, so certain things I would want to do for my child, my mum would say no we don't do that or visa versa. For example when I had her ears pierced my British friends would say oh no she is so young wait until she is at least four months. But you cant always please everyone. You are the mother you are in control but you just have to be strong and…do what works for you' (Appendix R, Y81-82).*

5.12 Composite description of the participants as a whole

Master Themes	Sub Themes
Identity	Earlier Childhood Perceptions
	Merged Preference
	Personal Preference
Mothering Practices	New-born Practices
	Current Merged Practices
	Personal Preferences
Influence	Family Influences
	Wider Community Influences
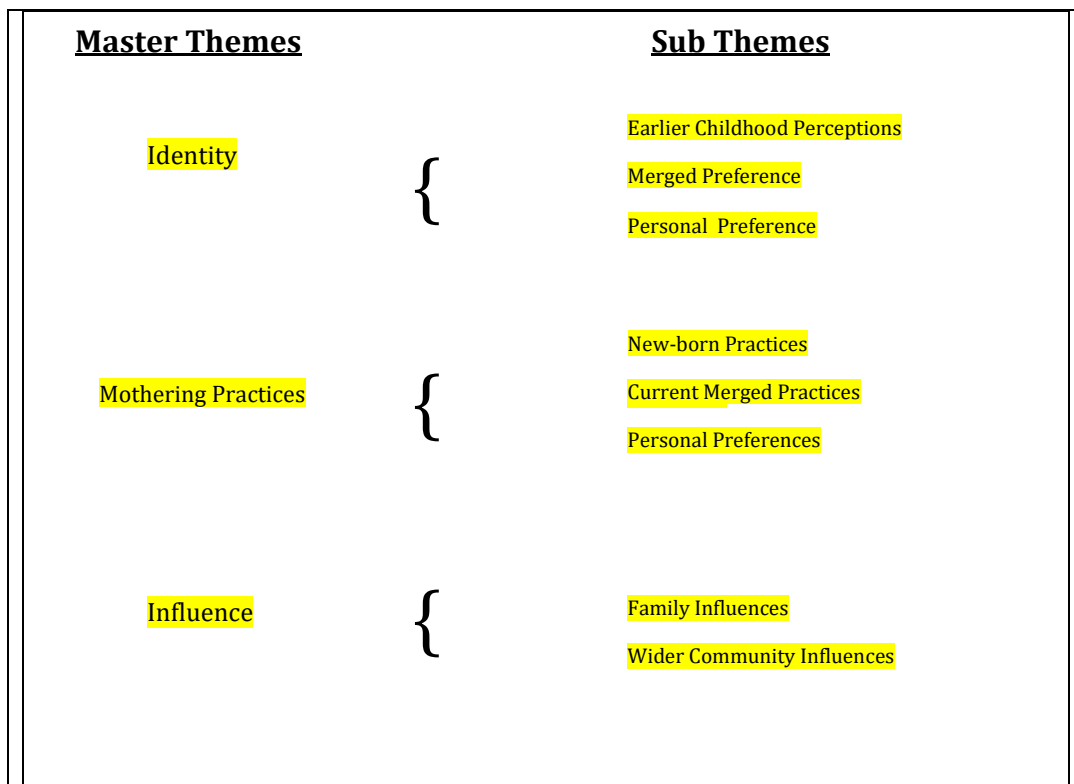
Chart 3: Universal depiction of Master Themes and Sub themes

The themes represented in the chart above offers a universal account of the nine participants interviewed (myself included), with my personal experiences included. I have chosen to present the three master themes, and eight sub themes that were drawn from the interviews in the chart above. I have done this to help readers of the dissertation identify the themes in visual form first and provide further detailed descriptions with interview examples included on the themes themselves, below.

5.13 Identity:

The master theme of identity focuses on looking at the identities of each of the mothers from an individualised perspective, by taking into consideration each of their views without missing out any of their key points. The theme paints a picture of how the self-perceptions of each participant appear to have evolved over time. The following sub themes identified

are elaborated in further detail in the section below: *Earlier childhood perceptions of 'self', Merged perceptions of identity* and *Personal preference.*

5.14 Earlier childhood perceptions of 'self'

The topic of one's 'self identity' can be a difficult concept to grasp particularly for the second generation of migrants born and bought up in the country that their parents have opted to migrate to. The majority of the mothers interviewed (myself included) with the exception of three, recalled experiencing their identities as being either:

1. **Solely British**- whereby the mother acknowledges her British influences alone, as demonstrated in the quotes below.

   Adwoa-
   '…*growing up I felt like I was British especially as I lived in this country*' (Appendix O, A6).

   Yaa Adoma-
   '…I wanted to blend in…' (Appendix R, Y11).

   Or

2. **Solely Ghanaian**- whereby the mother acknowledges her Ghanaian influence alone, as demonstrated in the quote below:

   Akua-
   '*I have always felt more Ghanaian just by the way…I was brought up*' (Appendix M, k4).

   Esi-
   '*I just learnt to embrace my African heritage*' (Appendix N, E8).

   Akosua-
   '…*I just used to feel Ghanaian through and through…*' (Appendix P, Ako12).

   Me-
   '*I felt I was from Ghana*' (Appendix H, J5, P. 190).

With only three reporting feeling a sense of a merged identity in which both identities were combined, with no preferences for either, during the earlier formative years as quoted below:

Esi-

'…my siblings would always make fun of me, they would say I am too Ghanaian…but I would…feel British too' (Appendix N, E39-43).

Ama*-*

'I see myself as Ghanaian but I can Identify the fact that I am British first because I was born here' (Appendix L, A7).

This suggests that the majority of the mothers interviewed in this study found their merged British Ghanaian identity difficult to grasp during the earlier stages of their development, with some believing that the colour of their skin and/or cultural differences identified them as being different from their peers and the majority British population. This supports the process of early identity formation (as mentioned in section 2.6, on pages 32-33 and will be further elaborated in the discussion section 6.1.1 on page 135) and demonstrated in the quotes listed below:

Efya-

'in school there was this sort of period of time where Africans would be teased a little for being African' (Appendix K, E8).

Ama-

'…where we used to live, oh goodness me the hate, "you lot have money, you lot are African" is what they would say' (Appendix L, A50).

Adwoa-

'…back then there was a lot of stigma attached to being Ghanaian or African, so I didn't actually want to be from there' (Appendix O, A8).

Akosua-

'…when I was younger because I was so young and my parents were from Ghana I just used to feel Ghanaian through and through, because it was just easier to think I was from Ghana' (Appendix P, Ako12).

Yaa Adoma-

'I mean as a child I wanted to blend in with the rest' (Appendix R, Y11).

_Me-_

'I never considered myself British. I didn't think I could be British because of the colour of my skin, I felt that I was from Ghana and that I was Ghanaian because of my family's heritage and culture' (Appendix H, J5, p. 187).

5.15 Merged perceptions of 'identity' (Sub theme)

The findings suggest that for the majority of mothers who struggled to grasp their British Ghanaian identity in equal measure during the earlier stages of their development, a shift appears to occur at some point prior to motherhood. Rather than viewing their identities as singular then, they begin to view their identities from a merged perspective. This merged viewpoint incorporates aspects of their cultural heritage and societal context together and appears to develop at various ages for each of the remaining six mothers, over time. This seems to reflect the idea of a 'bicultural' merged identity as mentioned earlier (in section 2.5, on pages 28-29 and section 2.8 on pages 38-39) and are reflected below.

Efya-

'…as I've grown up, I've learnt to just love where I come from…when you are younger you are more naïve and you tend to care a lot about what others think of you. When you get older you realise there's more to life and you don't really care about what people say about your heritage. I just learnt to embrace my African heritage' (Appendix K, E7-8).

Ama-

'we are British but we are Ghanaians in Britain and you know regardless of the fact that I wasn't born there it is a part of me' (Appendix L, A14).

Adwoa-

'The Ghanaians didn't want me because I was too British and the British didn't want me, maybe because I was black...yes I think it was more of a racist thing then or cultural thing... the influence from others within my family and outside… made me feel happy to be who I am' (Appendix P, A8).

_Me-_

'…when I started university I went to Ghana for the first time and when I got there… it was quite a huge shock for me because I felt at home to one degree… but I didn't feel…connected. It was not until that point that I realized that I actually am a British Ghanaian' (Appendix H, J8, p. 188)

5.16 Personal Preferences

When asked about their identities in the present day context, all of the mothers stated that they currently identify themselves as British Ghanaians. The term *British Ghanaian* for each of the mothers interviewed (myself included) appears to represent their dual identity influences from an individual perspective, which embraces both their British and Ghanaian cultural identities in various ways. What I mean by this notion of an individual perspective is that when discussing their dual identities each of the mothers described their own views on what their dual identities meant to them.

Some of the participants viewed their British place of birth as a confirmation of their British identity, yet describe a thread of lineage connecting them to their Ghanaian culture too, as highlighted in the quotes listed below.

Efya-

'I've grown up in this country so this is mostly what I know, but I do know that my roots do go back to Ghana and I acknowledge that proudly…I might not be 100 per cent British in that sense, I do acknowledge that ok this is where I've grown up, I have an idea of what the culture is like and it has helped me to appreciate my parents culture too, it has helped in my processes of comparison, I have the chance to compare and combine the bits I like' (Appendix, E6-58).

Ama

'…we are British but we are Ghanaians in Britain and you know regardless of the fact that I wasn't born there it is a part of me…it's the only thing that I can identify with' (Appendix L, A14).*

Akua-

'Culturally I would say I have a dual identity. I have always felt more Ghanaian just by the way in which I was brought up and it was just from a comment that a colleague made to me years ago when were discussing the different nationalities in the work place… and I said…we have a Ghanaian one too… and they were just like how could you even call yourself Ghanaian. So I guess it's just the way people see me…' (Appendix M, A3-4).

Adwoa-

'Right now I consider myself to be both and I genuinely believe that yes I am both. I don't think we will ever be accepted as Ghanaian, I don't think that even my parents after living in this country for so long will be accepted as being Ghanaian because they are not anymore. I… am… tweaking bits that I like' (Appendix O, A6-59).

Yet for others the concept of this felt sense of a dual identity became much harder to articulate or define, highlighting the complexities that exist for some, as they attempt to combine their societal and cultural influences together. This point is reflected in the following quotes.

Esi-

'I guess I can only say that…I prefer British food to be honest… I love Ghanaian music and I chose to marry a Ghanaian man… I don't know …I…always feel…both' (Appendix N, E7-46).

Akosua-

*'…now I have a sense of both identities so even though I say I am from Ghana if anyone asks me where I am from I still feel British, like I am both. I can't say I am just British or just Ghanaian, I am basically in the middle and I have found my own way of being both' (*Appendix P, Ako12-83).

Abena-

*'*I consider myself a British Ghanaian even though I have never been to Ghana myself. Argh I don't know how to explain it… I am British…because this country is all I know…but I'm a Ghanaian because this is all I know' (Appendix Q, *Ab6-7).*

Yaa Adoma-

'I don't know… I would say both… I am a British National but I am Ghanaian' (Appendix R, Y6-9).

Me-

'I'm trying to make sense of it myself because this is new for me… I'm not sure because I believe I'm black British too…I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is… I've created this identity' (Appendix H, J8-13, 188).

The notion of a dual bicultural identity therefore appears to be an identity, which seems to have been felt by each of the nine participants, yet it remains to be an identity that cannot

be easily articulated as the term itself appears to hold different meanings for each of the mothers interviewed.

5.17 'Mothering practices':

The master theme of mothering practices looks at the child rearing practices, choices and decisions of each of the nine mothers. The current study found that the mothers had enacted specific child rearing practices during their children's' initial new-born life stage and appear to be basing their present day child rearing decisions on their personal preferences. The following sub themes are elaborated in further detail in the section below and referred to as: *New-born Practices, Current Merged Practices* and *Personal Preferences.*

New-born practices:

The findings suggest that the majority of the mothers (excluding two) admitted to drawing on the support of their mothers and opted for Ghanaian child rearing practices as demonstrated by their own mothers, during the earlier stages of their children's lives. The mothers recall participating in various hygienic child rearing activities (bathing, cleaning of the umbilical chord), head shaping techniques (for two of the mothers) and male circumcisions (for the mothers of male babies), reflecting their Ghanaian practices. These practices were demonstrated by their own mothers who happen to be members of the first generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the UK and are therefore maintaining distinct traditional practices, which have been upheld generationally (as noted in section 2.4.1 on pages 22-23). These are disclosed in the following quotes.

Efya-

'Initially I did have a huge amount of support from my mum, she was sort of teaching me on the job… I mean my mum was pretty adamant… she's had four children of her own and she comes from a big family so when it comes to child rearing she sort of advised me a lot. She taught me how to clean the belly button area, she taught me how to bath the baby with Shea butter… from Ghana' (Appendix K, E22-23)

Ama-

'…my son was predominantly breastfed initially,… and I brought him up more traditionally as a Ghanaian. So things like when he was born… arranging his circumcision, massaging his legs, stretching his limbs and his body, shaping his head… my mum…is a born and bred Ghanaian so she would do or encourage me to do things her way' (Appendix L, A8-13).

Akua-

'…for the first three weeks or so I did go to stay with my mum and my auntie without my partner, just me and the baby because the women in my family are very much like the community raises a child… I breastfed her for 15 months… I also opted to co-sleep…I remember my midwife saying to me well you don't have to bath the baby in the first few days and my mum was very much like oh no back home we do it this way… she was doing some of the things that they would do back home' (Appendix M, Ak7-12).

Adwoa-

'I used to explain it to people at work they would say some weird things you know as they would imagine that my mother would…take over every aspect of taking care of my child. But it is a bit more than that, it is more of a partnership… the support you receive from your mum for the first year… the first thing that was said when I actually saw my mum was, have you washed the baby yet. So what you do is you shape the head and you kind of like stretch the limbs and you massage the body and…he was even circumcised' (Appendix O, A27-58).

Abena-

'‚,,my aunt came from Ghana shortly after my mum's death to take care of us and of course the baby. She would get a very warm cloth and pour water on the baby's tummy and stretch her limbs and hold her arms and legs and…my aunt showed me how to carry the baby on my back with the cloth like they do in Ghana' (Appendix Q, Ab10-15).

For a small minority of mothers (two mothers), as well as the child rearing Ghanaian practices that were being advocated by their own mothers at the time, a naming ceremony for their new-born baby was also organized, to honour the Ghanaian outdooring naming tradition. This represents a Ghanaian specific tradition being transmuted to the second generation by their mothers and will be further explored in the discussion section (see section 6.2, pages 139-140). These are expressed in the quotes below.

Esi-

'…When my child was born, my mum and some elder members of my family came to support me and the baby… my mum was responsible for bathing my daughter… with a

really warm cloth and Shea butter… these practices are specific to my cultural tribe and what I've been used to seeing in my family' (Appendix N, E10-12).

Yaa Adoma-

'…my mum gave her a special bath…I guess you just bath the baby properly, then you get a warm flannel and rub it over the baby's body… my daughter is half Sierra Leonean so… she had a naming ceremony. *There is no way that your child can go beyond a week without being named. In Ghana your child has to be named in the first week but in England it is not as strict that you have to name your child within a specific amount of time'* (Appendix R, Y 24-47).

This experience was slightly different for me in that I drew mainly on the support of the health care practitioners I came into contact with for my daughter initially, yet incorporated certain activities which seemed to reflect my Ghanaian culture (particularly with my decision to co-sleep with my daughter, as well as my decision to have my son circumcised).

Me

'*I breastfed… I co-slept with them, both of them… because in Ghana you don't leave the child on its own, you want to protect the child so you sleep with the child or children... well for my son if you are a boy born in Ghana you have to be circumcised, so I had him circumcised' (from the master theme of mothering practices presented in a non-sequential order, see Appendix H, J15- 34, p.* 189*).*

For the remaining participant, rather than drawing on the support of family members and/or health care practitioners, she drew on her personal knowledge of both her British and Ghanaian cultures. Her child rearing decisions during the earlier stages of her son's life had therefore been based on her personal preferences, which in essence represents her Ghanaian- British dual bicultural identity influences, as expressed in the following quote.

Akosua-

'Ghanaians believe that we should have our sons circumcised, so obviously I had to get that sorted out, which I was happy to do…but this was out of my own choice and preference…also his bath I think as he got older he started to bath with a bucket and my non-Ghanaian friends would say why are you allowing your child to bath with a bucket. This to me is a Ghanaian practice that Ghanaians use that non-Ghanaians might not understand… but apart from these things… everything I did was the same as what a British or English person would do' (Appendix P, Ako17-26).

5.18 Current Merged Practices:

5.19 Food:

When discussing food choices in the present day context, four of the nine participants interviewed (myself included) admitted to merging what they perceive to be British or western way of cooking with their Ghanaian preferences, creating an eclectic cooking style which combines both cultural cooking preferences together. This connects to the idea of adaptations being made to the culinary preferences of migrants and their following generations as noted in the literature review (section 2.5, pages 28-29). These are quoted below:

Akosua-

'I make a mixture of different dishes it isn't mainly Ghanaian at all to be honest… I think I've taken food from all over and just make it. I just cook what I feel like cooking… sometimes I might make chicken with gravy rather than a Ghanaian stew or fish' (Appendix P, Ako42-45).

Ama-

'When he was younger, he was a bit more finicky, he would hate rice so he would eat pasta with stew so it was more of a modern twist…If he wants a bit of spice he'll add it there, so you can mix it, you can because it is part of everyday life because as I've said we live it, you know you're not going to let go of who you are. You know you can just add to your identity' (Appendix L, A17-19).

Yaa Adoma-

'She eats Ghanaian food like Kenkey, Fufu and Jollof rice… and just a small number of British dishes' (Appendix R, Y49-53).

Me-

'My children are half Jamaican so it's pretty flexible. I encourage them to eat Ghanaian food but the only Ghanaian food that I cook is Jollof, which is orange rice with like Chicken and stuff like that. Also maybe some sauces but the cooking isn't solely Ghanaian… it's a mixture of everything. So…it's not specifically Ghanaian' (Appendix H, J54, p. 195)

Two out of the remaining five mothers interviewed admitted that although their present day mothering cooking practices appear to be reflecting their British identity solely, they actively indulge in Ghanaian dishes during visits to their maternal home. They therefore rely on their mothers for solely Ghanaian dishes, with some admitting their desire to keep their Ghanaian cultural identity alive through their food preferences, when in the company of their Ghanaian family members in physical form. This represents our 'umwelt' or physical modes of existence, as briefly noted in the literature review (in section 2.3 on pages 18-19 and will be explored in section 6.3.2 on pages 145-148). This is highlighted below:

Akua-

'I find that I am cooking more British or western dishes…in terms of when we are at home we are eating more British or western food, like shepherds pie, a pizza, and roast or what ever else. But I'm finding that when I'm with my mum weekly…when I am there I love Ghanaian food and I much rather like to eat Ghanaian food' (Appendix M, Ak17).

Esi-

'She eats more British foods like spaghetti and mash potato when she's with me but when we go to my mums, my mum will give her Kenkey or Chicken' (Appendix N, E18).

This was the case for the participant (one out of the remaining three mothers) whose mother sadly passed away prior to her daughter's birth. For her, much like the other two, food acts as an anchor point connecting her to her mother and her Ghanaian heritage. This is reflected in the following quote:

Abena-

'When my mum passed I became more eager to learn… I must say I am so proud of myself for learning to cook Ghanaian dishes*…I hope to be half the mum she was to us, so cooking Ghanaian dishes for me is an important skill to keep the Ghanaian culture alive in my child'* (Appendix Q, Ab22-23).

When looking at the concept of cooking styles, the remaining two mothers interviewed admit that the majority of their cooking preferences currently reflect their Ghanaian culture as opposed to their perception of a British or western preference. Both mothers reiterated the same message of culinary preferences acting as a thread connecting their child to their Ghanaian culture and expressed their concerns that their children, who happen to be

members of the third generation, may loose their connection to their Ghanaian heritage. These concerns are reflected by two of the mothers below:

Efya-

'She eats mostly African Ghanaian dishes, so I'll cook her Jollof rice, yam and stew. I mean she can be a bit picky sometimes but she doesn't have a problem with eating Ghanaian dishes or British dishes… I wouldn't leave anything out, I especially would hate to leave the Ghanaian side out… it's an aspect that needs to be passed on through the generations' (Appendix N, E25-26).

Adowa-

'I'm not sure if this is specifically Ghanaian but in my household we definitely have more of a spicier pallet and so my son had to embrace that… he knows how to eat with his hand and he likes Jollof too… I would say here take a little bit… until eventually he started to prefer spice… He has got to be able to eat our food because if he goes to an aunt's house he needs to be able to eat what is being cooked' (Appendix O, Ad35-36).

Food is therefore seen by the majority of participants as a way of keeping the Ghanaian aspect of their identities alive, irrespective of whether they opt to prepare these dishes or not and connects them to their own mothers or wider Ghanaian family members.

5.20 Education:

When exploring the topic of education, the overall findings suggest that the majority out of the mothers view education as an important and necessary life skill, helping to shape each of their children's futures. This view they suggest has been influenced by their Ghanaian cultural upbringing, based on how they were parented in their individual families and based on their personal preferences.

For three of the mothers interviewed, their personal experiences of being mothered appear to be influencing their mothering attitudes to education. The mothers admit to feeling inspired by the approaches enacted by their own parents, representing the intergenerational transmission process (as echoed in section 2.5 on page 29-30).

These are demonstrated in the following quotes:

Ama-

'…he goes to the performing arts school… we were exposed to a lot of things and a lot of different kinds of people within our family…so for me I always think I don't really want my child to lack anything because I don't remember my parents coming home and saying no you can't have that or you can't do this. I don't want him to be blindsided and think he's different so he can't achieve' (Appendix L, A45-46).

Akua-

'*My mum was very Ghanaian… I mean she was very strict, very disciplined, very focused on education…I'm taking my cue from my experiences and the way that my mother has raised me' (Appendix M, Ak21-22).*

Akosua-

'I tell him it doesn't matter if you are not the best, strive to be the best because there is always room for improvement and you can always work your way up… I think it is my knowledge of Ghana and knowing in Ghana you have to pay school fees. I don't want him to fail at school, I want him to reach his full potential' (Appendix P, Ako65-66).

Although this process of reflection appears to occur for the majority of the remaining mothers, rather than repeating the same approaches as implemented by their parents, these mothers admit to making adjustments to their parents approaches and have attempted to contest their practices (this will be explored in the discussion section 6.3.1 on pages 143-144). They think about how they would have liked their own parents to approach the topic of education by adjusting their parents' styles to suit them. They therefore assess their own personal experiences and make adjustments with their personal preferences in mind, as reflected in the following quotes:

Efya-

'*…when I was younger there were huge expectations on me to do well but it was greatly forced…* we do a lot of reading and there is a lot of challenges… I am pushing her but not pushing her too far the other way or to the point whereby she starts to dislike what she's learning… this has definitely come from me' (Appendix K, E43-44).

Adwoa-

'I think education is something that should be appreciated and I share that message to my son, he needs to appreciate the opportunities available to him I am learning and trying to instil, it is not always about being academic…it is not always about your books… he can be

an athlete, or a designer or a creator. I am going to let my son be creative…it is a merge of my personal experience' (Appendix O, Ad40-42).

Abena-

'I didn't get to pursue the things I wanted to do at school so I disappointed myself... I am so involved in her education or schoolwork… I do not want her to complete school with no GCSE'S or qualifications, I just would never want her to go through that' (Appendix Q, Ab41).

Me-

'*I think that even though my mothering style is very different from my mum's I still think she has influenced my mothering style… There was this loving and nurturing side to her, which I honour and I like to think I uphold… my experience is that I am going to use my lived experience not to fall back on it but to at least improve upon my mum's mothering style'* (Appendix H, J105-106, pp. 204).

Whilst the process of reflection appears to be occurring for the remaining two mothers, in regards to how they seem to be engaging in a process of self reflection on their individual experiences of being mothered, since they are mothers of significantly younger children they are anticipating that their approaches will be similar to their parents' views. However, this is an aspect that can only be speculated at this stage and therefore acts as a limitation to the study.

Yaa Adoma-

'My dad was all for education, if there were any concerns about education he was always there thinking about it… I feel education is something I haven't thought that far ahead with yet as she's not old enough yet' (Appendix R, Y63).

Esi-

'…education is important, it just is. If my daughter were to want to be a musician I would say have the basic qualifications to fall back on before perusing your dreams. Education is key in life' (Appendix N, E29-30).

5.21 Personal Preferences:

5.22 Discipline:

The findings regarding the topic of, parental attitudes towards discipline suggest that all the nine mothers interviewed view discipline as a vital child rearing boundary reinforcement practice, of which they acknowledge has been influenced by their Ghanaian cultural upbringing, therefore representing the intergenerational transmission of values. Much like the topic of education, all of the mothers appear to engage in a dialogue with memories of their parents' disciplining attitudes.

Three out of the nine mothers interviewed admit to reflecting over their parents' attitudes towards discipline and seem to be enacting the same disciplining values as implemented by them. This represents their preferences for the intergenerational transmission process. These are demonstrated in the quotes listed below:

Ama-

'I like my child to be disciplined, I want to instil in him the basic culture that I learnt growing up because my mum was born and bred in Ghana but she was very open and modern in the way she disciplined us' (Appendix L, A28).

Akua-

'My mum was very Ghanaian… she was very strict… the Ghanaian way is having to be polite to your elders, it's not really very British, so being well mannered and well behaved…I'm taking my cue from my experiences and the way that my mother has raised me and…I just want to impart those same things, because I feel that they are good values and that's important to me' (Appendix M, Ak22).

But for one of the mothers, what makes her experience slightly different is that whilst she admits to adopting the disciplining values implemented by her parents, she acknowledges that her parents chose to adopt a British approach to discipline, following their migration to the UK. She is therefore repeating the approaches as implemented by them, as reflected overleaf:

Adwoa-

'We were hardly beaten and I think that was a British influence… definitely not a Ghanaian one…my parents had to find a different way to discipline us, it wasn't about beating us, but talking to us and it actually worked... now with my son my first point of call is to talk about things with him' (Appendix O, Ad37-50).

However, rather than repeating the disciplining techniques adopted by their parents, the remaining five participants all seem to be making adjustments to their disciplining techniques, tailoring their disciplining styles to suit them in the society in which they are living, as briefly expressed above (in section 2.5, on pages 27-28). Communication appears to be a vital feature of their present day disciplining techniques and appears to be a way that these mothers have tried to challenge the intensive mothering ideals of their culture as reflected in the following quotes.

Esi-

'I want my child to feel free to come to me, this is very important because I remember, growing up I found it difficult to speak to my elders because they were too old school…I want my daughter to feel able to express and communicate with me so I can support her' (Appendix M, E20-23).

Ama-

'*I am not going to be critical of how other people deal with their child or children but for my son and I we have to be able to sit on the table and I have to be able to show you how, or where you've gone wrong. I get angry just like everybody else but I think some of the lengths that I've seen used in the past from specific Ghanaians are extreme'* (Appendix L, A28).

Efya-

'It's a lot stricter in Ghanaian or even an African household…I take fundamental elements from my own family's choice of upbringing and small elements from the British influence. So I teach my daughter to have respect for her parents and…to know the differences between right and wrong… this influence represents my family and is more of a Ghanaian influence…setting that boundary. Speaking is important too because at the end of the day children are expressive individuals… I would say communication is very important… I think it's something I've learnt along the way from being brought up in the UK' (Appendix K, E31-42).

Akosua-

'*I have been brought up that way, if my mum says something goes then it does. I think it is important to voice your opinion but still listen to your elders. You need to communicate this*

to your child so he or she has an understanding of what is acceptable. Ghanaian people don't talk…it is the British side this bit (laugh) it is not beatings children need it is talking they need' (*Appendix P, Ako50-63*).

Abena-

'Discipline is a must and I am a believer in being firm. Not in the same way that it was like when I was a child with being physically beaten, but that in my child knowing my look and not talking back. For me respecting your elders is an important boundary...it is definitely my Ghanaian influence...I don't feel a need to put my hand on my child for her to be respectful, communication is enough' (*Appendix Q, Ab33*).

Similarly, I explain that whilst I also seem to be making adjustments to the disciplining techniques of my own parents in the same way, I am currently experiencing an internal and external pressure to balance my British child rearing values and practices with my Ghanaian culture. This is described in further detail below:

Me:

'*Discipline has been a tricky one for me because (pause) the Ghanaian way is that you respect your elders so the child doesn't have much autonomy. Erm there's this view that the child doesn't really have a say and whatever the parent says goes. But being a therapist and having lived through what that experience was like for me as a child- as though my feelings weren't important…. I find myself struggling with the idea of discipline everyday. The reason I struggle with discipline is because on the one hand, it would be easier to go with what I know or what's familiar…I want to be more mindful of my own children's feelings and experiences but at the same time I want that balance of authority in their lives as well'* (*Appendix H, J67-70, p. 198*).

This was slightly more difficult to express for one of the remaining mothers who admitted her struggle with disciplining her three year old in her current day mothering role. Although she has the capacity to engage in an internal psychic discourse process over the disciplining choices employed by her own parents and asserts her position of not wanting to adopt the same methods, she remains in two minds about the nature of her present disciplining style, due to her daughter's young age. This represents a limitation to the study and is expressed in the following quote:

Yaa Adoma-

'I don't know I think that is something I struggle with, because even though she's three, at her age, sometimes I want to discipline her but I'm just not sure if the understanding of what she has done is there. I wouldn't say it is from my parents… the things my parents did to me as a child, I would never do to my child' (*Appendix R, Y54*).

5.23 'Influence':

The master theme of influence focuses on exploring how the families and/or wider community relationships of the mothers in the study appear to be influencing their current day mothering choices. The sub themes identified are discussed in greater depths below are referred to as: *Family Influence, Wider Community Influences.*

5.24 Family Influence

In regards to the sub theme of wider family influences, the majority (six out of nine) of the mothers interviewed acknowledge that specific family members are largely influencing aspects of their current day mothering choices.

Five out of the nine mothers interviewed acknowledge that their partners, (the majority of whom happen to belong to diverse cultural populations to that of the British-Ghanaian population of focus in this particular study) are currently influencing their mothering decisions, attitudes and responses to their children in differing ways. This implies that in relation to their current mothering choices their decisions are no longer being influenced by the process of intergenerational transmission in the ways that they had been during the earliest stages of their children's lives, but are rather representing a bicultural merged identity preference. These points are reflected in the following quotes:

Efya-

'Her dad is Nigerian… so that's another cultural influence…when she's with her Dad and his family they tend to speak Yoruba to her too. So in terms of language she is sort of like absorbing the dialect. It's helping to make her feel proud of who she is and it's teaching her self-love. I want her to have self love' (Appendix K, E56-68).

Akua-

'My partner has children from previous relationships so I tend to see one of his daughters more regularly and since both her parents are English and she has been raised here… is… a teenager and quite challenging… I kind of look at the behaviour and think I really do not want any child of mine to behave in this way. The way her parents handle things with her and the way I would are very different' (Appendix L, Ak36).

Esi-

'My husband is old school… he was born in Ghana and his ways or mind-set reminds me of my dad… he influences me want to be like my mum, representing a softer approach, I don't want to be a push over though, just softer' (Appendix N, E14-17).

Akosua-

'The father of my son is not a Ghanaian… he is totally British, His parents are Jamaicans born and brought up in Jamaica but he is more British and hasn't seen what it's like in Jamaica really as he was born here so… he finds my strict approach too harsh. He doesn't understand my way sometimes… so sometimes I think of things differently because he thinks I'm too harsh' (Appendix P, Ako20- 77).

Me-

'*My partner is Jamaican… he thinks that if you are naturally gifted…you wont have to do any extra work to get there and he is actually influencing me to some degree, because I am starting to think… if it is natural it will develop. So there is a part of me that is influenced by his parenting style when it comes to education because I want the interest to naturally develop as opposed to me imposing that interest upon them' (Appendix H, J15-129*).

This was slightly different for one of the mother's, as her twin sister appears to be influencing her choice to have her son attend his extra curricular activity. This is expressed in the following quote:

Adwoa-

'My twin sister has children who are much older than my son and they are fabulous… she takes care of my son and encourages life skills like playing instruments…. so these are the things that have influenced me' (Appendix O, Ad33-63).

5.25 Wider Community Influences

When thinking about the sub theme of wider community influences, some of the mothers (three out of nine) appear to be drawing on the support of members from their religious groups, community groups and/or colleagues from work, when dealing with their child rearing dilemmas or concerns. This suggests that there is a desire for some of these

mothers to want to form and connect with others on a communal level, as they consider their mothering practices and preferences, as previously reflected above (in sections 2.4.1 on pages 22-23 and in section 2.5 on pages 27-28). This is highlighted in the quotes listed below:

Ama-

'I am of a mixed faith marriage. My husband is of a Muslim background and I am Christian, so we do have to work together on a lot of things because our religious views are not the same. So religion has played a little part in that because I take my son to the church, he takes him to the mosque… I want him to understand and respect both religions because I don't want him to be judgmental' (Appendix L A66).

'In terms of community, we have a large Ghanaian community in my area, which for us as a family is a good thing…they are very nice, supportive and caring. We work together in picking each other's kids up from school… my son is… very proud to be Ghanaian…and… he's able to… embrace it' (Appendix L, A68).

Esi-

'*The church congregation have been extremely influential too… as they help to instil life values and remind you of what is important, they are also extremely supportive. If you need support they will always check up on you…going to church is grounding and… reminds us… that the spiritual world is important and comes before the material world'* (Appendix M, E31-33, pp.).

Akua-

'My colleagues at work are supportive with my motherhood struggles or concerns, we are all from all over the world and we kind of talk about their parenting struggles in relation to their cultures. Interestingly some of my colleagues who by the way aren't Ghanaian speak about their mother's views on their approaches' (Appendix M, Ak36).

Although this was not the case for two of the mothers who admitted to relying on their personal approaches as opposed to seeking extra support externally, as disclosed in the quotes below:

A**bena-**

'I have just been going with myself, with what I believe to be a great method… I go with each milestone to be honest. I look at what seems to be working for her and just continue on in that way' (Appendix Q, Ab46).

Yaa Adoma-

'*Certain things I would want to do for my child, my mum would say no we don't do that or visa versa. For example, when I had her ears pierced my British friends would say oh no she is so young…but you can't always please everyone. You are the mother you are in*

control but you just have to be strong… that is what you have to do…you can feel, as though you might not be doing something the right way, but do what works for you'
(Appendix R, Y81-82).

5.26 Summary

This chapter has attempted to honour the voices of nine uniquely diverse British mothers of Ghanaian heritage. The research highlighted three master themes and eight sub themes of which describe the mothering experiences of the nine first time mothers (myself included) belonging to the British-Ghanaian population group who opted to participate in the study. The research showed that the topic of identity is indeed a complex phenomenon, which can only be understood at an individual level. The British mothers belonging to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group currently admit to identifying as equally British and Ghanaian and these merged bicultural dual identity influences are being reflected in their dietary preferences, attitudes to their children's' educational needs and their disciplining practices in various ways. The research also found that the first time mothers of this participant population groups' initial and current mothering practices and decisions were being influenced by their mothers who were responsible for transmuting upheld intergenerational childrearing practices and also by their wider relationships. Mothering is therefore being experienced as a social experience for the first time mothers in this study, as the majority of them appear to be currently influenced by their family relationships and/or wider community relationships. The following chapter presents an in depth discussion of the findings drawn.

6.0 Chapter 6: Discussion

As this study was created with the intention of understanding more about the identities of a total of nine first time mothers of Second generation Ghanaian migrant descent from an existential perspective, this section attempts to unpack the themes drawn in the previous section, in the order at which they were analysed and presented above, drawing references to the existing literature (as presented at the start of the dissertation). The findings will also be explored from an existential view to understand more about the identity and mothering experiences of the participants from a philosophical perspective.

Chart 2: Universal depiction of Master Themes and Sub themes with existential themes included:

Master Themes	Sub Themes	Existential Themes
Identity	Earlier Childhood Perceptions Merged Preference Personal Preference	The 'self 'as a creation
Mothering Practices	New born Practices Current Merged Practices Personal Preference	Birth of 'mother' Family Preservation, 'Umwelt' 'Choice', 'Freedom' and Responsibility Finding meaning in mothering: adaptation and continuation
Influence	Family Influences Wider Community Influences	Being in relation to 'others'

The chart above provides a visual representation of the three master themes (this is an extended version of the chart shown (in section 4.1.7, on page 80) and discussed in the previous section) of, '*Identity'*, '*Mothering Practices'* and '*Influence'* and eight sub themes of, '*Earlier childhood perceptions'*, *'merged preferences'* and *'personal preferences',* these will be discussed (in the sections below) in the order that they were presented above. These themes will be further elaborated in light of the literature that already exists and examined from an existential phenomenological perspective. The chart also shows the six

existential themes, which have since been identified, these are, '*The self as an existential creation', 'Birth of the mother', 'Family preservation, 'Existential choice, freedom and responsibility', 'Finding meaning in mothering: adaptation and continuation'* and *'being in relation to others'.*

I have chosen to present the themes in this way to help readers of the dissertation to identify how the findings that were drawn during the composite analysis relate to the existential phenomenological perspective in visual form first and will elaborate on these themes, in the following section.

6.1 Identity: The 'self' as a creation

6.1.1 Earlier Childhood Perceptions of 'self'

As the findings above imply, the eight British mothers who were interviewed currently identify as equally British and equally Ghanaian and currently view their 'identities' from an individual perspective. The concept of one's self 'Identity' does not appear to be a phenomenon that seems easy to describe or generalise, but an experience that can only be understood at an individual level.

My research has also highlighted that a significant proportion of the mothers interviewed, previously held the view that their racial, cultural and/ or societal differences (differences in the societies in which they were born and brought up) identified them as being different from the majority British and population, during their earlier formative years. Rather than viewing their British identities and Ghanaian cultural influences in a combined way, the mothers admitted to viewing their identities in singular form (as ether solely Ghanaian or solely British as shown above in section 5.14, on pages 114-116) as a result of their ethnic and cultural differences from the majority British population, with some admitting to identifying themselves as British in their attempts to blend in. This finding supports Tajfel and Turner's (1979) view of society being an important influencer in the process of self-identity formation, particularly during the early more formative years. It also resonates with Phinney's (1988) initial stage of ethnic identity formation 'unexamined identity' (Phinney, 1988 p. 9), whereby the individual takes on the society's perception and/or attitudes of their

ethnic identity without question (as discussed earlier in the literature review section 2.7 on page 34).

In summary the findings of this research study suggests that during the earlier childhood years, the phenomenon of 'self Identity' for the majority of the mothers interviewed, had been perceived to be one which needed to be 'objectively defined' (Sartre, 2010) in an either-or dichotomy as the mothers admit to wanting to categorise themselves, during the earlier childhood stages of their lives (see section 5.14, on pages 114-116 for further clarification). This finding is specific to the mothers of this research population during the earliest stages of their development and coincides with Ballard's (1994) suggestion which states that members of the second generation 'switch and change' according to the context in which they are moving. It also agrees with what was found in Zubida et al'., (2013, p.31) survey results which supports the notion that members of the second generation may possess varying responses to their identities, with some choosing to embrace their country of origin alone or their country of residence alone. Whilst this identity development process cannot be generalised beyond this study, there is reason to believe that this finding may apply to other migrant population groups since it coincides with Zubida et al'., Israel immigrant survey respondent results. More research will need to be conducted to explore how applicable this study may be to other migrant population groups of second-generation descent specifically.

6.1.2 Merged preferences of 'self'

The current research has also found that for the mothers, who struggled to grasp their British-Ghanaian identity in equal measure during the earlier stages of their development, a shift appears to occur at some point prior to motherhood, whereby rather than viewing their identities as singular, the mothers begin to view their identities from a merged British-Ghanaian cultural perspective. This perspective sees their British-Ghanaian influences merged into one and occurs at differing points and ages for each of them. However, a small minority of the mothers seem to have adopted this merged identity perspective at an even earlier age (as shown earlier in section 5.14, on pages 114-116).

This finding concurs with the results from Zubida et al's., survey, which suggests that during adolescence, members of the second generation choose to embrace a 'bicultural' (p.23) tendency whereby their country of origin and country of residence are merged together. 140). It also coincides with the studies conducted by Crul and Heering (2008), and Purkayastha (2005), whose work suggests that members of the second generation experience dual modes of belonging, merging their socio-cultural influences together.

The identity shift, which appears to occur later as described by the mothers', also appears to correspond to Tajfel and Turners (1979) 'social creativity' (where members of a group redefine the values and attributes assigned to the group) identity process (French et al., 2006, p. 2) and Phinney's (1988) stage of 'Moratorium', (where members of an ethnic group open themselves up to a new perception of their identity, as previously discussed earlier in section 2.7, on page 35). The mothers admit to challenging their initial identity perceptions, by merging their cultural influences together, prior to becoming mothers.

6.1.3 Personal Preference

In discussions concerning the present day perceptions of 'identity', each of the mothers interviewed admitted to identifying themselves as British-Ghanaians. However, the term 'British-Ghanaian' appears to be one that differs on an individual level, as each of the mothers held their own interpretations about what their merged dual identities meant to them. Some admit to viewing their British place of birth, upbringing and residence as confirmation of the British side of their identity, whilst others struggled to express this in words, but described this as a feeling. Yet, all describe a thread of ancestry connecting them to their Ghanaian culture. Ghanaian culture for this group appears to represent their intergenerational understanding of the culture as transmitted by their parents, who happen to be members of the first generation migrant population group, as reiterated by Phillips-Mundy (2011) and Arthur (2008).

Previous research (Zubida et al., 2013; Purkayastha, 2005; Phinney, 1988) on members of the second generation have indicated, that learning to understand how members of the second generation identify themselves, remains to be a topic that needs to be explored at an individual level, as was found to be the case in this study. The current study has highlighted then that the topic of one's 'identity' remains to be a complex and difficult

phenomenon to articulate for members of the British Ghanaian second generation and is one that needs to be understood at an individual level. Whilst this finding is specific to this group of focus, the findings also suggest that this experience may be applicable to other migrant populations as explored and by previous researchers.

6.1.4 Existential phenomenological perspectives on 'self': Eigenwelt

From an existential perspective, these findings coincide with Sartre's (2010), views of 'self' (as introduced much earlier on in section 2.3, on page 16) which suggests, that the human being is '*thrown into a world…abandoned in a situation*', exists in the world and is responsible for creating an essence or an identity *'for-itself'* (Satre, 2010, p. 103). This is particularly the case for the mothers of this study, as they seem to be actively creating a newly distinct merged identity, by fusing their British-Ghanaian influences together. Rather than remaining defined by their racial and cultural group associations and/or memberships, the mothers' have decided to respond to their identities creatively.

This also relates to Emmy van Deurzen's perspective of the '*Egienwelt/ personal world'*, which discusses the 'private self' of the individual (Deurzen and Arnold-Baker, 2005, p. 157) and involves a process of self-reflection. Although the majority of the mothers had initially viewed their ethnic minority identities as singular and fixed during their earlier formative years, the mothers of this study admit to be currently viewing their identities from a purely individual perspective as a result of their individual practices of self-reflection. Their identities are personal to them and therefore not representative of their racial-cultural group memberships or associations alone.

More studies need to be undertaken to understand the identities of the diverse British ethnic minority population group, at an individual level. In summary, the findings thus far have contributed to the limited academic literature on the Black British ethnic minority population living in the UK. In relation to the field of psychotherapy, this particular finding has highlighted the importance of practitioners engaging in detailed <u>individual</u> explorations, when working with clients from diverse backgrounds.

6.2 Mothering Practices:

6.2.1 New-born chid caring practices, 'Birth of the mother':

The current study has highlighted the importance of support, for mothers during the initial new-born stages. When asked to recall the new-born child rearing practices that took place during the initial stages of their children's lives, the mothers admitted to drawing on the support of their own mothers, aunts and/or health care practitioners for support, following the birth of their babies. In some cultures mothers are given extra support to help them adjust to their mothering roles (Kruchman, 1992), this was particularly the case for the mothers in this current study, who opted to participate in the child rearing practices and/or ceremonies specific to their Ghanaian culture, as demonstrated by their own mothers, who happen to belong to the first generation of Ghanaian migrant population group living in the UK. This finding highlights the practices mentioned by Arthur (2008) and Nyarko (2014) as some of the mothers admit to participating in Ghanaian specific practices, which have been transmuted to them by their own mothers.

This finding corresponds with Reynolds (1988), Arthur (2008), Phillips-mundy (2011) and Nyarko (2014) contributions as each of these studies found that the mothering choices of each of their research populations were being informed by collective cultural identities, which rely on their memories of their cultures. Similarly, the findings of the current study relate to their findings, in that the majority of the mothers appear to be relying on their mothers' memories and overall knowledge of Ghanaian child rearing cultural practices, whereby members of the previous generation share their knowledge of child rearing practices through live demonstrations. These practices are culturally specific to members of the British Ghanaian second-generation population group.

The previous literature and research on first time mothers (Kruckmen, 1992; Miller, 2000; Stern, 1995; Arnold-Baker, 2014) have also highlighted the importance of mothers gaining support from others, during the initial stages of the mothering journey. Although the practices enacted by the majority of the mothers interviewed seem to represent a Ghanaian new-born child rearing preference, each of the nine mothers interviewed felt the

need to gain extra forms of support from their mothers, health care professionals, or drew on previous experiences (knowledge of seeing other mothers caring for their babies, as was the case for one of the mothers, Akosua) of the most appropriate child rearing care practices nonetheless. This study therefore reiterates what has already been suggested regarding the importance of health care workers and practitioners of all capacities, providing a supportive environment for new mothers. However as these mothers belong to a culturally distinct diverse population group, this study has also demonstrated how important it is for practitioners working with ethnic minority mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent and potentially all minority mother populations, to take into account their cultural experiences and to seek to understand their mothering identities from an individual perspective.

6.2.2 Current Merged Practices:

6.2.3 Food, 'Family Preservation':

In regards to the current child rearing practices of cooking preparations, the majority of the mothers who participated in the study admitted that they are not currently cooking solely Ghanaian dishes but are rather either merging their two cultures together or cooking solely British dishes. They do however stress that they enjoy indulging in Ghanaian culinary preferences when in the company of their Ghanaian mothers and wider family members, therefore acknowledging both aspects of their identities as opposed to placing one identity above the other, (Crul and Heering, 2008; Purkayastha, 2005).

Ballard (1994) discusses that members of the second generation often engage in cultural markers, which are informed by social norms of the groups by which they are connected. This has certainly been the case for the mothers in this study, who appear to be embracing their Ghanaian culinary preferences when in the company of their wider family groups. In other words it seems the mothers who participated in this study are relating to their family groups by indulging in the culinary dishes of the Ghanaian culture as a way of keeping their identities alive in the present. This point has been highlighted by Philips-Mundy (2011) and McGrew (1997), who emphasize the ways in which Africans, living in the west tend to maintain these culturally traditional dishes, as a representation of their cultural identities and traditions.

Numerous studies (Friedman and Grivetti, 1980; Kauffman-Scarborough, 2010; Gray et al., 2005) have been conducted in an attempt to explore the dietary changes of migrants and have noted that the first generation of migrants tend to 'maintain food customs of their culture of origin for a long time' (Tongyang et al., 2015, p.5), but that the food choices of the following generations will be more likely to change over time, a concern expressed by some of the mothers interviewed (Efya and Adowa). Overall, this study has therefore reiterated what the previous research has suggested about the changes to the culinary preferences of members of the second generation to some extent, as only a small minority of the mothers admitted to cooking in a solely Ghanaian way. However this study offers a new and distinct dimension to the current research, as the mothers appear to be enjoying solely Ghanaian dishes during visits to their wider family homes, in their attempts to strengthen their Ghanaian connections and are therefore actively maintaining both aspects their identities, reflecting their bicultural identities (Zubida et al., 2013). This is culturally specific to this population alone, but may also apply to other population groups as highlighted by the studies previously mentioned.

6.2.4. Education, 'choice' 'freedom' and 'responsibility':

When exploring the topic of education, the overall findings suggest that each of the mothers view education as an important and essential factor determining their child's future success. This view they suggest has been influenced by their Ghanaian cultural upbringing, based on how they were parented by their Ghanaian parents. However, as there are very limited academic studies and/ or literature looking specifically at how the second generation's educational attitudes compare to that of their parent's generations (Dustman et al., 2012, p. 170), this study has identified this topic as an area of exploration for future researchers.

In regards to the current day attitudes towards education, the present study has also found that each of the mothers appear to be engaging in a process of reflection over their parent's attitudes towards education. Psychoanalyst Daniel Stern (he was discussed briefly during the literature review located in section 2.2, on pages 14-15) explains that new mothers tend to undergo a psychic organisation process called the 'motherhood constellation' (Stern, 1995, p 171), which can last months or even years, whereby the

mothers participate in an internal and external process of psychic discourse with themselves, their child and their own mothers, in relation to how they were mothered as a child (ibid). This is a process, which appears to be occurring for each of the mothers, interviewed. Although all of the mothers seem to be engaging in this 'psychic discourse' (ibid) with themselves and their parents, they are much further along the mothering journey (their children are currently aged between two and 10 years old), than that of the new mothers Stern considers. The mothers in the current study admit to participating in this process, in distinct ways.

Some of the mothers admit to feeling inspired by the approaches enacted by their own parents and have therefore chosen to repeat the same parental style and attitude to education as implemented by their parents. This highlights the intergenerational transmission process as the mothers are participating in a process of emulation by adopting the approaches as implemented by their own mothers. However, for a proportion of the mothers interviewed, rather than repeating the same approaches, these mothers seem to be making adjustments to their parent's educational attitudes, as a result of their past experiences, British upbringing and individual preferences.

Parenting models (Abidin, 1992; Patterson 1990; Riesch et al., 1997) have been created to understand and measure the parenting styles of parents and have 'considered the importance of the parent's upbringing to explain parent behaviour' (Riesch et al., 1997, p. 61). This happens to be a topic that has been further explored by Nursing lecturer Susan Riesch et al., (1997) in her article '*Understanding the Mothers' perceptions of what is important about themselves and parenting'* (which examines the findings drawn from brief written statements of a sample of 538 mothers, of young adolescents, which had been analysed using content analysis). In her article she acknowledges that the parents of her sample were able to identify how the practices of their own parents' were influencing their current parenting behaviours. The mothers in her study were choosing to 'address' or 'disentangle these influences' (ibid) by opting to emulate or disregard their parents' behaviours, therefore reiterating much of what has already been described by the mothers in the present study.

The present findings have emphasised the importance of the process of psychological reflection for mothers' in the midst of their mothering journeys, this is a particularly

important revelation that practitioners working with mothers should be mindful of, if they are to gain a deeper understanding of the mothering experiences of mothers from ethnic minority populations much further along the initial mothering stages and all mothers in general. It has also touched very briefly on the topic of educational values of members of the second generation. This is a topic which has been rarely discussed and appears to have only been researched in studies seeking to understand the economic circumstances of members of the second generation, in comparison to the educational and employment prospects of their immigrant parents (Algan et al., 2009). However, if we are to understand more about the educational attitudes of members of the Ghanaian second generation, in comparison to their parents, further research explorations will need to be attempted.

6.3 Personal Preference:

6.3.1 'Discipline, 'finding meaning in mothering: Adaptation and Continuation':

When discussing parental attitudes towards discipline, each of the mothers stressed the importance of the topic of 'discipline' for their children. 'Discipline' is viewed by each of them as a vital child rearing practice which acts as a boundary reinforcement tool and helps to instil values of respect, a view that all admit has been influenced by their parents' and overall Ghanaian culture. The present study has therefore illuminated the importance of discipline for members of the British-Ghanaian second generation. All of the mothers admit to viewing their parents' values on the topic of discipline, as a deeply imbedded Ghanaian influence that they want to uphold to varying degrees (as expressed in section 6.2.4 above, on page 141). This intergenerational transmuted notion has been noted by Amayo's (2009) findings, as he notes the importance that education holds for first generation Nigerians.

The mothers seem to be embarking in the process of psychological reflection or as Stern suggests, 'psychic discourse' (Stern, 2010) and appear to be re-engaging with their childhood experiences once again. These mothers admit that they are currently implementing their disciplining practices in differing ways. Some of the mothers have chosen to repeat the disciplining practices implemented by their own parents and view their techniques as determinants of their own success. This process as described by these mothers has been termed by psychoanalytic researchers looking specifically at holocaust

survivors and the following generations (Adelman, 1995; Kellermen, 2001; Lev-Wiesel, 2007) as the phenomenon of 'intergenerational transmission', which can be described as the process of a transfer of values, characteristics, behaviours or even traumas between the older and younger generations and has been alluded to by Arthur (2008).

However, a larger proportion of the mothers appear to be making personal adjustments to the disciplining techniques of their parents, in individual ways. This current finding concurs once again with Zubida et al., (2013) and Purkayastha's (2005), findings regarding the idea that even in a seemingly homogenous population group, individual differences will be likely to exist. It also correlates with the findings of Riesch et al's. (1997) study, which was reflected above during the discussions about the topic of education, concerning the notion of childhood reflections, repetition ('intergenerational transmissions') and/or adjustments for parents in the midst of their own mothering journeys.

Many researchers (Foner and Derby, 2011; Foner and Kasinitz 2007; Portez and Rambuat, 2001; Amayo (2009) have sought to explore the generational relations between the first and second generations of migrant populations looking specifically at issues of discipline and respect, in America and Europe. The consensus of this research has suggested that cultural differences tend to exist between members of the second generation and the first, as the migrant first generation tend to uphold 'idealized versions of their traditional values', much to the second generations displeasure (Foner and Derby, 2011). Although this was not the case for this study as all the mothers expressed a keen desire to keep their cultural values to discipline alive, a proportion of the mothers admit that they are currently adapting to the disciplining methods implemented by their parents, by opting for an openly expressive technique (see section 6.5.4 for further details). This technique they explain relies quite heavily on communication, an influence that most admit has been inspired by their personal experiences and British upbringing.

Nancy Foner and Joanne Derby (2011) in their article, '*The causes of tension and conflict between generations in immigrant families in the USA*', argue that parents belonging to the migrant first generation expect higher levels of 'respect and obedience' from their children and struggle to accept the more 'permissive' western approaches to child rearing, which 'undermines' parental authority as encouraged in the mainstream American society (p. 547) and was reflected by Amayo's (2009) study (see literature review). This is a view that

has been reiterated by some of the mothers in the current study, who found their parent's physical disciplining methods restrictive at times and fear inducing. As this point had been mentioned by a number of the mothers this may allude to tensions being experienced by mothers belonging to the British Ghanaian second generation, as they are faced with the burden of what Hays (1996) describes as 'intensive mothering ideals', of their Ghanaian culture (pp. 8-9).

To combat such negative feelings from re-emerging in their own child rearing processes, the mothers seem to be opting for a more open stance to their disciplining methods, which encourages freedom of speech between themselves and their children, whilst maintaining the parent and child respect value, as prescribed by their Ghanaian culture. The mothering ideals, in relation to the topic of discipline, appear to be culturally specific to this population and highlight the influence that culture may have on the mothering choices of women from this population specifically. Whilst the prospect of tensions arising appear to have been creatively contested, the mothers appear to have attempted to contest their cultural norms by adapting and modifying their disciplining practices to suit them.

Overall, the current studies findings have demonstrated that mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second-generation value discipline as an important child rearing Ghanaian tradition and appear to be upholding this intergenerational value from an individualized perspective. It has also highlighted the importance of psychological reflection for mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second generation, in the midst of their mothering journey, regarding the subject of disciplining approaches. Practitioners seeking to work with mothers belonging to the British ethnic minority population should therefore seek to understand their cultural influences and past experiences, without judgment and should maintain an attitude of curiosity as they attempt to understand the psycho-socio-cultural and intergenerational facets of their mothering identities and journeys.

6.3.2 Existential phenomenological perspectives on the theme of 'mothering practices': 'Mitwelt,' 'Umwelt' and 'Eigenwelt'

As previously expressed above following the birth of their babies, these mothers' sought the support of their mothers, aunts and/or health care practitioners', as it was felt by them that they needed extra help with their child rearing responsibilities. This finding has been

echoed by other existential researchers (Arnold Baker, 2014; Prinds et al., 2013) who have also noted the importance of social support for first time mothers during the initial stages of their mothering journey. The majority of the mothers in this particular study sought the support of their own mothers, as they felt that they were experienced and could therefore help them to enact the basic new-born nurturing methods required, with a cultural twist, therefore reiterating Butterfield's (2010) existential perspective of motherhood being an ambiguous experience. It is ambiguous as it is determined, since there are indeed basic methods required in the nurturing of a new-born baby, due to the biological process involved in bringing the baby into being, yet remains flexible, as the methods employed by these mothers were culturally distinct and held significance to their Ghanaian heritage.

There exists a tension between the biological deterministic approach and the social constructivist approach within the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology and the scientific sphere. The biological deterministic perspective asserts the view of differences existing in human intelligence, behaviour, characteristics and ability as a result of innate biogenetics, which determine human characteristics and has been used to reinforce genetic racial and gender differences. Social constructivist approaches on the other hand assert that human behaviour is a result of social constructions solely and dismisses the deterministic view (Rose and Rose, 2001). Butterfield's ambiguous perspective acknowledges the influence of both factors and therefore coincides with the current studies' findings.

The mothers appear to proceed their first time mothering journeys' trusting in the 'objectively' defined illusion of the mothering process (De Beauvoir, 1965) as proposed by those around them initially and are confronted with the reality of its flexibility (De Beauvoir, 1965; Butterfield, 2010), due to the differences in the cultural practices being implemented by their mothers. It also links to van Deurzen's (2002), concept of the 'mitwelt/ the social world dimension, as the mothers were connecting with their own mothers and other public forms of support (health care practitioners). This finding therefore reinforces what has already been suggested by midwives on the National Health Service regarding the importance of offering antenatal forms of care to first time mothers (Nhs, 2018).

When discussing their current day mothering practices of food preparation, the mothers admit that although they have opted to cook mostly British dishes they are keeping aspects

of their Ghanaian cultural identity alive through their food preferences, when in the company of members of their wider family. This finding links to van Deurzen's concept of the 'umwelt/ the physical world', which acknowledges the way in which humans relate to their material world. This dimension looks at the biological and physical facets of human existence, which includes the way we relate to our physical bodies, environment and our attitudes 'towards food' (van Deurzen, 2002, p. 63). 'Food' is therefore viewed by this group of mothers as an 'objective' anchor, which helps to keep both their British-Ghanaian identities alive, in physical form. This current finding highlights the importance of the '*umwelt'* dimension of existence for the first time mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second generation and offers practitioners working with ethnic minorities, with a new and distinct avenue of exploration. Practitioners seeking to understand more about the identities of British ethnic groups should consider exploring the physical facets of their existences including their attitudes towards 'food', as these areas may help to reveal more about their identities.

When discussing their attitudes towards education and disciplining methods, the mothers admit that they are currently merging the British and Ghanaian aspects of their identities together, reflecting their 'bicultural identities' (Zubida et al., 2013) and these cultural influences are being revealed in their mothering practices. The present study has therefore shown that for the first time mothers of British-Ghanaian descent their 'bicultural identities' (ibid) are indeed influencing their current mothering choices and overall decisions. Rather than viewing their present-day mothering practices as 'fixed' and determined as had been previously anticipated during the early new-born stages, the first time mothers in this study who are now very much accustomed to the mothering process are now exercising their personal 'freedoms', by choosing to mother in ways that they find personally meaningful. This connects to Simone De Beauvoir's (1965), Sartre (2010) and Butterfield's (2010) views on the human beings potential to engage with its personal 'freedoms', 'responsibilities', 'choices' and its ability to create 'meaning' for-itself (Sartre, 2010).

As each of the mothers have admitted that they are currently engaging in a psychic discourse 'with their inner selves' (van Deurzen, 2002, p. 62) the findings also suggest that the first time mothers of British-Ghanaian decent, who are much further along the mothering journey, are constantly having to engage with the *Eigenwelt' or personal dimension* as described by van Deurzen (2002), when deciding which mothering practices

to continue or adapt. This present study adds to the limited existential literature on mothers and suggests that first time mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second generation, in the midst of their mothering experience are having to re-evaluate and redefine the meanings of their mothering journey in ways that represent their two cultures and in a way that fulfils their individual preferences. This process appears to be one, which is on going. This finding is particularly distinct because whilst the literature surrounding the mothering journeys of first time mothers has already highlighted the complex process of reflection that first time mothers tend to endure during their initial new-born stages, the mothers in this study have been actively immersed in their mothering roles for a period of up to ten years and appear to be currently immersed in this process of reflection, irrespective of the length of time spent in their roles.

As the journey of motherhood appears to be one that is on going and is open to personal adaptation, practitioners working with ethnic minority mothers should acknowledge the processes at play and attempt to provide a therapeutic space to offer such mothers the opportunity to discuss their present day experiences.

6.4 Influence: *'Being in relation to others'*

6.4.1 Family Influences

There is a famous African proverb, which is believed to have originated from the Igbo and Yoruba people from Nigeria, which suggests that, 'it takes a whole village to raise a child' (Rhaiti, 2016). This has been observed by anthropologists Quinn and Mageo (2013) who have researched the mothering styles and practices of women living in various African countries and have noted that the mothers tend to rely on their wider kinship groups or wider communities, for all their child rearing related needs and practices.

This view certainly relates to the methods being employed by the mothers of focus in this study, as when their current day mothering practices were discussed the majority of them stated that their partners, siblings and/or other family members are currently influencing aspects of their present-day mothering choices and overall decisions. Although this was not the case for two of the mothers (Abenaa and Yaa Adoma) this specific finding adds to the existing literature on first time mothers (Reynolds, 1998; Arnold-Baker, 2014; Hollway,

2015; Phillips-Mundy, 2011) as the majority of the mothers despite their length of time spent in their mothering roles, seem keen to draw on the social support of those around them.

Wendy Hollway et al. (2015), conducted a study to explore the process of becoming a mother for a group of 19 ethnically diverse new mothers from the borough of Tower hamlets in East London with hopes 'to reflect the diversity and changing class patterns of the borough' (p.18). These mothers (seven were Caucasian, five were English, one was European and one was of South African heritage, two had African-Caribbean heritage, one was West African and nine were of Bangladeshi Heritage) were interviewed and observed in the comfort of their own homes and had been recruited by 'general practitioners and antenatal classes in the Tower Hamlets borough' (the study had been funded by the 'British Economic and Social Research Council') (ibid).

I have chosen to highlight this study because much like the present study, the findings from Hollway et al'. study, correlates with the outcomes of this study to some extent, as the mothers irrespective of their differences had sought the support of their own parents, siblings or their child's father (Urwin cited in Hollway et al., 2015, p. 187-188). Although Hollway et al's. study, had been conducted at the start of the mothering journey, as with many of the previous studies conducted to understand the mothering experience (Reynolds, 1998; Arnold-Baker, 2014) the mothers in the present study seem to have upheld and maintained their family connections, which began during the initial new-born child rearing stage and has continued to the present date. This finding also corresponds to the findings highlighted by Phillips-Mundy (2011) and Arthur's (2008) studies due to their acknowledgement of African migrants seeking to form and maintain close networks and communities in their host societies as a result of the migration process.

The mothering process for the first time mothers of British-Ghanaian second generation descent in the midst of their mothering experience is therefore currently being experienced as a 'social activity', as opposed to an isolated one, which offers mothers a source of support and appears to continue as the mothering journey proceeds, or as the needs of the children change. This particular finding emphasises once again, the importance of the use of social support networks for ethnic minority mothers and whilst this finding appears to

relate to this particular population, it also corresponds to the findings drawn from other studies and therefore remains applicable to members of the ethnic minority population.

6.4.2 Wider Community Influence

Likewise, when discussing the wider community influences, a small minority of the mothers admitted that they are currently drawing on the support of their work colleagues, members of their religious groups and/or wider Ghanaian community groups for support with their child rearing matters. With this particular group of mothers these wider community forms of support appear to be acting as an additional network of support, to that of their family members and seem to be facilitating the mothers' attempts to strengthen their mothering choices and identities with a diverse pool of perspectives.

This particular finding once again reiterates with what has already been suggested by previous researchers (Arnold-Baker, 2014; Prinds et al., 2013, Quinn and Mageo, 2013; Hollway, 2015, and in the section above) regarding the request of first time mothers needing social forms of support from wider community groups, such as that of the 'NCT (The NCT is the UK's largest charity for parents) groups' (Arnold-Baker, p. 167). However, what makes this finding even more profound is that these mothers who happen to be in the midst of their mothering processes and are admittedly discussing their child rearing concerns with members of their wider communities and are therefore not solely settling on the child rearing suggestions of their family members alone. This finding links with Nyarko's (2014) contribution regarding the differences between the individualistic and collectivistic cultures in Ghana and the western context, as the mothers seem to be seeking support from the wider community and are not succumbing to the collectivistic traditions being enforced by their family members alone.

Mothering for this group of mothers is seen as an everlasting learning process and happens to be one, which is open to personal adaptation as previously reiterated. It is also important to note that although the majority of these mothers have admitted to seeking social forms of support from their family members and/or wider community relationships, all of the mothers are attempting to base their individual mothering decisions on their past or personally lived experiences, personal preferences, family relationships and/or wider community affiliations combined. By seeking support from their wider community groups, the mothers are choosing to exercise their collectivistic natures (Nyarko, 2014), but are not being bound to this influence alone, as they are drawing on their individual preferences too. This suggests that they have also been influenced by the individualistic nature of the

western context in which they have been brought up and have found a way to merge both identity influences together.

6.4.3 Existential phenomenological perspectives: 'Mitwelt', 'Uberwelt', 'being in relation to others'

As a large proportion of the mothers interviewed (seven out of nine), reported that their current day mothering practices are being influenced by their partners, significant family members, religious groups, wider community groups and/or colleagues from work, there is enough reason to imply that motherhood appears to influence the Mitwelt dimension of the first time mothers existence, long after the initial new-born process has occurred. The mothering role can therefore be viewed as a social phenomenon, in that most are influenced by significant family and/or wider community relationships, as such relationships appear to provide the mothers with extra forms of support, guidance and/ or reassurance on their mothering decisions.

The existential view as already stated above acknowledges that we are social beings immersed in the world with 'others' (Heidegger,1962; Sartre (2010), van Deurzen, 2002). For this group of mothers then the 'Mitwelt' dimension appears to be an important factor contributing to the mothering styles being adopted. Although this does not appear to be the case for a very small minority of mothers at present (two out of the nine mothers interviewed), this was certainly the case for all of them during the initial stages of their mothering journeys, yet seems to have continued for most of the mothers of this present study.

Van Duerzen's (2005) perspective on the '*Mitwelt* (this perspective was also briefly introduced in the literature review section) suggests that we exist in a 'with-world' (Deurzen and Arnold-Baker, 2005, p. 89) amongst others and attempt to compare and contrast ourselves by responding to the social, cultural and political environments in which we are 'embedded' (Deurzen, 2002, p. 69). In regards to the topic of motherhood then, this comparing and contrasting process that van Deurzen describes appears to be at play in this current study, as the mothers have expressed that they are currently responding to the social-cultural context in which they exist and have chosen to alter their mothering techniques to suit them.

Butterfield (2010) says that mothers are socially influenced and have been indoctrinated to believe that there is a perfect way to mother, she describes this as the 'stereotypical script' (p. 69) yet acknowledges that mothers have the ability to choose how to respond to the 'social scripts' (ibid) of the mothering role and have the autonomy to decide how they will live out their mothering identity. She says:

> *'to be a mother is to posses an identity that is always in progress, both at the individual level, as I figure it out for myself and at the larger social and cultural level, as meanings are maintained or created anew throughout time' (Butterfield, 2010, p. 69).*

I have chosen to reflect this quote as I feel it exemplifies much of what has been expressed by the mothers in this study, as the findings demonstrate that each of the mothers are responding to their British-Ghanaian culturally influenced *mothering scripts*, in ways that they find personally meaningful. This view of an individual mothering preference links to van Deurzen's (2002), description of the Uberwelt dimension of existence (one of the four dimensions of human existence briefly discussed in the literature review in section 2.3 on pages 16-19) which represents the ideological beliefs and values of a persons 'life, the world, themselves and beyond' and happens to symbolize 'the domain of experience where people create meaning for themselves and make sense of things' (pp. 86-87).

Summary

In summary, the findings of this study from an existential perspective has demonstrated that first time mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent are engaging in the 'Mitwelt' for help with their mothering decisions, but are not being bound to the suggestions or influences of their family members or wider community group/s. Rather, these mothers admit that they are also assessing their core beliefs and adapting their mothering practices to reflect them. Mothering for this group of mothers is being experienced as a freedom inducing experience, which is subject to individual modification.

Overall, the findings of this study have contributed to the limited academic literature on the ethnic minority population living in the UK, from an existential perspective. It has also

offered all health care practitioners and therapeutic practitioners in the field' new insight into the mothering experiences of members of the British Ghanaian second generation. The following section expands on much of what has already been discussed and highlights in detail how the findings of the current study may be used to contribute to the field of counselling and psychotherapy.

7.0 Chapter 7: Research contributions to the Profession

The findings of this present study have demonstrated that 'motherhood' is indeed a life changing experience which impacts all dimensions of the mothers' existence, as emphasised by previous existential researchers. It has provided a unique insight into the identities of a group of ethnic minority Black British mothers of second-generation Ghanaian descent, in the midst of their mothering journeys and has therefore contributed to the limited pre-existing literature regarding the topic of 'motherhood' from an existential perspective.

In terms of significance to the wider profession, the findings of this study have also drawn attention to the process of psychological reflection that seems to be occurring for ethnic minority mothers in the midst of their mothering journeys. Practitioners seeking to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural identities or the mothering experiences of mothers from ethnic minority populations, should take into account their cultural differences, but should also seek to understand their mothering identities from an individual perspective.

The findings of this study have also highlighted the importance of 'support' (family and/or wider community support networks) for ethnic minority mothers. Practitioners, particularly those working specifically with ethnic minority mothers should be aware that there may indeed be scope to create mothering therapy support groups for those further into their mothering journeys beyond the initial post-natal phase. The premise of the group would be to offer ethnic minority mothers the opportunity to reflect over their mothering experiences in a non-judgmental setting to help them feel supported and to expose them to alternate parenting styles.

When thinking about the significance of the current study from the perspective of the field of psychodynamic psychology and psychotherapy, of the research that does exist, we know that the phenomenon of 'intergenerational transmission', which can be described as the process of a transfer of values, characteristics, behaviors or even traumas between the older generation and the younger generation, has been an area of interest for researchers looking at holocaust survivors and the following generations (Adelman, 1995). The findings revealed that the mothers in this study's mothering choices are currently being influenced

by their wider Ghanaian culture and personal experiences of being parented, particularly in regards to the value of education and use of child rearing disciplining methods. This study is therefore also contributing to the field by greatly highlighting the idea of intergenerational transmission within the context of mothering, as the mothers seem to be upholding aspects of their parents' values and wider cultural norms.

With growing numbers of mothers of mixed cultural backgrounds living in the UK, this study contributes to the field by encouraging practitioners' working with clients from mixed backgrounds to think more closely about the psycho-social-cultural and existential dimensions of their clients' worlds. It also emphasizes to practitioners the importance of exploring the intergenerational facets of the clients' heritage when working with ethnic minority population groups.

7.1 Research Rigour:

Due to the nature of participating in a heuristic research inquiry, the topic of validity, unlike that of a quantitative research study becomes more complex, particularly as the 'measurement of validity cannot be determined in this capacity by correlations or statistics' (Moustakas, 1990, p. 32).

Moustakas suggests that for a heuristic research study to be considered valid, researchers will need to participate in the process of 'reflecting, sifting, exploring, and judging of its relevance' in the data handling process and will be expected to 'elucidate the themes and essences that comprehensively and accurately depict' their participants' experiences (Moustakas, 1990, p. 32). As a researcher who has opted to participate in a heuristic study researching a phenomenon of which I am personally involved and invested (I am participant, but I am also researcher), I wanted to maintain the balance of giving voice to myself as a participant, but being able to uphold the level of distance required, to honor the voices of each participant. In seeking a greater resource of support as to how to authentically maintain research rigour, I referred to a chapter recommended by my research supervisor, written by qualitative psychology researcher, Lucy Yardley (Yardley in Smith, 2008). In this chapter Yardley (2008), introduces readers to four criteria that all

researchers will need to address when thinking about the enforcement of research validity. She refers to these four criteria of psychological validity as:

1. Sensitivity to the context: whereby the researcher remains sensitive to the context in which he/she is researching, to the participants being interviewed and remains mindful of the impact that his/her own relationship to the subject and/or research population may have on the responses of the participants' and the study's overall findings.

How this was achieved:

Being immersed in a study, which seeks to explore a population in which you are connected, I had no choice but to remain sensitive to the context and group I was researching and this was a facet, which was heavily discussed during the research proposal planning stages. To maintain sensitivity to the context, I started a journal to reflect my own experiences of the entire research process, as well as the research supervision process (a description of this process is reflected shortly below).

2. Commitment and Rigour: Which refers to the dedication and commitment that the researcher demonstrates throughout the entire research study with a particular focus on the process of analysis. To demonstrate this, the researcher provides justifications for the choices made at each level of analysis as well as the level at which each choice relates to the phenomena being explored. In summary, commitment and rigour is concerned with gaining insight and depth in the subject being explored as well as the rate at which the researcher demonstrates a skill in his/her choice of methodological analysis.

How this was achieved:

To demonstrate my commitment and rigour to the phenomenon I maintained a journal reflecting my justifications at each step of the analysis process and referred to the modified Van Kaam's method as advocated by Moustakas (as previously mentioned in section 4.1, on page 71).

3. Coherence and Transparency: This refers to the way in which the researcher demonstrates how the research question, the theoretical approach chosen, the methods adopted and the interpretation of the overall findings coherently fit together to form 'a consistent whole' (Yardley in Smith, 2008 p. 248). By becoming more aware of the practice of a transparent and reflexive approach, the researcher becomes more able to identify the influences that his/her personal experience may be having on the findings.

How this was achieved:

The research question was kept at the forefront of my analysis, to prevent me from deterring from the phenomenon in question. I chose to maintain researcher coherence and transparency as I felt I needed to determine whether each of the components of the study were indeed fitting together coherently. I also wanted to reflect the strengths and limitations of the study and felt journaling would help me to keep a record of these details.

4. Impact and Importance: This criterion refers to the level at which the research appears to impact or make a difference to the profession or context in which it is being researched, or on the wider social-cultural scale. The aim of one's research will be to build on what is already known about it, so as to shed greater light or understanding to the topic of interest.

How this was achieved:

As previously highlighted above in the literature review (in section 2.0, on page 12 and section 8.0, on page 165), the absence of literature surrounding this group of British mothers, has meant that the current study has helped to address the current gap that exists in the profession.

In my efforts to maintain research rigour as proposed by Yardley's resource, I conducted a 10-20 minute introductory call to introduce myself to each participant, as I wanted to offer each of them the chance to connect with me on an informal basis. My reasoning for this particular decision was that I wanted to provide a space to each participant in the hope that this might alleviate any potential anxieties and/or concerns that were likely to arise prior to the interview and to clarify whether they matched my selection criteria.

During our initial discussion a number of the mothers expressed a desire to know whether I was a mother myself and needed me to clarify my own intergenerational identity (in other words, that I was of British-Ghanaian descent and had been born and raised in England too). These mothers were also fully aware that the current study was being carried out as a requirement for my doctorate of professional studies in *Existential Psychotherapy and Counselling* and had been made aware of my identity as a psychotherapist in training. The impressions I took from each of our conversations were that they were all seeking to understand my interest in the topic and seemed reassured to know that I had opted to participate in the study and would be considering myself as a participant also. Whilst I cannot be certain as to their reasons for asking, it seemed to me that by clarifying my interest, these participants felt comfortable to proceed, however this shared sense of identity was met with its own challenges (this is clarified in depth further below). It is unclear however, what their reactions may have been had I not disclosed my cultural identity, my participant inclusion or my position of psychotherapist and indeed if I had not identified as a British-Ghanaian mother. These identities will most definitely have influenced their interview responses and each of our relationships.

In line with Moustakas' (1990) and Yardley's (2008) views on validity I decided to keep a reflexive journal and noted my feelings, thoughts, and assumptions throughout the entire research process, as I wanted to accurately note my reactions to the researcher participant relationship, the stories being shared and my experiences of each of the research stages, as well as my process of supervision. By maintaining this journaling process I had hoped that by on reflecting each of the choices that were being made, other researchers seeking to replicate the study would be able to employ the same methods, or would at least gain somewhat of an understanding of my findings and decisions. These notes were constantly updated as the process unfolded and have been used as a resource of reference, facilitating my memory recall.

As previously highlighted above (in the alternate methods considered section 3.1 pages 46-51) I was concerned that by conducting a study which emerged as a result of my personally lived experience, that I would struggle to maintain the distance between my personal story and the stories of my eight participants during the interview itself and during my data analysis process.

As a psychotherapist, who identifies first and foremost as a black British ethnic minority mother of Ghanaian descent currently living in the United Kingdom, I became motivated to embark on a research project in my attempt to gain a greater understanding of my own identity and to provide other mothers from the Black British ethnic minority population to which I belong, with the opportunity to share their individually lived experiences. However, whilst this demonstrates my initial motivations, the reality of this process appeared more complex, particularly as I happen to be the creator of this research topic and therefore couldn't be perceived in the same light of my participants, due to this particular distinction. This research can be described as an interwoven inquiry into the mothering experiences of a group of British Black ethnic minority mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent of which I am included.

Prior to interviewing, I read two research articles (Chaitali Das, 2010; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996) discussing the subject of the researcher-participant relationships and the effect that such relationships may have on the outcome of a research inquiry (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). Many qualitative researchers (Chaitali Das, 2010; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996) have discussed the influence of researchers from different backgrounds than that of their participant population group, encountering political, societal and 'other structural power dynamic' relations in their studies (Chaitali Das, 2010, p. 5). However, Wilkinson and Kitzinger (1996), argue that researchers who identify themselves as belonging to the same population group as that of 'their research subjects' (p. 24) should also be mindful of considering the other social differences between them.

As I began to interview my initial participant, I became struck by how similar the interviewing process was to a therapy session, in the ways in which I was able to at least for the most part, carefully explore their experiences by bracketing my personal assumptions. The same method of 'bracketing' (Moustakas 1990) was applied to the interviews that followed subsequently after. However, as much as I attempted to bracket

my personal experiences and journey, there were prominent moments during the interviewing process in which I began to notice the assumptions that were being made by myself and some of the mothers interviewed, concerning our experiences and knowledge of our dual identities.

When discussing the topic of childhood experiences, one of the mothers (Efya) assumed that I knew what she was referring to, as she discussed her experiences of her British schooling journey. She spoke about how her peers at school had responded to her African heritage in a negative way, which in turn had left her with feelings of embarrassment. There were moments during her revelation whereby I began to over-identify with her experience, as I thought about my own experiences of prejudice during my adolescence years. This interaction is highlighted in the excerpt below (my responses are initiated next to the letter '*J*' and Efya's responses are initiated next to the letter 'E'):

Efya-

'J7- can you tell me a little bit about what this identity has been like for you?

E7-… I remember when I was a bit younger in school and you would have that sort of (smile- looking up at me) little bit of embarrassment, but I think as I've grown up, I've learnt to just love where I come from'.

J8- Can you tell me a little more about this embarrassment?

E8- You know, in school there was this sort of period of time where Africans would be teased a little for being African but then you just learn to love the things they tease you about when you grow up, I mean because when you are younger you are more naïve and you tend to care a lot about what others think of you. When you get older you realise there's more to life' (Appendix K, E7-E8).

When she smiled and looked up at me, I wanted in this interaction (E7) to agree and in this specific moment assumed I knew what she had been expressing about her experience of embarrassment, without the need for further exploration, and although this was quickly bracketed, as demonstrated in the transcript above, I admit having to make the effort to stay with her experience within that moment.

A similar interaction appeared to occur again as I interviewed Esi, as she described the attitudes of elder members of her family as 'being old school'. This happens to be a phrase that I have heard uttered by some of my British Ghanaian family members and led to my

initial response of laughter (J21). When she uttered the phrase, I felt I understood what she had been saying and my impression was that she had also assumed that I knew what she meant (E21). This is highlighted in the transcript below:

Esi-

'E20- I want my child to feel free to come to me, this is very important because I remember, growing up I found it difficult to speak to my elders because they were too old school.

J21- (laugh) Old school in what way?

E21- They were, hmm I don't really know how to describe it, I think you know what I mean?

J22- Can I describe what I think you mean?

E22- Yes

J23- Maybe too old fashioned, the idea of a parent being in control perhaps or having to be respected?

E23- Yes, I want my daughter to feel able to express and communicate with me so I can support her' (Appendix K, E20-23).

These two interactions are striking as they demonstrate how researchers belonging to the same cultural population of their participants can indeed struggle to bracket their assumptions, struggle to encourage their participants to describe or elaborate cultural phrases or linguistic terms and/or may find it difficult to remain open to the possibilities of differences which may indeed exist between themselves and their participants. Alternatively, it also highlights the presumptions held by some participants, who may feel reluctant to further describe their journeys or linguistic terms, out of the belief that the researcher may already hold an understanding or a preconceived judgement of their experiences.

As these moments had been noted in my reflexive journal immediately after both interviews had been conducted, I felt competent to tackle the interviews that followed. I remained attentive to the experiences that were being uncovered in subsequent interviews and encouraged each of the participants to clarify and describe their experiences as much as

possible, as I attempted to bracket my personal biases, cultural assumptions and perspectives. However, as the author of this entire project, I recognise that my biases will have influenced my interpretations of the data and analysis. I have however tried to diminish this possibility as much as possible by sticking to the accounts of the participants where possible. In addition, all eight participants had their individual transcripts and individual sets of findings sent out to them and have verified that I have understood their experiences. Participants were offered the opportunity to make the changes to correct areas that had been misinterpreted, however none of the mothers felt that this was necessary. The following section documents my experience of interviewing other Black British mothers of a similar heritage.

7.2. Researcher Reflexivity:

7.2.1 Experiences of interviewing other Black British mothers of second-generation Ghanaian descent:

I have reflected on the moments I struggled to bracket my assumptions during two of the interviews mentioned above, the entire process of interviewing mothers in the midst of their mothering journeys also seemed to evoke within me feelings of isolation, yet feelings of mutuality at others.

When discussing the topic of initial new-born care practices I felt frustrated and slightly isolated as the majority of first time mothers interviewed were mothers of female children. Of the three mothers of male children, I had hoped to hear about their emotional struggles regarding their decisions to have their male children circumcised, as this was my personal experience following the process of my son's birth and had presumed that this would be the case for others as well. However, unfortunately as this study seeks to openly explore the individual experiences of all participants, these mothers appeared to encounter no struggles or concerns with their decisions to have their sons circumcised, much to my disappointment.

Contrastingly, although I experienced feelings of slight isolation and disappointment there were also moments in which I felt feelings of unity between the participants and myself. It

was as though I was experiencing an affirming sense of being part of a wider community of mothers for the first time. When we discussed the topics of education and discipline, I felt a refreshing sense of fulfilment, when some of the participants described their earlier childhood experiences and the influences that these experiences have had on their current child rearing decisions. As this is an issue I am currently attempting to understand about my own parenting journey, which up until this point had never been explored, I felt reassured to hear that my experiences of the Ghanaian cultural attitudes towards education and discipline were being echoed in varying degrees by all of the participants interviewed, despite our apparent differences in our family structures.

It was as though for the first time ever, I was experiencing a sense of connectedness as other members of the British-Ghanaian population group were revealing their views on the Ghanaian cultural attitudes towards education and discipline. Although not all participants seem to be opting for the same child rearing techniques currently, in discussing these topics I have been left with feelings of unity at an identity level, but have also gained a huge sense of self-confidence in my ability to stick with my personal mothering preferences. I would say that by engaging in this research topic I am now more aware than ever of my independence and freedom as a mother and can now accept that even in a seemingly homogeneous population group, differences in beliefs, values and preferences will indeed exist.

8.0 Chapter 8: Conclusion:

8.1 Summary

This research was created with the aim of exploring, clarifying and describing the phenomenon of self-identity and its influence on the mothering practices of an ethnic minority group of mothers from an existential perspective, by asking the following question:

On becoming mothers, how do the second generation of Ghanaian migrants identify themselves and does this identity contribute to how they mother their children?

In response to the research question posed, the current study has found that the topic of identity is a complex phenomenon, which can only be understood at an individual level. There have been limited studies researching mothers belonging to the British ethnic minority population living in the UK (as stated previously in the literature review), there have been no studies in existence to date that have sought to explore this particular population of mothers. This study has therefore contributed to the limited research on this specific population group, by offering an existential understanding of their experiences.

The participants were interviewed using Moustakas' conversational style interview and were guided with a conversational guide of questions to explore (Appendix F). These interviews were then analysed with the modified Van Kaam method as suggested by Moustakas. Overall the findings have shown that identity is a complex phenomenon, which is subject to adaptation and individual preference. The accounts of the nine British mothers (researcher included) who have been the focus of this study indicate that mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second generation identify themselves as equally British and Ghanaian. The mothers of this current study discussed their merged British-Ghanaian identities and disclosed how their self-perceptions of their merged identities had evolved over time, yet found it difficult to fully articulate what their merged British-Ghanaian identities meant to each of them.

Despite their initial difficulties in describing their merged identities, the mothers were able to recognize upon further exploration, that their merged identities are currently being reflected in their mothering practices, choices and preferences, in individual ways. For the mothers in this study then their identities are viewed as reflecting their merged identities, which are expressed in creative ways. This particular finding is specific to this population but may also apply to other migrant population populations as the findings seem to correspond to the findings drawn by other researchers who have focused on exploring other migrant population groups living in a western context (Phinney, 1988; McGrew, 1997; Purkayastha, 2005; Phillips- Mundy, 2011; Amayo, 2009; Zubida et al, 2013). Future studies need to be undertaken however, to understand the identities of other populations of the British ethnic minority group, from an individual perspective.

From an existential perspective, the current study has reiterated and added to previous studies findings, which have emphasized that motherhood is an existentially altering experience, which sparks continuous changes to all dimensions of each mother's existence. The mothers expressed that on becoming mothers, their merged British-Ghanaian identities were being reflected in their cooking preferences. 'Food' is currently being viewed by this group of mothers as an 'objective' anchor, which helps to keep their merged identities alive, in physical form, this represents the 'Umwelt' dimension (physical world).

The findings of this study have also found that there is a social dimension to the mothering journey, which begins from the moment the child, is born, as reiterated by previous researchers (Arnold-Baker, 2014; Prinds et al., 2013). The mothers in this study sought the support of both family and/or wider community groups initially and appear to be doing so currently. They are presently engaging in a comparing and contrasting process by interacting in differing social modes and have chosen to alter their mothering techniques to suit their personal preferences based on these influences. This represents the 'Mitwelt' dimension (social world).

The findings have alluded to the tensions faced by the mothers of this population group as they attempt to contest the intergenerational norms being transmuted by their own parents. The findings have also revealed the process of self-reflection that the first-time mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second generation, in the midst of their mothering

journeys are experiencing and this process appears to be one which is continuous. This finding is unique to this particular group of mothers as rather than remaining defined by their racial, intergenerational or cultural group associations and/or memberships, the mothers have decided to respond to their identities creatively. This represents the Eigenwelt' dimension (personal world).

The mothers of this study are not being bound to the suggestions or influences of their social relationships. Instead they are assessing their core beliefs and adapting their mothering practices to reflect them. Mothering for this group of mothers is being experienced as a freedom inducing experience, which is subject to individual modification (Abrams and Curran, 2010; Phillips-Mundy 2011; Amayo, 2009). Each of the mothers are responding to their British-Ghanaian culturally influenced mothering identity, in ways that they find personally meaningful. This represents the 'Uberwelt' dimension (spiritual world).

To conclude, the mothering journey is one, which remains in continuous flux and is subject to change as the journey unfolds and the child develops. This study has highlighted the importance of exploring mothers in the midst of their mothering journeys, therefore adding to the limited literature on British ethnic minority mothers. More research should be sought to explore ethnic minority British mothers living in the United Kingdom, to understand their mothering experiences beyond the initial postnatal period.

The findings of this study have also highlighted the use of exploring existential concepts, when working with ethnic minority British first time mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent and has offered all health care practitioners (including therapeutic practitioners) in the profession, a new insight into the mothering experiences of members of the British-Ghanaian second generation.

9.0 Chapter 9: Limitations:

Unfortunately, there were limitations to the selection criteria as it was specified that only mothers who were at least 18 at the time of the interview and had children between the ages of 2-10 could take part. This meant that mothers who may have had their children whilst they were under the age of 18, were permitted to participate in the study, which would have impacted the studies overall findings.

There were also limitations with the snowball research sampling method, as it is an approach, which critics suggest could lead to inaccurate conclusions being drawn, due to the inclusion of closely related participants with already established relationships. Whilst the possibility of this exists I attempted to diminish this by distributing adverts via various boroughs across London and distributed leaflets to colleagues and friends.

In regards to other limitations of this study, I am aware that since this research study focuses on my own personal experiences alongside that of eight other participants, that there remains an increased possibility of interference occurring from my own personal biases and/or interpretations. However, I have attempted to diminish this influence, by maintaining an openly transparent and reflexive dialogue on my experience of the entire research process, this process of self-reflection has been demonstrated above in the methods section. I have also reflected my personal reactions to hearing the stories of other mothers with a similar background to myself and have dedicated a section to express my experience in the section above (Section 7.2.1). I have done this to identify and to give voice to my own experience as well as the experiences of each of my participants, as this has been one of my initial motivations for conducting this study.

I also recognise that due to the nature of participating in such a small-scale study, generalisations will be impossible to be reached about the entire British-Ghanaian ethnic group population living in the United Kingdom. The findings from the study applies to the 9 women (myself included) who have dedicated their stories to this research study however, the themes that have been identified have shared similarities with the findings of other studies which have looked specifically at first time mothers (Kruckmen, 1992; Miller, 2000;

Stern, 1995; Arnold-Baker, 2014). This suggests then that since there are indeed common themes, which have been highlighted and experienced by mothers in general, the findings of the current study can therefore be applied to a more general population group.

10.0 Chapter 10: Growth as a Researcher:

I embarked on this research topic with hopes of fulfilling my lack of knowledge of 'self' and wanting to understand more about my identity, as a Black British mother of Ghanaian descent, as well as wanting to explore other groups of mothers with the same identity as myself, without much regard for the notion that I would also have to adopt the researcher's identity and feel competent in that process.

Moustakas describes the heuristic research process as one whereby the researcher may be changed by the research itself or in his words 'illuminated'. I would say that my growth or illumination as a researcher has led to my development of a number of qualities. I am now more courageous than ever to speak my truth and to appreciate my process of internal questioning, which has led to the feeling that the questions I may have about my identity or 'identity' as a phenomenon are indeed valid. This is a huge revelation because at the start of the research process I felt that my research enquiry held very little significance and I became concerned that my work would add absolutely no value to the research profession.

I am now more knowledgeable about the process of narrowing down research topics, having to write a research proposal, the process of having to conduct a research search, using Boolean expressions and the steps required to gain ethical research approval. These steps are a necessary part of the research process and actions I would confidently repeat if I were to embark on another research study in the future. I am also now more familiar with numerous data analysis methods and now recognise some of the positives and criticisms of each. These insights demonstrate my growth and confidence in my capabilities and knowledge base as a researcher.

During the analysis process I faced several disappointing experiences whereby the findings, which were being revealed, failed to match my personal experiences of the phenomenon. My growth as a researcher means that I have developed as a researcher who understands that individual experiences are inevitable and will occur. By adopting the bracketing method that Moustakas refers to, I have had to appreciate the value of giving voice to each individual's experience, without judgement and without manipulating the data

to fit my own views. Although populations can be categorised into community groups, it is important to recognise that generalisations about members of a population group are rarely ever accurate, as humans are individual in nature and cannot be categorised. This revelation has also translated into my clinical work with clients from similar backgrounds to myself, as I am now more able to explore the individual experiences of my clients without making presumed judgements or over identifying with the experiences of members from the populations of which I am a member.

The research took a significant amount of time, which has led to me feeling frustrated and wanting to stop the process on numerous occasions. My growth as a researcher has therefore led to me recognising that choosing to participate in a doctoral research study of this nature, takes a commitment like no other, as there is no way to know how the process itself or how life will unfold. Potential researchers seeking to embark on a study of this nature, should truly consider this aspect prior to embarking in this journey. This is a point which will need to be reflected upon should I opt to embark on this process again in the future.

Despite the minor setbacks and obstacles faced at various levels of the research process, I have maintained my work ethic and kept striving to see this through. I would therefore state that the research process has encouraged me to exercise my perseverance. I am now more confident and determined as a result of having to see this entire research process through to submission.

11.0 Chapter 11: Suggestions for Future Research:

As there are very limited studies looking specifically at the mothering experiences of ethnic minority British mothers from an existential perspective, this study has highlighted that there is indeed room to explore the many mothering experiences of ethnic minority British mothers currently living in the UK. Any research that seeks to explore the experiences of all types of British mothers will help practitioners working with mothers of various backgrounds to gain a greater understanding of their mothering choices, preferences and overall journeys.

As this study has revealed that mothers belonging to the British Ghanaian second generation view education as an important and essential factor which they suggest has been influenced by their Ghanaian cultural upbringing, and how they were parented, this current study has identified this area as a topic of exploration for future researchers. An interesting study could be for future researchers to explore how the second generation of British Ghanaians attitudes to education compare to that of the first generations beliefs (parents' generations).

The findings have also discovered that mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian second-generation value discipline as an important child rearing Ghanaian tradition and appear to be upholding this intergenerational value. Future researchers should seek to embark on a study to explore how the second generation of British Ghanaians' attitudes to discipline compare to that of their parents' generations, as this may provide practitioners working with first and/or second generation mothers to understand more about the psycho-socio-cultural and intergenerational facets of their mothering identities.

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Appendix A- <u>Ethical Approval Documents</u>

7 INDEPENDENT FIELD/LOCATION WORK RISK ASSESSMENT   FRA1

This proforma is applicable to, and must be completed in advance for, the following field/location work situations:

- *All field/location work undertaken independently by individual students, either in the UK or overseas, including in connection with proposition module or dissertations. Supervisor to complete with student(s).*

- *All field/location work undertaken by postgraduate students. Supervisors to complete with student(s).*

- *Field/location work undertaken by research students. Student to complete with supervisor.*

- *Field/location work/visits by research staff. Researcher to complete with Research Centre Head.*

- *Essential information for students travelling abroad can be found on www.fco.gov.uk*

FIELD/LOCATION WORK DETAILS

Name:	Jennifer Ofori	**Student No Research (staff only):**	M00343638
Supervisor	Dr Claire Asherson Bartram	**Degree:**	DProf in Existential Psychotherapy Counselling

NEXT OF KIN Telephone numbers and name of next of kin who may be contacted in the event of an accident	**Name: Kevin Hutchinson** **Phone**: 07872484173
Physical or psychological limitations to carrying out the proposed field/location work	NO
Any health problems (full details) Which may be relevant to proposed field/location work activity in case of emergencies.	NONE
Locality (Country and Region)	LONDON, ENGLAND/ UK
Travel Arrangements NB: Comprehensive travel and health insurance must always be obtained for independent overseas field/location work.	N/A
Dates of Travel and Field/location work	N/A

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION VERY CAREFULLY
<u>**Hazard Identification and Risk Assessment**</u>

Examples of Potential Hazards :
Adverse weather: exposure (heat, sunburn, lightening, wind, hypothermia)
Terrain: rugged, unstable, fall, slip, trip, debris, and remoteness. Traffic: pollution.
Demolition/building sites, assault, getting lost, animals, disease.
Working on/near water: drowning, swept away, disease (weils disease, hepatitis, malaria, etc), parasites',
tides and range.
Lone working: difficult to summon help, alone or in isolation, lone interviews.
Dealing with the public: personal attack, causing offence/intrusion, misinterpreted, political, ethnic, cultural,
onomic differences/problems. Known or suspected criminal offenders.
Safety Standards (other work organisations, transport, hotels, etc), working at night, areas of high crime.
Ill health: personal considerations or vulnerabilities, pre-determined medical conditions (asthma, allergies,
eneral fitness, disabilities, persons suited to task.
Articles and equipment: inappropriate type and/or use, failure of equipment, insufficient training for use and
jury.
Substances (chemicals, plants, bio- hazards, waste): ill health - poisoning, infection, irritation, burns, cuts, eye-

Manual handling: lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy items, physical unsuitability for task

---

List the localities to be visited or specify routes to be followed **(Col. 1).** For each locality, enter the potential hazards that may be identified beyond those accepted in everyday life. Add details giving cause for concern **(Col. 2).**

If no hazard can be identified beyond those of everyday life, enter 'NONE'.

1. LOCALITY/ROUTE (specify here the exact name and address of each locality/organization)	2. POTENTIAL HAZARDS
The Awareness Centre **41 Abbeville Road,** **London.** **SW4 9JX**	**NONE**

The University Field/location work code of Practice booklet provides practical advice that should be followed in planning and conducting field/location work.

<u>**Risk Minimisation/Control Measures**</u>   **PLEASE READ VERY CAREFULLY**

For each hazard identified **(Col 2),** list the precautions/control measures in place or that will be taken **(Col 3)** to **"reduce the risk to acceptable levels",** and the safety equipment **(Col 5)** that will be employed.

Assuming the safety precautions/control methods that will be adopted **(Col. 3),** categorise the field/location work risk for each location/route as negligible, low, moderate or high **(Col. 4).**

Risk increases with both the increasing likelihood of an accident and the increasing severity of the consequences of an accident.

An acceptable level of risk is: a risk which can be safely controlled by person taking part in the activity using the precautions and control measures noted including the necessary instructions, information and training relevant to that risk. The resultant risk should not be significantly higher than that encountered in everyday life.

Examples of control measures/precautions:
Providing adequate training, information & instructions on field/location work tasks and the safe and correct use of any equipment, substances and personal protective equipment. Inspection and safety check of any equipment prior to use. Assessing individuals fitness and suitability to environment and tasks involved. Appropriate clothing, environmental information consulted and advice followed (weather conditions, tide times etc.). Seek advice on harmful plants, animals & substances that may be encountered, including information and instruction on safe procedures for handling hazardous substances. First aid provisions, inoculations, individual medical requirements, logging of location, route and expected return times of lone workers. Establish emergency procedures (means of raising an alarm, back up arrangements). Working with colleagues (pairs).

Lone working is not permitted where the risk of physical or verbal violence is a realistic possibility. Training in interview techniques and avoiding /defusing conflict, following advice from local organisations, wearing of clothing unlikely to cause offence or unwanted attention. Interviews in neutral locations. Checks on Health and Safety standards & welfare facilities of travel, accommodation and outside organisations. Seek information on social/cultural/political status of field/location work area.

Examples of Safety Equipment: Hardhats, goggles, gloves, harness, waders, whistles, boots, mobile phone, ear protectors, bright fluorescent clothing (for roadside work), dust mask, etc.
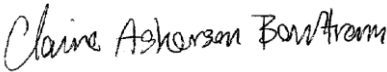
If a proposed locality has not been visited previously, give your authority for the risk assessment stated or indicate that your visit will be preceded by a thorough risk assessment.

3. PRECAUTIONS/CONTROL MEASURES	4. RISK ASSESSMENT (low, moderate, high)	5. SAFETY/EQUIPMENT
I will be using a private therapy room which is covered by health and safety standards and which holds professional Indemnity insurance. I will be carrying a mobile phone and will inform next of kin of my whereabouts, the interviewing schedule i.e. when the interview will begin or end. I aim to go over all of the fire and safety procedures prior to starting.	Low	Mobile Phone I plan to familiarise with the I will aim to conduct the interview during the reception teams working hours however as the possibility of lone working exists, I will be informing my next of kin of the times of the interviews and let him [wh]en I have safely completed each one.

PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION AND SIGN AS APPROPRIATE

DECLARATION: The undersigned have assessed the activity and the associated risks and declare that there is no significant risk or that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above/over. Those participating in the work have read the assessment and will put in place precautions/control measures identified.

NB: Risk should be constantly reassessed during the field/location work period and additional precautions taken or field/location work discontinued if the risk is seen to be unacceptable.

Signature of Field/location (Student/Staff)	Jennifer Ofori	**Date:**	07/06/17
Signature of Student Supervisor	Claire Asherson Bartram	**Date:**	
APPROVAL: (ONE ONLY) **Signature of** of **Programmes** (undergraduate only)		**Date:**	
Signature of Research Degree Co- r **or** of **Programmes (Postgraduate)**		**Date:**	

Signature of Research Centre r staff field/location workers**)**		Date:	

FIELD/LOCATION WORK CHECK LIST

1. Ensure that **all members** of the field party possess the following attributes (where relevant) at a level appropriate to the proposed activity and likely field conditions:

☑ Safety Knowledge & Training?	☑ Awareness of cultural, social & political differences?
☑ Personal clothing & Safety Equipment?	☑ Suitability of field/location workers to proposed tasks?
☑ Physical & psychological fitness & disease immunity, protection & awareness?	

2. Have all the necessary arrangements been made and information/instruction gained, and have the relevant authorities been consulted or informed with regard to

☐ Visa, permits?	☑ Weather conditions, tide times and ranges?
☑ Legal access to sites and/or persons?	☐ Suitability of field/location workers to proposed tasks?
☐ Vaccinations and other health precautions	☐ Safety equipment and protective clothing?
☑ Financial and insurance implications?	☐ Travel and accommodation arrangements?
☐ Health insurance arrangements?	☐ Arrival times after journeys?
☐ Civil unrest and terrorism?	☑ Emergency procedures?
☑ Crime risk?	☑ Transport Use?
☑ Political or military sensitivity of the proposed topic, its method or location	

Important information for retaining evidence of completed risk assessments:

Once the risk assessment is completed and approval gained the **supervisor** should retain this form and issue a copy of it to the field/location worker participating on the field course/work. In addition the **approver** must keep a copy of this risk assessment in an appropriate Health and Safety file.

RP/cc Sept 2010

Click here to choose a decision

8   1ˢᵗ Reviewer's decision

For Revise and Resubmit decisions, particular attention should be paid to the following:

☐ Section 1 details incomplete ☐ Clarity of Research Proposal

☐ Risk Assessment

☐ Professionalism and presentation of participant documentation (information she informed consent, debriefing)

☐ Completeness of ethical approval form (individual questions requiring clarificatiᴏ may be identified here)

Additional comments from Reviewer 1:

☐ Section 1 details incomplete ☐ Clarity of Research Proposal

☐ Risk Assessment

☐ Professionalism and presentation of participant documentation (information sheet, informed consent, debriefing)

☐ Completeness of ethical approval form (individual questions requiring clarification may be identified here)

FOR DOUBLE REVIEW ONLY – Reviewer 2

Click here to choose a decision

For Revise and Resubmit decisions, particular attention should be paid to the following:

<table>
<tr><td></td></tr>
</table>

Additional comments from Reviewer 2:

Middlesex University Department of Psychology Ethics Committee
Application for Ethical Approval and Risk Assessment

No study may proceed until approval has been granted by an authorised person. For collaborative research with another institution, ethical approval must be obtained from all institutions involved. If you are involved in a project that has already received ethical approval from another committee or that will be seeking approval from another ethics committee please complete form '**Application for Approval of Proposals Previously Approved by another Ethics Committee or to be Approved by another Ethics Committee'**

UG and MSc STUDENTS: Please email the completed form to your supervisor from your University email account (...@live.mdx.ac.uk). Your supervisor will then send your application to the Ethics Committee (Psy.Ethics@mdx.ac.uk). You should NOT email the ethics committee directly.

PhD Students and STAFF: Please email the completed form to Psy.Ethics@mdx.ac.uk from your University email account (...@mdx.ac.uk)

This form consists of 8 sections:
4   Summary of Application and Declaration
5   Ethical questions
6   Research proposal
7   Information sheet
8   Informed consent
9   Debriefing
10   Risk assessment (required if research is to be conducted away from Middlesex University property, otherwise leave this blank. Institutions/locations listed for data collection must match original letters of acceptance)
11   Reviewer's decision and feedback

Once your file including proposal, information sheet, consent form, debriefing and (if necessary) materials and Risk Assessment form is ready, please check the size. For files exceeding 3MB, please email your application to your supervisor using WeTransfer: https://www.wetransfer.com/ this will place your application in cloud storage rather than sending it directly to a specific email account. If you/ your supervisor have confidentiality concerns, please submit a paper copy of your application to the Psychology Office instead of proceeding with the electronic submission.

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Applicatio	**2**	**Decision:**		**Date:**	

RISK ASSESSMENT *(complete relevant boxes)***:**

Required:	☑ **Yes**	☐ **No**	**Signed**	☑Student	☑Supervisor
					☐ **Programme Leader**

Date:	18/04/17

LETTER/S OF ACCEPTANCE/PERMISSION MATCHING FRA1 (RISK ASSESSMENT) RECEIVED (SPECIFY):

	Date	From	Checked by	
All	Click here to enter date.	Click here to enter text.	☐ Supervisor	☐ Ethics Admin
Part	Click here to enter date.	Click here to enter text.	☐ Supervisor	☐ Ethics Admin
Part	Click here to enter date.	Click here to enter text.	☐ Supervisor	☐ Ethics Admin

DBS Certificate(s) Required? *(complete relevant boxes)***:**

DBS certificate required?	Yes	Seen By:	Choose an
DBS Certificate Number:	001529121052	Date DBS Issued:	09/05/16

5. Summary of application (researcher to complete)

Title of Proposal:	Identity and Mothering: The Second Generation of Ghanaian Migrants
Name of Principal ator/Supervisor	Dr Claire Asherson Bartram
Name of Student her(s) and student (s)	Jennifer Ofori, M00343638

Please click one of the following:

● UG Student ⊙ PHD/MPHIL Student	○ MSc Student ○ Staff

Proposed Start Date	01/05/17	Proposed end	01/12/17

Details of any co-investigators (if applicable) N/A

1. Name:	Organisation:	Email:
2. Name:	Organisation:	Email:
3. Name:	Organisation:	Email:

Topic/Research Area (tick as many as apply)

☐ Social/Psychosocial   ☐ Occupational   ☐ Forensic   ☐ Developmental

& Exercise   ☐ Cognition & Emotion   ☐ Psychoanalysis   ☑ Clinical

☐ Psychophysiological   ☐ Health

Methodology (tick as many as apply)

Jennifer Ofori   M00343638

☑ Qualitative	☐ Experimental	☐ Field Experiments	☐ Questionnaire
☐ Observation (humans and non-humans)			
☐ Analysis of Existing Data Source/Secondary Data Analysis			

1.1	Are there any sensitive elements to this study (delete as appropriate)? *If you are unclear about means in relation to your research please discuss with your Supervisor first*	Yes
1.2	If the study involves any of the first three groups above, the researcher may need a DBS e (Criminal Records Check). PG students are expected to have DBS clearance. Does the current equire DBS clearance? *Discuss this matter with your supervisor if you unsure*	No
1.3	Does the study involve ANY of the following? *Cl*inical populations; Children (under 16 years); Vulnerable adults such as individuals with mental *cal health problems, prisoners, vulnerable elderly, young offenders; Political, ethnic or religious minorities; Sexually explicit material / issues relating to sexuality*; Mood induction; Deception	No
1.4	Is this a resubmission / amended application? *If so, you must attach the original application with the review decision and comments (you do not e-attach materials etc if the resubmission does not concern alterations to these). Please note that in of complex and voluminous applications, it is the responsibility of the applicant to identify the parts of the resubmission.*	No

By submitting this form you confirm that:

1   You are aware that any modifications to the design or method of the proposal will require resubmission;

2   Students will keep all materials, documents and data relating to this proposal until completion of your studies at Middlesex, in compliance with confidentiality guidelines (i.e., only you and your supervisor will be able to access the data);

3   Staff will keep all materials, documents and data relating to this proposal until the appropriate time after completion of the project, in compliance with confidentiality guidelines (i.e., only you and other members of your team will be able to access the data);

4   Students will provide all original paper and electronic data to the supervisor named on this form on completion of the research / dissertation submission;

5   You have read and understood the British Psychological Society's *Code of Ethics and Conduct,* and *Code of Human Research Ethics.*

2   Ethical questions – all questions must be answered

2	Will you inform participants of their right to withdraw from rch at any time, without penalty?	YES
2	Will you provide a full debriefing at the end of the data n phase?	YES
2	Will you be available to discuss the study with participants, ary, to monitor any negative effects or misconceptions?	YES
2	Under the Data Protection Act, participant information is tial unless otherwise agreed in advance. Will participant y be guaranteed?	YES
2	Is this research or part of it going to be conducted in a other than English? *Note, full translations of all non-English materials must be and attached to this document*	NO
2	*Is this research to be conducted only at Middlesex University? If not, a completed Risk Assessment form - see Section 8 – must be completed, and permission from any hosting or collaborative institution must be obtained by letter or email, nded to this document, before data collection can commence. If you are conducting an online interviews via Skype or telephone whilst you are at Middlesex University you do not need to fill in the risk assessment form.*	NO

If you have answered 'No' to questions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 above, please justify/discuss this below, outlining the measures you have taken to ensure participants are being dealt with in an ethical way.

I will be offering participants the opportunity to be interviewed in a privately rented therapy room in Clapham at The Awareness Centre: a counselling and psychotherapy centre which provides st and private counselling services, to those in need (The Awareness Centre, 2014). This nt is located on page 25 under the section headed: Location.

Are there any ethical issues that concern you about this particular piece of research, not covered elsewhere on this form?
If so please outline them below

Statutory guidance (HM Government, 2016) places a duty on professionals working with children and families to promote the welfare of children by protecting them from harm, neglect or abuse and to consult with local authorities if it is suspected that a child has suffered harm or is likely to do so (Home Office, As the mothers will be sharing details of their child rearing practices they will need to be made aware of the circumstances under which their rights to confidentiality will be broken. This is disclosed on page 62-65 under the section headed: Ethical Considerations. Please also see Appendix C under the section headed, The possible disadvantages of taking part,. Please also see Appendix E: Risk Assessment Protocol Guide.

<u>Appendix B- Advert For Participants</u>

(Fig1: British Ghanaian Badge, 2013)

My name is Jennifer and I am currently in my third year of my Doctorate by Professional studies in Existential Psychotherapy and counselling at the New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling (NSPC) and Middlesex University. This research project is being conducted as part of my Doctoral requirements. I aim to maintain ethical practice in accordance to the codes of conduct as enforced by the BACP ethical framework (2013), UKCP ethical principal and Code of Professional conduct (2009) and the Data Protection act (1998).

<u>My Research question is;</u>

On becoming mothers, how do the second generation of Ghanaian migrants identify themselves and does this identity contribute to how they mother their children?

As I am researching the first time mothers who identify themselves as belonging to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group, to participate in this research;

- **You will need to identify as a first time mother, who should have been born and brought up in the United Kingdom to migrant Ghanaian parents,**

- **Your child should be <u>between the ages of 2-10</u> at the time of your interview.**

You will not be able to take part if you are currently taking psychotropic medication/s such as; antidepressants, anti-anxiety and anti psychotic medications or if you currently have a diagnosed a mental health issue.

If you would like to take part in my research please contact me via email, leaving your name, contact details and a convenient time for me to get in touch with you at;

JO513@live.mdx.ac.uk.
Thank you,

Jennifer Ofori

APPENDIX C- PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of research project: Identity and Mothering: The Second Generation of Ghanaian Migrants
Being carried out by: Jennifer Ofori as a requirement for a Doctorate of professional studies (Dprof) in
Existential Psychotherapy and Counselling from New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling and
Middlesex University.

New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling
61-63 Fortune Green Road.
London
NW6 1DR

Dated: 14/12/16

Dear participant,

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully, and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of the research?

This study is being carried out as part of my studies at NSPC Ltd and Middlesex University. As there are currently no studies looking at mothers belonging to the second generation of British-Ghanaian migrant population group from the United Kingdom, this study will be aiming to give voice to the experiences of 'motherhood' for the first time mothers of this group. This study will be seeking to explore the identities and practices of these mothers, so that their mothering experiences may be thoroughly voiced and understood. You are being asked to participate because you have replied to my advertisement, which states that in-order to participate in this research project:

- **You will need to identify as a first time mother, who should have been born and brought up in the United Kingdom to migrant Ghanaian parents,**

- **Your child should be <u>between the ages of 2-10</u> at the time of your interview.**

Please note that you will not be able to take part in this study if you are currently taking psychotropic medication/s such as, antidepressants, anti- anxiety or anti psychotic medications or if you currently have a diagnosed mental health issue.

<u>What will happen to me if I take part</u>?

If you choose to participate in the study, you will be interviewed on one occasion for an hour at a private therapy room located in Clapham (directions will be enclosed overleaf). The interview will consist of your participation in a conversational style interview, which will be guided by questions relating to the subject being explored. The material derived from your interview will be combined with the transcripts from the other participants for analysis. I will use a qualitative research method to extract the main themes of what you and other people tell me about your mothering experiences.

<u>What will you do with the information that I provide?</u>

Please note that I will be recording the interview on a digital recorder and will transfer the files to an encrypted USB stick for storage, deleting the files from the recorder. I will be responsible for transcribing the interview. All of the information that you provide me will be identified only with a project code and stored either on the encrypted USB stick, or in a locked filing cabinet. I will keep the key that links your details with the project code in a locked filing cabinet.

The information will be kept at least until 6 months after I graduate and will be treated as confidential. If my research is published, I will make sure that neither your name nor other identifying details such as your full name, your child's name and any other significant others that you may mention, are used. However as this research will be looking at the British mothers of second generation Ghanaian descent, it is important that you are aware that these details will made explicit throughout the entire research project. I will therefore need your consent to ensure that I will be able to disclose <u>ONLY</u> these identifying details of you belonging to this population group, mentioned above.

Data will be stored according to the Data Protection Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

As this study is seeking to explore the mothering identities of mothers belonging to the British-Ghanaian migrant population group, your participation may expose you to learning something new about your experience, which may upset you, cause you distress or influence you to make changes to your choice of mothering style as a result of what may have been disclosed. If you happen to find talking about your personal experience distressing, please let me know and if you wish, I will stop the interview.

Statutory guidance (HM Government, 2016), places a duty on professionals working with children and families to promote the welfare of children by protecting them from harm, neglect or abuse and to consult with local authorities if it is suspected that a child has suffered harm or is likely to do so, (Home Office, 2016). If you happen to disclose something about your child rearing practice that I suspect may be harmful or life-threatening to your child, I have a duty of care to pass this information on to a third person or organisation, but will always aim to talk with you first about what to do. Otherwise whatever you tell me will remain confidential.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

As there is limited research regarding this population of mothers, your participation will provide insight into the mothering experiences of members of this population. Being interviewed about your individual experience has no direct benefit, however you may find that having the space to reflect upon your experience may be of some value to you.

Consent

You will be given a copy of this information sheet for your personal records, and if you agree to take part, you will be asked to sign the attached consent form before the study

begins. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You do not have to take part if you do not want to. If you decide to take part you may withdraw at any time without giving a reason. See specific guidelines for consent in a separate file.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is entirely self-funded.

Who has reviewed the study?

All proposals for research using human participants are reviewed by an ethics committee before they can proceed. The NSPC research ethics sub-committee has approved this research study.

Expenses

Participants with pre-school aged children will be offered the opportunity to either have their child attend the interview or can opt to place their child in childcare, to attend the interview. I will therefore offer to cover the cost of three hours worth of childcare (up to a maximum of £50.00) for the mothers who require it (subject to evidence of an invoice).

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

If you have any further questions, you can contact me at:

JO513@live.mdx.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the study, you may contact my supervisor at the following address:
identitymotheringstudy@gmail.com
Or

The Principal
NSPC Ltd. 61-63 Fortune Green Road
London NW6 1DR
Admin@nspc.org.uk
0044 (0) 20 7624 0471

Appendix D- Research Consent Form

New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling Ltd

Title of study and academic year: Identity and Mothering: The Second Generation of
Ghanaian Migrants 2017
Researcher's name: Jennifer Ofori
Supervisor's name and email: Dr Claire Asherson Bartram,

.

I have understood the details of the research as explained to me by the researcher, and
confirm that I have consented to act as a participant.

.

I am aware that this research will disclose **ONLY** those identifying details of me belonging
to this population group and that the researcher will aim to maintain my participant
anonymity and confidentiality within the limits of the law and statutory guidance (Gov,
2016).

.

I have been given contact details for the researcher in the information sheet.

.

I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, that the data collected during the
research will not be identifiable and that I have the right to withdraw from the project at any
time without any obligation to explain my reasons for doing so.

.

I further understand that the data I provide may be used for analysis and subsequent
publication, and I provide my consent that this may occur.

_____ _____

Print name Sign Name

Date: _____

To the participant: Data may be inspected by the Chair of the Psychology Ethics panel and the

Chair of the School of Health and Education Ethics committee of Middlesex University, if required by institutional audits about the correctness of procedures. Although this would happen in strict confidentiality, please tick here if you do not wish your data to be included in audits: _____

Directions to Private therapy room:

The Awareness Centre 41 Abbeville Road Clapham London SW4 9JX
Tel: 020 8673 4545 Fax: 020 8673 8844

The Awareness Centre can be accessed by the following:
Tube:
Clapham South (Northern Line) is approximately a 7 minute walk.
Mainline stations:
Clapham High Street (regular trains into and from Victoria and London Bridge)
Buses:
Numbers 50, 155, 249, 355 and G1
Car:
The Awareness Centre is conveniently situated very close to the South Circular A205, A3 and the A24. Pay and Display parking is available. Parking is free after 6.30pm in some areas. Parking is free outside The Awareness Centre at weekend.

Appendix E- Risk Assessment Protocol Guide: Safeguarding children in Research

Step 1: Assessment- Assess the risk by asking for further clarification and/or exploration. Questions to consider:

·

What does the participant mean when she says this?

·

What does this mothering practice look like practically?

·

Can this practice be described accurately?

·

What is my own inner sense suggesting to me about what has been disclosed?

Based on the exploration mentioned above, engage in a discussion with the participant on how to proceed. Think about whether the participant may be in receipt of support or open to seeking support. Keep this discussion as collaborative as possible.

Step 2: Contact research supervisor for support before proceeding.

Step 3: Following the discussion with your research supervisor if there appears to be an impending life threatening risk to the child contact the police and proceed to the following step (if there appears to be no impending risk and the prospect of engaging in a discussion with the mother appears to pose a greater risk to the child, move to the next step).

Step 4: Report the risk to social Services (this will be based on the mothers borough of residence).

Appendix F- Conversation Guide

Do you consider yourself to be British, Ghanaian or Both?

Describe how you looked after your newborn child, where did you learn that? (Potential prompts for further exploration listed below)

- Feeding preferences
- Sleeping Habits
- Bathing Habits or any other child caring techniques
- Describe how you look after your child now?
- Food Preparation and/or preferences
- Attitudes towards child discipline
- Educational and/or Social Activities

- Where did this (or these) practice/s come from? (A question, which may need to be constantly referred to)

- Are there any significant family members who may have influenced your mothering style? (Suggested prompts for further exploration listed below, this list is not exhaustive)

- Father of the Child
- Sister
- Brother
- Mother
- Father
- Grandparents
- Cousins
- Aunts

Are there any wider community influences that may have been influential? (Suggested prompts for exploration listed below, this list is not exhaustive)

- Community group affiliations
- Religious group links
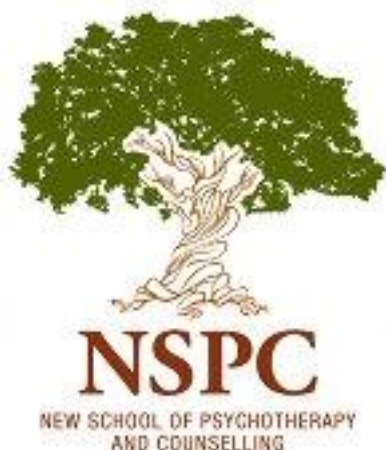
Appendix G- Debriefing Form

New School of Psychotherapy and Counselling Ltd
61-63 Fortune Green Road
London NW6 1DR

Study Title: Identity and Mothering: The Second Generation of Ghanaian Migrants

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this research study which aims to explore the mothering experiences of first time mothers belonging to the second generation of Ghanaian migrant population group. As there are growing numbers of mothers who regard themselves as belonging to this population group currently living in the United Kingdom, my aim will be to shed light on their journeys, so that their mothering experiences, may be voiced and understood. Currently there exists no research to date looking at members of this population group. This research has therefore been conducted to address this gap.
Please note that now your interview has been conducted, should you happen to have any queries or concerns, you can contact me on the following email address: .

You may also contact my supervisor at the following address:

Or

The Principal
NSPC Ltd. 61-63 Fortune Green Road
London NW6 1DR

+44 (0) 20 7624 0471
If you would like to talk about your personal experiences further with a trained professional, you can contact the following counselling and psychotherapy organisations for access to local therapy.

The Awareness Centre
The Awareness Centre (listed below) offers NHS Counselling to those based in London, as well as

low cost counselling and psychotherapy for those seeking a private therapist.

The Awareness Centre Ltd (TAC),

41 Abbeville Rd, SW4 9JX

Contact no: 020 8673 4545

You can contact them on the following website:

Nafsyat

Nafsyat is an intercultural therapy centre offering cultural therapy to members of the community for the NHS in Camden, Harringey, Islington and Enfield. If you would like to self refer to Nafsyat please see the following website:

Please see the address listed below:

Nafsyat, Unit 4, Lysander Mews, Lysander Grove, London. N19 3QP Contact no: 020 7263 6947, Fax: 020 7281 3074

The Samaritans

The Samaritans is a phone-line which offers nation-wide emotional support 24 hours a day and 365 days a year. Please see the following website for further details:

You can also contact them on the following number, from any UK phone: 116 123

Waterloo Community Counselling

Waterloo Community Counselling offers a free counselling psychotherapy service to black and ethnic minorities living in Lambeth and Southwark. If you interested in contacting this organisation, please see the postal address and website listed below:

Waterloo Community Counselling

Barley Mow Clinic,

Frazier St.

SE1 7BD

You can also contact them on this number: 0207 928 3462

<u>Appendix H- Data Analysis 1: Pilot Study Interview Transcription</u>

▮ = **Horizontalization**

S1- So Jennifer as you know I am just going to read what the research is about but I'm going to read out the title again just to frame it so we know the topic that we're approaching right now. So on becoming mothers, how do the second generation of Ghanaian migrants identify themselves and does this identity contribute to how they mother their children? So that's what we're going to be talking about today. I have a number of what we call conversation guides, essentially some really open questions that I am going to explore and they are there for us to explore organically to see what comes up within it.

I just want to say before we start if at any point you want to stop this interview or you don't feel like going on or you want to have a break, just say it's absolutely fine we'll just stop right at that point.

J1- Ok.

S2- Is that ok?

J2- Yes, that's ok with me.

S3- Are you ok to begin?

J3- Yes I'm ok to begin, thank you.

S4- So if I call these questions, the first question I would ask is do you consider yourself to be Ghanaian, British, or neither?

J4- Or neither, I think this is a complex question for me because I remember a time, when I would completely consider myself Ghanaian. I was born here and everyone would ask me where are you from as a child. I remember from like as an early as reception being in primary school and pupils asking me where are you from and me feeling like oh I am from Ghana.

S5- Uh huh

J5- I never considered myself British. I didn't think I could be British because of the colour of my skin, I felt that I was from Ghana and that I was Ghanaian because of my family's heritage and culture.

I would say that growing up I would always (pause) I mean from primary school all the way to sixth form, if people asked where I was from I would always say Ghana, I'm from Ghana. However, when I started university I went to Ghana for the first time and when I got there erm you know I felt really proud and I was like 'yes I'm finally here, these people look like me and I'm the same as them', then I would go into shops and would want to order something (pause) with my British accent.

They knew I was British apparently from just observing the kind of clothes I was wearing and the texture of my skin, they claimed that my skin was different because I'm from

England erm (pause) and I realized that I wasn't Ghanaian to those that lived there. I didn't share the same memories, I didn't know about the games they played as children and it was quite a huge shock for me erm because I felt at home to one degree- they all looked like me and you know seemed to be like me physically.

S6- Uh huh

J6- But I didn't feel that I was connected to them. In-fact when I went to the slave castle, which is a place that people go to learn about the history of slavery, there was a fee, non-Ghanaian and Ghanaian fee and my dad got into arguments with the people there because they were trying to make my dad pay the Ghanaian fee, my mum pay the Ghanaian fee but my siblings and I- we had to pay the non-Ghanaian fee.

S7- And both your parents are Ghanaian?

J7- (Nod) Both my parents are Ghanaian.

S8- Wow

J8- So when you ask me about my identity it was not until that point that I realized that I actually am a British Ghanaian, so I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself erm and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but erm I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people- I guess I can only refer to my siblings have created too.

S9- Mhm, so you're not quite British and not quite Ghanaian, you're a bit of both?

J9- Yes, I'm a bit of both.

S10- Wow, so the British Ghanaian that's something that forms you're identity in some way?

J10- Yes, yes I would say that because when I think about my culture and what is Ghanaian about me, I would say my colour and I would say maybe my preferences for certain dishes, the music and the liveliness of it and my want to always wear bright colours (laugh) but the rest feels very British and I don't even know what British is, the rest feels erm kind of like (pause) ah I can't even describe what British is.

I guess for me British would be the fact that I went to school here, erm knowing- well I'm of a working class British background anyway so knowing the sort of humor that working class people might laugh about you know, like maybe some banter or like little jokes that maybe working class White British people might be familiar with. Erm I might identify with that and laugh and find humour in the same sorts of things. So if I could give an example I would say probably you know this idea that a blonde person (laugh) is quite dizzy or not really intelligent I would laugh at that and maybe a Ghanaian person would not get it, because I can understand…

S11- (Nod) You can understand…

J11- Yes, does that make sense?

S12- Yes, Yes,

J12- I'm trying to make sense of it myself because this is new for me but its just little things that I would class as British that maybe a Ghanaian living in Ghana would not get and this is the example I can provide of that.

S13- But within that you're not Black British you're Ghanaian British?

J13- Well that's the thing I'm not sure either because I believe I'm black British too but then there is Jamaican black British and Caribbean black British, so we are classed into this black British category and then we have to, er… I mean in the ethnic minority monitoring forms...

S14- Yes they are quite generic

J14- Yes they are generic and then we have to decide which category we are in regards to our ethnic background or heritage and so it's Black British African. But African is broad as well because I mean there are just so many countries in Africa and every country has a different way of being and different ways of doing things and different views and values so it is really broad, but I would say yes black British Ghanaian whatever that is. I think I'd like to think about mothering now and how I mother my children based on my identity.

S15- mmm so with that how did you look after your new born child?

J15- I would say that I didn't do anything that was Ghanaian. Ghanaian culture is diverse because you can belong to different tribes, have different customs based on the tribe you're from. Erm my tribe is the Akhan tribe and they would have a naming ceremony, an outdooring ceremony where they have the children held up in the air and they would pour libations to God and the environment spirits for the protection of this child.

I did none of that. I didn't do that with my first born erm daughter and I didn't do that with my second born son however, erm I would say that the things I did that were Ghanaian for my children were, well for my son if you are a boy born in Ghana you have to be circumcised.

I struggled with this, my parents were adamant, they said they were going to fund it, they were going to find the person and I was like 'I'm not sure if I want to', but then I felt pressured to (pause) because that's my culture and this was the first time I felt really torn because with my daughter I just went with what the midwives said.

The midwives said don't scrub the new borns skin because the skin of the new born is sensitive, it will adjust to the new environment so don't scrub it. My mum was like that's absolutely disgusting why are you not scrubbing this baby's skin like we would do in Ghana and this was the difference.

But when it came to my son being circumcised there appeared to be no other alternative even though my partner is Jamaican, I felt that it was important for me to abide by my culture with my son, even though I struggled with it.

S16- mmm

J16- I felt so guilty afterwards but at the same time I felt happy that I went with my culture, with something like this.

S17- But that was different with your daughter?

J17- Yes that was different with my daughter.

S18- sorry which one was first?

J18- my daughter was first

S19- Your daughter was first, so are you saying your daughter was brought up in a more British way.

J19- Yes,

S20- That's right I just wanted to clarify

J20- Well when she was a new born definitely

S21- Yeah sorry yes as a new born

J21- Yes as a new born she was, I mean I just went with what the midwives said like for example the midwives had said you should use erm olive oil on her bottom because that will help the skin on the bottom to not become too sensitive and my mum was like what are you talking about lets just get some cocoa butter or shea butter which is what they use in Ghana to look after their skin, and I was like 'she's a new born she has sensitive skin'. I literally went with what the midwives said.

S22- mhm

J22- Because, in my mind I'm going to be honest, in my mind what the midwives had said had more research behind it- so they were right.

S23- Mhm mhm

J23- It's changed for me though with my son he's had health problems with his breathing, so asthma and I've found myself leaning towards the erm more natural type care practices because I want a healthy way er a more natural way of caring for this child. However, as a new born he was healthy erm his asthma came from around the age of 1 onwards.

So I had him circumcised that was the thing that was a new born practice that represents my Ghanaian identity erm but the rest in regards to like the caring for him and erm his feeding practices, I breastfed.

S24- You breastfed, that would be Ghanaian?

J24- Yes that would be a Ghanaian technique. It's interesting because my mum was against the breastfeeding because she was like erm from her perspective the only reason why Ghanaians would solely breastfeed is because they are living in poverty (laugh) I mean she's lived here for over 40 years, she came when she was in her early 20s so I mean from her perspective my breastfeeding shouldn't have been the Ghanaian route at all. It should have been the British route of bottle-feeding because I have the means to give them extra food. Erm and from her perspective the bigger the child the more healthy the child erm so the breastfeeding was not enough food.

S25- Oh right

J25- (laugh)

S26- And is that a very Ghanaian thing that the bigger the child the more healthy?

J26- Yes that's a Ghanaian take but in Ghana they would breastfeed but it would appear that from my mum's perspective anyway erm the breastfeeding is only the option if you are poor and do not have money. In Ghana erm if you have money in Ghana you would not choose to only breastfeed because you have the means to bottle-feed and have this healthy chubby child, like I was.

S27- Mhm

J27- I wasn't born in Ghana but my mum was prideful of my weight. I've got these pictures of this obese baby that's me, so big (laugh) and that shows that I'm healthy from her perspective.

S28- So in some ways you were following a Ghanaian perspective with the breastfeeding?

J29- Yes with the breastfeeding yes

S29- But not a family perspective

J29- Not my families perspective

S30- so is your mum's perspective, would you know?

J30- I wouldn't know, I wouldn't know, based on my family her view was the best view, that I needed to bottle feed not breastfeed and when family members came they would say that my son- particularly because he was very small as a child, erm was too small, 'you need to feed him and give him cocoa'- which is cocoa from the plant but stir it into a porridge like substance and let him drink it they would say. And the midwives would say don't give them solids, don't give them food just give them milk until 6 months but my family would say no he's too small give him cocoa now at from the age of like 3 months.

S31- So did that create a tension to navigate?

J31- Oh definitely, because there were things I felt pressured to do that I resisted against and then there were things that I felt pressured to do to that I went with, like my son being circumcised.

S32 – Mmm and do you know what the differences are as to why you went with some things, or is that too much of a simple question to a complex subject?

J32 – I don't really know why I went with certain things I imagine now on reflection that I just perceived anything that was Ghanaian to be less knowledgeable because I felt that the Ghanaian way was quite tribal and that there was no research to back it up.

I'm researching now so I do like to look into academic pieces of work especially when it comes to my children, well at least that's what I thought initially. The reason I keep saying initially is because I'm in a different place now. I have a 6 year old and a 3 year old. In the present moment my mothering isn't being entirely enforced by me reading a book but I do think that when you first become a mother you find books and that's definitely what I did I looked up books to understand the appropriate ways to care for my children.

S33- mmm

J33- I looked up ways to wean my children off my breast, ways to erm care for my children's hair, I needed some sort of academic research to help me to make my choices and to back up my choices. I felt that by resisting my family's way of doing things or my heritage or the Ghanaian ways of doing things from my own family's perspective- because I can only speak from my own family as every family will be different, I would say that I felt that their ways of doing things were not heavily researched and there were no facts to back it up.

S34- Mhm Mhm so almost your Western mindset perhaps plays a role in this

J34- Yes yes. However, I'm now thinking although I chose certain things for example when it came to bedtime, the western way would have them sleep in another room or in a cot away from you. The cot was there (laugh) don't get me wrong but I co-slept with them, both of them erm and that was not advised (pause) the midwives thought that it would be best for them to sleep in the cot even if it is or was in my room.

I pretended that I was allowing both children to sleep in their cot when in actuality I was co-sleeping with both of them, because in Ghana you don't leave the child on it's own, you want to protect the child so you sleep with the child or children.

S35- So you're following a Ghanaian route with that.

J35- Yes with that

S36- But putting on the face of the western route so to speak

J36- Yes in that scenario, yes

S37- Yes

J37- And I can say why I did that, it's because I felt that the midwives wouldn't get it. I wanted to do the right thing; I wanted to do it the right way because there is something about the way that the midwives and the antenatal health visitors speak to you. It's like they're taught to spin something to you, to teach you the most appropriate way of doing things erm so, I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.

S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?

J39- Yes I would say

S39- Or British way

J39- Yes

S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?

J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things. When I say wider family I'm talking about my cousins and my aunts and family friends who are considered family members because that's what happens in Ghana.

In the Ghanaian community you call all of the older women auntie as a sign of respect- so they have as much input in your choices and your decisions as your mum would have and they are able to do that. So my mum's friends would say "why are you not scrubbing this baby's skin?" "How will this substance peel off?" And for a long time it was taking it's time to peel and my mum and aunts were just horrified by it (laugh).

S41- But you were able to hold your own with that

J41- I held my own but I was very resistant and very defensive, defensive is the correct word, in holding my own because I felt that I was being forced into something. I felt I needed a fact, I needed somebody else who was western to tell me, this is the way to do it in-order to fight whatever my mum and family were suggesting.

S42- Mmm

J42- So if I didn't have the midwives telling me what to do I don't think I would have felt as confident to say I'm not scrubbing my child's skin.

S43- So you've got the concept not just from the midwives but from reading up about it but you needed that person to back you up?

J43- Yes

S44- And that way the British way if we call it that takes precedence over the family way or the Ghanaian way

J44- Yes

S45- In most things?

J45- In most things when my child or children were babies or new borns

S46- Oh yes sorry yes when the children were new borns so has that changed, I mean how do you look after your children now?

J46- Now because I'm aware that they are growing up and because of the health issues of my son I'm in a different place.

S47- ah

J47- So I'm always seeking to learn more and more about my culture I don't really know…or I do know what has changed, what changed was that my son was ill and I was looking up alternative ways of helping him so that he wouldn't just have to rely on inhalers and medication. Erm in doing so I'm now more open to natural ways of healing, which means I'm more open to ancestral ways of doing things than I was before.

So I'm always seeking to learn now, it's such a huge shift- it has shifted so much.

S48- mmm it really sounds like it

J48- Erm I'm looking for ways of caring for my children in a way that represents my culture now, so for example if you ask me what my children use for their skin it's Shea butter.

S49- mmm

J49- Shea butter which is natural, organic and from Ghana and made by the people who live in the village. That is what I use, that is what we all use for our skin- it's an anti-inflammatory. However (pause) I am backing up the effectiveness of the Shea butter with Western research (laugh)

S50- (laugh) I was going to ask that, what's happened to the western research?

J50- (laugh) It's still there, it's still there erm so for example if I hear about a natural way of doing something that is ancestral, I then look for alternative research studies, so it doesn't have to be necessarily medical, but it might be homeopathic research, that's the difference.

I would say before I would go with the medical as their way was the right way whereas now I'm looking up alternative pieces of natural news- it's still slightly academic but it's still natural and represents my ancestral heritage.

S51-So have you shifted from "I want to go down the western route and I've got research for it to I'm going down a Ghanaian route and I want to satisfy the Britishness in me?"

J51- Yes, you're right that's exactly what I'm doing, I want to hear or lean on factual pieces of information to feel more confident about making these decisions.

S52- Uh huh but it's not enough just to say this is what we do in Ghana,

J52- mmm No it's still not enough, it's still not enough.

S53- I have a whole culture that's done this for however long

J53- it's still not enough, it's still not enough.

S54- Wow, so if we look at other areas let's say with food for example how does that factor?

J54- Food I would say that (pause)
My children are half Jamaican so it's pretty flexible. I encourage them to eat Ghanaian food but the only Ghanaian food that I cook is Jollof, which is orange rice with like Chicken and stuff like that. Also maybe some sauces but the cooking isn't solely Ghanaian it's now a mixture of Italian because of spaghetti (laugh), it's a mixture of everything.

So let me be specific erm, it's not specifically Ghanaian

S55- mmm

J55- If a Ghanaian person came to my home they wouldn't necessarily say that I cook Ghanaian dishes, my cooking is eclectic it's more open, however when I go to my mums I want Ghanaian food and I enjoy going to hers for strictly Ghanaian food.

S56- ah

J56- However, even her she's lived her for 40 years and her cooking isn't solely Ghanaian either, she cooks Biryani which is Indian food, she cooks Jamaican food now so it's not solely Ghanaian either. Erm I would say our cooking is becoming more watered down somehow.

S57- So for you where does it come from the idea of watering it down so to speak, so its not solely Ghanaian I guess your partner being Jamaican has an input.

J57- Yes it definitely has an input. (pause)

I would say it's more of a creative process when it comes to food it's not a specific Ghanaian route there's more of an openness… whereas, a Ghanaian living in Ghana would eat what's familiar or what's available around them.

So it would be maybe spinach stew with hard yam or fufu, which is like pounded potato or cassava that's made into this huge ball and served with some soup- although I stopped eating it from the age of like 12.

S58- mmm

J58-So I don't eat it but I still like the soups and that was a decision I made…

S59- Because you didn't like it or…?

J59- Yes because I didn't like it, so that's gone from my diet and my kids have never tried it because my mum actually doesn't eat it anymore either and neither does my sister, so this is family specific and remember there are family preferences as well.

S60- Mhm

J60- So, in terms of food there's no specific preference. I'm saying that there is this generic food in Ghana (pause)

Yes there are dishes that are strictly Ghanaian, however when I went to Ghana there were Chinese restaurants and I specifically went there to eat Chinese fried rice (laugh), so there is more of an openness in Ghana.

However, if I want to hold on to my identity as a British Ghanaian woman I feel that I will need to incorporate more Ghanaian dishes into my cooking preferences and that's something I'm not doing right now.

S61- Yes because that's what I was wondering I suppose food can be a representative of culture, a cultural representative so to speak. Is it more of a British way as in it's more eclectic?

J61- Yes I think from my perspective that would be a British type of preference because the British themselves their national dish right now is still fish and chips but it is also curry and that's an Indian influence (laugh).

S62- Yes (laugh)

J62- So this is my point and now they always advertise spaghetti Bolognese on TV and the Italians say that we have ruined their spaghetti Bolognese (laugh) and I say we because I really do identify as a black British person. These are the things that a Ghanaian living in Ghana won't get or won't understand.

So what I am trying to say is that my British identity incorporates more of an eclectic approach to food, it isn't fixed- so many cultures have influenced my cooking style.

S63- Yes and does that in itself create a tension with your identity so to speak because you said if you want to be more Ghanaian you would need to bring in some more Ghanaian cooking?

J63- I wouldn't describe it as a tension it's just that I am starting to think oh maybe I should go round to my mum's house and spend a whole day cooking with her because as I am getting older I might loose that Ghanaianess or Ghanaian identity. So it's not a tension but at the same time I am thinking we are all getting older what if it get's lost in translation.

What if my mum passes away touch wood and I haven't taken on this identity in my cooking and it becomes lost because my children are the third generation of half Ghanaian's, it's not a tension, but a desire to still hold on to a Ghanaian identity.

S64- Yes so it's almost like that's and anchor point that you want to keep hold of

J64- Yes I can also think about music and how my music style is changing. I am now trying to incorporate a genre of afro-beats music, which is a Ghanaian, and Nigerian high-life style of music with instruments, into my life.

In-fact I never used to listen to Ghanaian music at all but I find that I am now intentionally listening to it so that my children will know about Ghana through the music. I quite enjoy it too, I'm not saying that there's no enjoyment, but I find that this is another way of passing my Ghanaian identity to (pause)

S65- To your children

J65- Yes, to my children

S66- So you're trying to instill or pass on your Ghanaian heritage to them?

J66- Yes

S67- So we've looked at food and music preferences and how this fits in to your identity, what about towards discipline, what are your attitudes towards discipline?

J67- discipline has been a tricky one for me because (pause) the Ghanaian way is that you respect your elders so the child doesn't have much autonomy. Erm there's this view that the child doesn't really have a say and whatever the parent says goes. But being a therapist and having lived through what that experience was like for me as a child- as though my feelings weren't important, I find myself struggling with the idea of discipline everyday.

S68- mmm

J68- The reason I struggle with discipline is because on the one hand, it would be easier to go with what I know or what's familiar

S69- So the Ghanaian way

J69- Yes- the what I say goes notion, but because I know what it was like for me as a child when I'd have to apologize even when my feelings were hurt, it didn't really sit well with me.

I felt at times forced to say sorry when actually what I really wanted to say was I am sorry that you feel this way but can you also acknowledge that you've hurt my feelings too and that was never the case.

S70- mhm

J70- so I want to be more mindful of my own children's feelings and experiences but at the same time I want that balance of authority in their lives as well. So for example "yes I have acknowledged your feelings but right now we need to do this piece of homework because these are the rules".

So I'm struggling to find that balance between having a level of authority as a parent, but still being mindful of their feelings especially for my 6 year old- recognising that she has feelings too.

I'm trying my best to acknowledge those feelings allow her the space to reflect over her feelings and then coming to some type of solution or a compromise. That doesn't exist in Ghanaian household it really is- you don't speak unless your elders allow you to arm there is no say for the child at all. You are supposed to honour your mother and father.

I mean this is a cultural thing that I'm fully aware of and I've read articles and research studies that have been conducted in Ghana talking about the child rearing practices in Ghana, so this particular subject is not just based on my own experience, I would like to think that there is something inherent in that society (clears throat) which is "you honour your mother and father".

S71- So you honour your mother and father and it's quite strict right?

J71- Yes it is quite strict because it's a sign of respect to honour

S72- uh huh

J72- so if you go against that you are disrespecting them erm (pause) yeah

S73- so you have to honour your mother and father, you have to do as you are told and then how does discipline play out if you don't do as you are told?

J73- If you don't do as you are told, you are punished but they don't view it as a punishment they view it as a child rearing practice, but I would say that the punishment can be quite intense. I can only speak from my experience in regards to punishments. For example there are these brooms that are made of sticks and they might not hit you with it but they will at least threaten to cane you with it…

S74- Yes

J74- Because you haven't respected what your parents have said, so this is the kind of practice they would engage in, it's like erm (pause) you'll be caned.

S75- So does that fit into disciplining your children?

J75- No I don't physically touch them at all, my disciplining practice is the naughty corner or naughty step or for them to go and sit in a reflexive space to calm down and to think about what has happened and then we discuss compromises later.

S76- mhm

J76- That's my approach at the moment. When my daughter was younger the naughty corner worked up until she was about three, so I was like what can I do to ensure that discipline exists in our household.

I think it's all about boundaries as boundaries are important, so the next best thing I could think of was having this reflexive corner or space to think. Now she's writing so when she goes to that space that's when I'll get letters explaining how she feels (laughs) it's quite intense having to read the "I don't like you because of this and that" and I think that it's just so far from my own upbringing because she's telling me how she really feels, even if it's not nice to hear.

S77- Yes, so would you see that as a very western influence?

J77- It feels western to me but I'm mindful that western is such a broad term but in regards to it opposing the Ghanaian lifestyle I would say it's definitely different and so because I have grown up in England I will only assume it's more western than Ghanaian.

S78- So how does that fit with your wider family?

J78- My mum found it funny initially and she just couldn't understand it but as the years have gone on she's also enforcing the naughty corner especially with my little boy who's three now and she's really embracing it. I think I'm in a different place so it's about re-education with my mum. When we discuss disciplining she always says "I wish I knew this when you were younger, because I would have done things differently".

So she's able to acknowledge that she could've taken a more lenient approach by being more mindful of our feelings but initially she couldn't get it, she thought the whole idea of it was silly.

I think now she can see that it is necessary because of how well behaved they are. I think the view she had previously was that if I was to enact this type of discipline it wouldn't have much effect.

S79- mmm

J79- Her view was a smack would be more influential because then the child would be less likely to participate in whatever they did again and also because a smack is more instant whereas my experience of this process is that it takes time for the awareness of the boundary to grow in the child's mind. So I think that it took more time but it's gotten there, they've gotten the concept of it.

Especially because in western school or in state school anyway, they are now enacting the thinking chair or timeout chair

S80- Ok yes

J80- that has been my daughters experience anyway, where the child goes over to a corner reflects over what they have done and then returns to the class afterwards and this has influenced my mothering because I wanted the discipline to be the same as school.

S81- Yes

J81- So it would strengthen the notion of discipline or boundaries at least.

S82- So in that way the discipline is very routed in the school so it's a very English discipline if we call it that.

J82- ~Yes and this I why it feels more western because its part of the normal day-to-day schooling.

S83- Uh huh and do you feel the impact of your culture as in should I discipline strictly?

J83- Yes I have that pressure every single time I attempt to discipline but not because I want to smack but because I wonder if it is effective enough and also because sometimes when I am like 'go and sit in the naughty corner or time out corner' and I'm really stern, I then have this anxiety that I am causing pain or that I am inflicting damage. I think it's also because I am a therapist too- that I am more mindful of the emotions of my children than maybe someone else.

So there is an anxiety because of my own experience of feeling not met emotionally I struggle to have the boundaries in place due to my anxiety of causing damage.

S84- So it kind of goes both ways then as almost through the internal pressure to discipline in a stricter way or a Ghanaian way

J84- Yes

S85- And then the pressure to not do that

J85- Yes because it could hurt

S86 Yes

J86- So then I'm caught in between the two

S87- uh huh

J87- because I feel discipline is important, that notion of discipline being important has been influenced by my Ghanaian culture

S88- And that's currently internal rather than external

J88- Yes, that's changed now because they have observed the behaviour of my children and how actually they are becoming well rounded and there doesn't need to be that aggression to instil values in them. So they have observed the difference it's making and they're more accepting of it than they have ever been before.

S89- Mhm

J89- yet when I have conversations with my sister who's in her mid twenty's- she's not had children, she says that when she has children she will be smacking however, maybe when the reality occurs maybe she won't but at the moment she says she will even though she's observed- she just doesn't think it's enough.

S90- mhm and what's that like for you when you hear that opinion from her?

J90- I find it difficult to hear because I almost feel like she's saying that my parenting style isn't good enough especially in regards to discipline anyway and I also wonder 'oh am I doing the right thing? (pause) that question comes up when she says things like this.

S91- Yes

J91- Is this good enough

S92- So it feeds into that internalised cultural perspective

J92- Yes (pause) that discipline is important to instil values in children

S93- mhm

J93- values of listening to authority, knowing that there is a place for authority, these are the types of values that I would say are why Ghanaian's discipline or why my parents disciplined me.

S94- So, moving on from discipline how do you look after your children in terms of education and social activities?

J94- Education is very important in Ghana or definitely for the Ghanaians I have been exposed to, you have to do well at school, I even went to Saturday school as a child to improve my grades erm and actually it was a Ghanaian teacher and actually he caned.

S95- Right

J95- I never experienced being caned by him but my brother did.

S96- Mhm

J96- Erm so yes in the Ghanaian culture education is very important you know my parents were very keen on all of us going to university at least and then after that deciding what we wanted to do. There was no discussion as to whether university would be an option, it was compulsory, as compulsory as primary school and secondary school.

S97- So where do you sit with that with your children?

J97- I think that education is important but something that occurred for me growing up is that I don't think that I knew what my vocation was and I don't think my mum knew either or my dad. I think it was education is important but no motivation to really look at what this child is really good at and to help encourage that thing that is theirs.

So I guess my way in regards to education is to notice what my daughters good at or what she enjoys and then to try and support her from that avenue.

S98- mmm

J98- So I still find education very important and when I'm writing essays or literature reviews etc, I share this with my daughter to instil within her the importance of education. So I'm like 'I'm doing my homework what about your homework, what are you going to be doing' or 'this is what is important in life' so this is a Ghanaian influence.

But I would like to think that as my daughter gets older I will want her to draw on whatever she's great at and enjoys as opposed to this forceful view that 'just education is important'

S99- Just education is important

J99- yes education as a whole because something that I felt as a child was that I needed to be excellent at everything and that worked against me because it made me so anxious that I would sabotage myself because of anxiety. So I would be so nervous about doing a piece of work that I would end up not performing to the best of my ability. I find that it follows me now to a certain degree as well so I have to make an extra effort to balance myself or I end up placing too much pressure on myself. I know where that came from, that came from the value that education is so important that failure is not an option.

But I don't want that for my daughter or my son I want them to find something that they are good at and for that to grow

S100- To encourage them to a targeted education, so where does that come from is that just from you personally?

J100- I'm not quite sure (pause) I think that it may have come from me personally actually

S101- From your own experience?

J101- From my own experience of feeling that I wasn't an all rounder, some children are all rounder's, but I didn't feel that I was and I don't think that I had enough support to really delve into one area that I was good at and I also don't think the western teachers at that time noticed either

S102- Mhm

J102- In fact they thought that I was doing better than I actually was and so I don't think I had the right support for me because they assumed I was better than I was- so I wasn't seen for who I was. So this is why its very important for my children to be seen and for me to know and for them to know what they like and what they are good at and for that to grow.

But in saying that at primary school level you want them to do well in English, Maths and Science so I'm not saying I'm not encouraging her to do well it's just, at the back of my mind I'm thinking hmm 'I'm noticing she really enjoys reading and she loves writing perhaps that might be the thing that she will flourish in.

S103- mhm

J103- does that make sense?

S104- mmm (pause) sorry I'm just thinking that through for a moment. So you have the Ghanaian influence of education, education, education so to speak and your take on it now is the honed and focused- what is right for them.

J104- Yes because of my own lived experience of not having anyone say you are really good at this particular thing lets grow this skill and solely focus on it. I'm not saying we should completely disregard the rest but at least you know that this is your thing and you've got that desire to work on it.

S105- mhm so in terms of your mothering style are there any significant family members who have influenced it do you think?

J105- I think yes, I think that even though my mothering style is very different from my mum's I still think she has influenced my mothering style because I have chosen to hold on to some of the things she has done. She was very affectionate so even though there was the strict side to her she would say 'I love you' and give us hugs regularly. There was this loving and nurturing side to her, which I honour and I like to think I uphold.

S106- mmm

J106- But at the same time there were just things that I felt could've been better and so my experience is that I am going to use my lived experience not to fall back on it but to at least improve upon my mum's mothering style in the way that I am with my own children.

So that would mean some of the things that I have already mentioned like education with focusing on my kids on a more one-to-one level. But saying that when I'm sitting with my daughter and teaching her, sometimes I'm like 'oh I'm reminding myself of my'- because I'm so focused I'm reminding myself of my mum to some degree and then I'm horrified and I'm like "take a step back, take a step back". My mum would sit with me but the pressure would be a lot to handle,

S107- Yes

J107- so sometimes I feel like I might be placing pressure on my daughter so I stop myself because I don't want to. So I mean yes there are positives but there are also the negatives that I have experienced that I feel have influenced me to not want to, repeat history.

S108- Mhm and are there any wider family influences like grandparents?

J108- no my grandparents weren't in my life so they didn't have an influence. My dad he is very big on discipline- he's from Ghana and big on education and there wasn't really that lenient stance, he's pretty much like my mum. He encouraged us to study, how would I say he's influenced me hmm maybe some of my views of education may have come from him too, definitely without a doubt.

S109- Right

J109- Aunts, my aunt is very big on education as well, that's my mum's sister and she's a driving force for education. She's quite stern, less affectionate- more of an authoritarian I

would say. So these big characters have made me want to honour the individuality of my children even more, the authority was just so huge in my particular family.

When I think of even my sister even though she really appreciates the authority she's still living at home and she doesn't have a career, she has been to university and she's working and doesn't find her job meaningful and I just feel that there wasn't enough to support the individual, to help the individual go through life.

It was very much this is the way we go through life education and going to university is important but what about what you enjoy as a person, what's particular to you.

S110- Yes

J110- That's what I feel may have been missing from my mum and dads parenting style and my families parenting style.

S111- So they are kind of what you called 'big characters' and their way of doing it has actually influenced you to want to take a different route?

J111- Yes and when I think of my cousins they all went to private schools and they had this excellent education but actually even after all that education there isn't much meaning in their lives. In fact the only person who seems to have meaning in his life is my cousin who is very spiritual, he views himself as a Buddhist and he seems to have found a sense of meaning beyond this 'just do this job or this career' idea. He seems to lead a more as my dad would say 'hippy lifestyle' (laugh) erm, he just seems to have more meaning in his life because he's gone against what our family unit would describe as the most functional route of life.

S112- So are you saying that your family's way and perhaps the Ghanaian way is a bit more functional, you get an education, you get a job and get on with it, without the individual sense of purpose or meaning?

J112- Well yes that's how I have experienced it in my family,

S113- mhm

J113- However, I know that in the wider Ghanaian community there is this sense of religion as well and they find religion meaningful. That was missing from my particular family so perhaps that could also be a huge influence because if you believe that God is your meaning perhaps you can find your meaning in God as opposed to a career. But in my family, religion was never enforced it was encouraged but not enforced.

What I mean by encouraged is that my siblings and I, we used to go to church every week, but when my mum started working on weekends she stopped going to church but made sure we went to church and my dad who worked nights sometimes he would come and sometimes he wouldn't. When we got older we would have to go alone, they would say 'you're going to church come on you need to get ready' but they wouldn't be there, we would go on our own, so there wasn't an enforcement of religion.

S114- I guess that sounds like an enforcement of religion

J114- Yes your right I guess what I am trying to say is there wasn't this notion of pick up your bible and read psalms chapter 91 which has been my experience of the wider Ghanaian community, or 'let's do our prayers at 4:00am in the morning' or 'let us pray as a household'- it wasn't like that.

S115- mhm

J115- So we went to church and that was just about it, no-one sat with me and said let's open your bible and let's talk about this bible story.

S116- So religion was sort of external, you go to church rather than being imbedded within the family.

J117- Yes that was my particular family and I know the reasons why because my parent's both felt that religion was enforced upon them as children so there was more of a fluidity in their relationship with religion than for maybe another Ghanaian family whereby the church is basically the second home and their lifestyle practices represent Christianity.

S118- Mhm so in your upbringing you didn't have the second home of the church?

J118- no

S119- So does that play a role in how you bring up your children?

J119- Yes because they don't go to church

S120- Uh huh so that's carried through from your family?

J121- Yes however although I'm not religious I do believe in Jesus because Jesus is who I knew growing up, so I do believe in Jesus but I would say I am more open to other religions as well.

I do believe that there are beings that have walked the earth who may have all come for a purpose and that they have probably reached out to different tribes of people or different groups and that is my own personal understanding.

So what I mean by that is although I lean towards Jesus I can accept that there are other religious views. For my children they have learnt about Jesus, I speak to them about Jesus and they learn about Jesus in school, they also learn about Allah in school- well my daughter anyway, I say my children but my daughter really because my son is three (laugh)

S122- (laugh) yes

J122- he's not really there yet (laugh) but erm there isn't this let's wake up every morning or sorry every Sunday and go to church and they haven't been christened although I would quite like them to be christened when they can make a choice, as opposed to me just christening them, so yes this is my relationship to religion and I would say it's very different from the Ghanaian communities way.

S123- yes quite

J123- Because I've had many Ghanaians that I have met and they have said 'what church do you go to?' and I say ' I don't go to church' and they are (gasping noise) horrified by it and they say 'you don't go to church, you need to go to church, you need to be delivered, you need to see a pastor' (laugh)

S124- mmm

J124-So there is- although I keep referring to the fact that this is my particular families way, I do think that there is something about religion in the Ghanaian community, going to your pastor and him being some sort of vessel that connects you to God and you sort of go there for counselling or advice and for prayers and that's missing from my life so people, I mean Ghanaian people tend to find it shocking.

S125- so just staying with family members that have influenced your mothering style, I was just wondering how the father has influenced your mothering style because he is Jamaican is that right?

J125- yes yes

S126- does he have an influence?

J126- oh he definitely does because he loves Jesus, he grew up in the church so although he isn't actively going to church now as an adult he has his own personal relationship to Jesus-he's also the one who has brought bibles into our home and sometimes he reads passages to the kids and will also pick up his own bible to read psalms 37 because that is what he knows. So I think his influence has led to me teaching the kids about Jesus.

Erm what else- his Jamaican upbringing in regards to discipline?

S127- mhm

J127- My experience of the Jamaican culture in regards to discipline has been that they don't believe that you just speak to the child or give them the space or time to sit in the time out corner. This was a problem initially when my daughter was little because I would want to be the one that enforces discipline as I've said, but he would say 'I'm just going to smack' and id say 'no, don't smack you cant get physical' so we really battled with that because I wouldn't accept smacking. It took a while, he was like my family, it took him a while to see the naughty or time out corner as a suitable method of discipline. Although he will still threaten now, so he'll say 'if you don't behave I will smack you', he doesn't, but he still threatens and for them him threatening to is enough to get them to behave.

S128- so his influence is quite similar to the Ghanaian one

J128- to the Ghanaian lifestyle in regards to discipline yes

S129- is there any other areas where he is influencing your mothering style?

J129- are there any other areas…Education. He's not that big on education to the same degree. His motto is as long as they do well it's up to them. I am the one that sits with my daughter and tries to help her with her homework and teach her new techniques or ways of tackling maths problems, but he is not like that at all, he just doesn't view education in the same way.

He thinks that if you are naturally gifted it will come, you wont have to do any extra work to get there and he is actually influencing me to some degree, because I am starting to think 'ok, take a step back, take a step back, don't do too much work with her, if it is natural it will develop. It's definitely influenced the way I am with my son whose three, he knows his colours, numbers, shapes and practically everything he is supposed to know at that age except for his alphabet. I have tried my hardest to teach him but he is not interested so I have had to think to myself, this child really is not interested, when the interest comes he'll want to learn it, but since he's not interested leave him. Like last week I said 'should we watch abcd on YouTube?' and his response was 'no I don't want to do that' and I said ok (laugh).

So there is a part of me that is influenced by his parenting style when it comes to education because I want the interest to naturally develop as opposed to me imposing that interest upon them.

S130- Mm yes, so beyond the family are there any wider community influences that have influenced your mothering style do you think?

J130- I would say the wider community influences were the midwives initially but now I would say the wider community influences are the UKCP and BACP.

S131- right, so from your profession?

J131- Yes from my profession because I am really trying to honour their individualities

S132- mmm yes

J132- You know the cpd courses that I like to attend on working with young people, they are very key to my mothering style at the moment because I am not able to completely draw on the parenting of my mother or my aunts or the members of my specific family, because my experience of them is that they did not value the individual qualities of their children.

I feel that emotional intelligence is very important but that my parents didn't view it as important. To be honest I feel that educational intelligence and emotional intelligence are just as important as each other and I want both to be valued in the parenting of my children. I want them to be emotionally healthy and I draw on my profession because it is the only wider community group that I feel honours the child as an individual and it is the only group available to me right now.

S133- So the Ghanaian community isn't helpful so to speak in regards to your mothering style now?

J133- no not in regards to honouring the emotions of my children, no not at all

S134- mmm so is there anything else you would like to add Jennifer?

J134- no I think we have covered everything, yeah I really do.

S135- Thank you

J135- Thank you.

Appendix I- Data Analysis 2: Horizons and Core themes

   =Invariant Constituents (AKA: Horizons)

   =Thematic Label- (Core Themes)

Mothering Practices(Master Theme)- New born Practices, Current Merged Practices, Personal Practices (Sub Themes)

S15- mmm so with that how did you look after your new born child?

J15-I would say that the things I did that were Ghanaian for my children were, well for my son if you are a boy born in Ghana you have to be circumcised.

I struggled with this, my parents were adamant, they said they were going to fund it, they were going to find the person and I was like 'I'm not sure if I want to', but then I felt pressured to (pause) because that's my culture and this was the first time I felt really torn because with my daughter I just went with what the midwives said.

But when it came to my son being circumcised there appeared to be no other alternative even though my partner is Jamaican, I felt that it was important for me to abide by my culture with my son, even though I struggled with it.

S16- mmm

J16- I felt so guilty afterwards but at the same time I felt happy that I went with my culture, with something like this.

S17- But that was different with your daughter?

J17- Yes that was different with my daughter.

S19- Your daughter was first, so are you saying your daughter was brought up in a more British way.

J20- Well when she was a new born definitely

J21- I literally went with what the midwives said.

J22- Because, in my mind I'm going to be honest, in my mind what the midwives had said had more research behind it- so they were right.

So I had him circumcised that was the thing that was a new born practice that represents my Ghanaian identity erm, but the rest in regards to like the caring for him and erm, his feeding practices, I breastfed.

S24- You breastfed, that would be Ghanaian?

J24- Yes that would be a Ghanaian technique

S28- So in some ways you were following a Ghanaian perspective with the breastfeeding?

J29- Yes with the breastfeeding yes

J32 – I don't really know why I went with certain things I imagine now on reflection that I just perceived anything that was Ghanaian to be less knowledgeable because I felt that the Ghanaian way was quite tribal and that there was no research to back it up.

S34- Mhm Mhm, so almost your Western mindset perhaps plays a role in this?

J34- Yes, yes. However, I'm now thinking, although I chose certain things for example when it came to bedtime, the western way would have them sleep in another room or in a cot away from you. The cot was there (laugh) don't get me wrong but I co-slept with them, both of them erm and that was not advised (pause) the midwives thought that it would be best for them to sleep in the cot even if it is or was in my room.

I pretended that I was allowing both children to sleep in their cot when in actuality I was co-sleeping with both of them, because in Ghana you don't leave the child on it's own, you want to protect the child so you sleep with the child or children.

S35- So you're following a Ghanaian route with that.

J35- Yes with that

S36- But putting on the face of the western route so to speak

J36- Yes in that scenario, yes

S44- And that way the British way if we call it that takes precedence over the family way or the Ghanaian way?

J44- Yes

S45- In most things?

J45- In most things when my child or children were babies or new borns'

S54- Wow, so if we look at other areas let's say with food for example how does that factor?

J54- Food I would say that (pause)
My children are half Jamaican so it's pretty flexible. I encourage them to eat Ghanaian food but the only Ghanaian food that I cook is Jollof, which is orange rice with like Chicken and stuff like that. Also maybe some sauces but the cooking isn't solely Ghanaian… it's a mixture of everything.

So let me be specific erm, it's not specifically Ghanaian

J55- If a Ghanaian person came to my home they wouldn't necessarily say that I cook Ghanaian dishes, my cooking is eclectic it's more open, however when I go to my mums I want Ghanaian food and I enjoy going to hers for strictly Ghanaian food.

S56- ah

S57- So for you where does it come from the idea of watering it down so to speak, so its not solely Ghanaian I guess your partner being Jamaican has an input?

J57- Yes it definitely has an input. (pause)

I would say it's more of a creative process when it comes to food it's not a specific Ghanaian route there's more of an openness…However, if I want to hold on to my identity as a British Ghanaian woman I feel that I will need to incorporate more Ghanaian dishes into my cooking preferences and that's something I'm not doing right now.

S61- Yes, because that's what I was wondering I suppose food can be a representative of culture, a cultural representative so to speak. Is it more of a British way as in it's more eclectic?

J61- Yes I think from my perspective that would be a British type of preference

J62- So what I am trying to say is that my British identity incorporates more of an eclectic approach to food, it isn't fixed- so many cultures have influenced my cooking style.

I never used to listen to Ghanaian music at all but I find that I am now intentionally listening to it so that my children will know about Ghana through the music.

This is another way of passing my Ghanaian identity to (pause)

S63- Yes and does that in itself create a tension with your identity so to speak because you said if you want to be more Ghanaian you would need to bring in some more Ghanaian cooking?

J63-It's not a tension, but a desire to still hold on to a Ghanaian identity.

S64- Yes so it's almost like that's and anchor point that you want to keep hold of

J64- Yes

S65- To your children

J65- Yes, to my children

S66- So you're trying to instill or pass on your Ghanaian heritage to them?

J66- Yes

Identity (Master Theme)- Merged preference, Personal Identity preference (Sub Themes)

J4- Or neither, I think this is a complex question for me because I remember a time, when I would completely consider myself Ghanaian. I was born here and everyone would ask me where are you from as a child. I remember from like as an early as reception being in primary school and pupils asking me where are you from and me feeling like oh I am from Ghana.

J5- I never considered myself British. I didn't think I could be British because of the colour of my skin, I felt that I was from Ghana and that I was Ghanaian because of my family's heritage and culture.

…when I started university I went to Ghana for the first time and when I got there… it was quite a huge shock for me erm because I felt at home to one degree, they all looked like me and you know seemed to be like me physically. But I didn't feel that I was connected to them.

J8-…It was not until that point that I realized that I actually am a British Ghanaian, I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself erm and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but erm I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people- I guess I can only refer to my siblings have created too.

S9- Mhm, so you're not quite British and not quite Ghanaian, you're a bit of both?

J9- Yes, I'm a bit of both.

S10- Wow, so the British Ghanaian that's something that forms you're identity in some way?

J10- Yes, yes I would say that because when I think about my culture and what is Ghanaian about me, I would say my colour and I would say maybe my preferences for certain dishes, the music and the liveliness of it and my want to always wear bright colours (laugh) but the rest feels very British and I don't even know what British is, the rest feels erm kind of like (pause) ah I can't even describe what British is.

I guess for me British would be the fact that I went to school here, erm knowing- well I'm of a working class British background anyway so knowing the sort of humor that working class people might laugh about you know, like maybe some banter or like little jokes that maybe working class White British people might be familiar with. Erm, I might identify with that and laugh and find humour in the same sorts of things. So if I could give an example I would say probably you know this idea that a blonde person (laugh) is quite dizzy or not really intelligent I would laugh at that and maybe a Ghanaian person would not get it, because I can understand…

S11- (Nod) you can understand…

J11- yes, does that make sense?

S12- Yes, Yes,

J12- I'm trying to make sense of it myself because this is new for me but its just little things that I would class as British that maybe a Ghanaian living in Ghana would not get and this is the example I can provide of that.

S13- But within that you're not Black British you're Ghanaian British?

J13- Well that's the thing I'm not sure either because I believe I'm black British too but then there is Jamaican black British and Caribbean black British, so we are classed into this black British category and then we have to, er… I mean in the ethnic minority monitoring forms...

S14- Yes they are quite generic

J14- Yes they are generic and then we have to decide which category we are in regards to our ethnic background or heritage and so it's Black British African. But African is broad as well because I mean there are just so many countries in Africa and every country has a different way of being and different ways of doing things and different views and values so it is really broad, but I would say yes black British Ghanaian whatever that is.

I'm now more open to natural ways of healing, which means I'm more open to ancestral ways of doing things than I was before.

So I'm always seeking to learn now, it's such a huge shift- it has shifted so much.

S48- mmm it really sounds like it

J48- Erm I'm looking for ways of caring for my children in a way that represents my culture now, so for example if you ask me what my children use for their skin it's Shea butter.

S49- mmm

J49- Shea butter which is natural, organic and from Ghana and made by the people who live in the village. That is what I use, that is what we all use for our skin- it's an anti-inflammatory. However (pause) I am backing up the effectiveness of the Shea butter with Western research (laugh)

S50- (laugh) I was going to ask that, what's happened to the western research?

J50- (laugh) It's still there, it's still there erm so for example if I hear about a natural way of doing something that is ancestral, I then look for alternative research studies, so it doesn't have to be necessarily medical, but it might be homeopathic research, that's the difference.

I would say before I would go with the medical as their way was the right way whereas now I'm looking up alternative pieces of natural news- it's still slightly academic but it's still natural and represents my ancestral heritage.

S51-So have you shifted from "I want to go down the western route and I've got research for it to I'm going down a Ghanaian route and I want to satisfy the Britishness in me?"

J51- Yes, you're right that's exactly what I'm doing, I want to hear or lean on factual pieces of information to feel more confident about making these decisions.

S52- Uh huh but it's not enough just to say this is what we do in Ghana,

J52- mmm No it's still not enough, it's still not enough.

S94- So, moving on from discipline how do you look after your children in terms of education and social activities?

J94- Education is very important in Ghana or definitely for the Ghanaians I have been exposed to, you have to do well at school,

S97- So where do you sit with that with your children?

J97- I think that education is important

J98-When I'm writing essays or literature reviews etc, I share this with my daughter to instil within her the importance of education.

But I would like to think that as my daughter gets older I will want her to draw on whatever she's great at and enjoys as opposed to this forceful view that 'just education is important'… I want them to find something that they are good at and for that to grow

S100- To encourage them to a targeted education, so where does that come from is that just from you personally?

J100- I'm not quite sure (pause) I think that it may have come from me personally actually

So you have the Ghanaian influence of education, education, education so to speak and your take on it now is the honed and focused- what is right for them.

J104- Yes because of my own lived experience of not having anyone say you are really good at this particular thing lets grow this skill and solely focus on it.

S105- mhm so in terms of your mothering style are there any significant family members who have influenced it do you think?

J105- yes, I think that even though my mothering style is very different from my mum's I still think she has influenced my mothering style…There was this loving and nurturing side to her, which I honour and I like to think I uphold.

J106- …my experience is that I am going to use my lived experience not to fall back on it but to at least improve upon my mum's mothering style

S111- So…their way of doing it has actually influenced you to want to take a different route?

J111- Yes

S112- So are you saying that your families way and perhaps the Ghanaian way is a bit more functional, you get an education, you get a job and get on with it, without the individual sense of purpose or meaning?

J112- Well yes that's how I have experienced it in my family,

J113- I know that in the wider Ghanaian community there is this sense of religion as well and they find religion meaningful. That was missing from my particular family so perhaps that could also be a huge influence

S118- Mhm so in your upbringing you didn't have the second home of the church?

S125- so just staying with family members that have influenced your mothering style, I was just wondering how the father has influenced your mothering style because he is Jamaican is that right?

J127- …he was like my family, it took him a while to see the naughty or time out corner as a suitable method of discipline.

S128- his influence is quite similar to the Ghanaian one

J128- to the Ghanaian lifestyle in regards to discipline yes

S129- is there any other areas where he is influencing your mothering style?

J129- He thinks that if you are naturally gifted it will come, you wont have to do any extra work to get there and he is actually influencing me to some degree, because I am starting to think 'ok, take a step back, take a step back, don't do too much work with her, if it is natural it will develop.

So there is a part of me that is influenced by his parenting style when it comes to education because I want the interest to naturally develop as opposed to me imposing that interest upon them.

S130- Mmm yes, so beyond the family are there any wider community influences that have influenced your mothering style do you think?

J130- Wider community influences were the midwives initially but now I would say the wider community influences are the UKCP and BACP.

S131- right, so from your profession?

J131- Yes from my profession because I am really trying to honour their individualities

J132- You know the cpd courses that I like to attend on working with young people, they are very key to my mothering style at the moment because I am not able to completely draw on the parenting of my mother or my aunts or the members of my specific family, because my experience of them is that they did not value the individual qualities of their children.

Educational intelligence and emotional intelligence are just as important as each other and I want both to be valued in the parenting of my children…I draw on my profession because it is the only wider community group that I feel honours the child as an individual and it is the only group available to me right now.

S133- So the Ghanaian community isn't helpful so to speak in regards to your mothering style now?

J133- no not in regards to honouring the emotions of my children,

Pressures (Master Theme)- External Family Pressures, External wider community pressures, Internal Pressures (Sub Themes)

J37-I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.

S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?

J39- Yes I would say

S39- Or British way

J39- Yes

S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?

J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things.

S43- So you've got the concept not just from the midwives but from reading up about it but you needed that person to back you up?

J43- Yes

S29- But not a family perspective

J29- Not my families perspective

S31- So did that create a tension to navigate?

J31- Oh definitely, because there were things I felt pressured to do that I resisted against and then there were things that I felt pressured to do to that I went with, like my son being circumcised.

S67- So we've looked at food and music preferences and how this fits in to your identity, what about towards discipline, what are your attitudes towards discipline?

J67- discipline has been a tricky one for me because (pause) the Ghanaian way is that you respect your elders so the child doesn't have much autonomy. Erm there's this view that the child doesn't really have a say and whatever the parent says goes. I find myself struggling with the idea of discipline everyday.

J68- The reason I struggle with discipline is because on the one hand, it would be easier to go with what I know or what's familiar

S69- So the Ghanaian way

J69- Yes-

J70- so I want to be more mindful of my own children's feelings and experiences but at the same time I want that balance of authority in their lives as well.

So I'm struggling to find that balance between having a level of authority as a parent, but still being mindful of their feelings especially for my 6 year old- recognising that she has feelings too.

I mean this is a cultural thing that I'm fully aware of and I've read articles and research studies that have been conducted in Ghana talking about the child rearing practices in Ghana, so this particular subject is not just based on my own experience, I would like to think that there is something inherent in that society (clears throat) which is "you honour your mother and father".

S71- So you honour your mother and father and it's quite strict right?

J71- Yes it is quite strict because it's a sign of respect to honour

J73- If you don't do as you are told, you are punished but they don't view it as a punishment they view it as a child rearing practice, but I would say that the punishment can be quite intense.

you'll be caned.

S75- So does that fit into disciplining your children?

J75- No I don't physically touch them at all, my disciplining practice is the naughty corner or naughty step or for them to go and sit in a reflexive space to calm down and to think about what has happened and then we discuss compromises later.

S76- mhm

J76- When my daughter was younger the naughty corner worked up until she was about three, so I was like what can I do to ensure that discipline exists in our household.

I think it's all about boundaries as boundaries are important, so the next best thing I could think of was having this reflexive corner or space to think.

S77- Yes, so would you see that as a very western influence?

J77- It feels western to me (pause) because in western school or in state school anyway, they are now enacting the thinking chair or timeout chair

S80- Ok yes

I wanted the discipline to be the same as school.

S81- Yes

J81- So it would strengthen the notion of discipline or boundaries at least.

S82- So in that way the discipline is very routed in the school so it's a very English discipline if we call it that.

J82- ~Yes and this I why it feels more western because its part of the normal day-to-day schooling.

S83- Uh huh and do you feel the impact of your culture as in should I discipline strictly?

J83- Yes I have that pressure every single time I attempt to discipline but not because I want to smack but because I wonder if it is effective enough, I then have this anxiety that I am causing pain or that I am inflicting damage.

S84- So it kind of goes both ways then as almost through the internal pressure to discipline in a stricter way or a Ghanaian way

J84- Yes

S85- And then the pressure to not do that

J85- Yes because it could hurt

S86 Yes

J86- So then I'm caught in between the two

J87- because I feel discipline is important, that notion of discipline being important has been influenced by my Ghanaian culture

S88- And that's currently internal rather than external

J89- …when I have conversations with my sister who's in her mid twenty's- she's not had children, she says that when she has children she will be smacking

S90- mhm and what's that like for you when you hear that opinion from her?

J90- I find it difficult to hear because I almost feel like she's saying that my parenting style isn't good enough especially in regards to discipline anyway and I also wonder 'oh am I doing the right thing? (pause) that question comes up

S91- Yes

J91- Is this good enough

S92- So it feeds into that internalised cultural perspective

J92- Yes (pause) that discipline is important to instil values in children

S93- mhm

J93- values of listening to authority, knowing that there is a place for authority, these are the types of values that I would say are why Ghanaian's discipline or why my parents disciplined me.

<u>Appendix J- Data Analysis 3: Horizons, Core themes, Imaginative variation and Individual textual description.</u>

　　　　　=Invariant Constituents (AKA: Horizons)

　　　　　=Thematic Label- (Core Themes)

Imagina**= Imaginative Variation and Individual textual description**

1. Mothering Practices(Master Theme)- New born Practices, Current Merged Practices, Personal Practices (Sub Themes)

Imaginative Variation of the theme of mothering practices: During the initial stages of mothering practices: Whilst there were some specific mothering practices that represented a British mothering preference such as, the act of circumcision specific to the male child, sleeping habits and the act of breast feeding, the majority of the childrearing practices that were practiced during the early stages of both children's lives represented the mothers Ghanaian identity as these practices were being taught by midwives and were perceived as having been well researched.

Individual Textual Description: The overall meaning and essences of this experience suggests that a number of mothering practices enacted initially were chosen to represent the British or western influences of the mother as this was being advocated by the midwives she came into contact with:

S19- Your daughter was first, so are you saying your daughter was brought up in a more British way.

J20- Well when she was a new born definitely

J21- I literally went with what the midwives said.

J22- because, in my mind I'm going to be honest, in my mind what the midwives had said had more research behind it- so they were right.

S32 – Mmm and do you know what the differences are as to why you went with some things, or is that too much of a simple question to a complex subject?

J32 – I don't really know why I went with certain things I imagine now on reflection that I just perceived anything that was Ghanaian to be less knowledgeable because I felt that the Ghanaian way was quite tribal and that there was no research to back it up.

S34- Mhm Mhm so almost your Western mindset perhaps plays a role in this

It also highlights that despite the preference for British child rearing strategies, specific Ghanaian practices were also enacted in relation to the act of breastfeeding, the sleeping arrangements of both children and the practice of male circumcision, which had been culturally enacted due to the sex of her second child, as demonstrated in the excerpt below:

S15- mmm so with that how did you look after your new born child?

I would say that the things I did that were Ghanaian for my children were, well for my son if you are a boy born in Ghana you have to be circumcised.

S16- mmm

J16- I felt so guilty afterwards but at the same time I felt happy that I went with my culture, with something like this.

S17- But that was different with your daughter?

J17- Yes that was different with my daughter.

J23- So I had him circumcised that was the thing that was a new born practice that represents my Ghanaian identity erm but the rest in regards to like the caring for him and erm his feeding practices, I breastfed.

S24- You breastfed, that would be Ghanaian?

J24- Yes that would be a Ghanaian technique

S28- So in some ways you were following a Ghanaian perspective with the breastfeeding?

J29- Yes with the breastfeeding yes

J34- Yes yes. However, I'm now thinking although I chose certain things for example when it came to bedtime, the western way would have them sleep in another room or in a cot away from you. The cot was there (laugh) don't get me wrong but I co-slept with them, both of them erm and that was not advised (pause) the midwives thought that it would be best for them to sleep in the cot even if it is or was in my room.

I pretended that I was allowing both children to sleep in their cot when in actuality I was co-sleeping with both of them, because in Ghana you don't leave the child on it's own, you want to protect the child so you sleep with the child or children.

S35- So you're following a Ghanaian route with that.

J35- Yes with that

S36- But putting on the face of the western route so to speak

J36- Yes in that scenario, yes

S44- the British way if we call it that takes precedence over the family way or the Ghanaian way?

J44- Yes

S45- In most things?

J45- In most things when my child or children were babies or new borns

2. *Identity (Master Theme)- Merged preference, Personal Identity preference (Sub Themes)*

Imaginative Variation of the theme , identity: Although the desire to uphold the British culture when it comes to the parenting of the children exists, the majority of the child rearing values and practices in regards to education and discipline have been influenced by both cultures and not based on the personal preferences or personal lived experiences of the mother.

Individual Textual Description- The overall meaning and essences of this experience suggests that the child rearing practices of the mother in the present day context has been largely influenced by her British identity (or a western influence) particularly in regards to the childrearing practice of food preparation as demonstrated below:

S54- Wow, so if we look at other areas let's say with food for example how does that factor?

J54- Food I would say (pause)
My children are half Jamaican so it's pretty flexible. I encourage them to eat Ghanaian food but the only Ghanaian food that I cook is Jollof, which is orange rice with like Chicken and stuff like that. Also maybe some sauces but the cooking isn't solely Ghanaian… it's a mixture of everything. So let me be specific erm it's not specifically Ghanaian

J55- If a Ghanaian person came to my home they wouldn't necessarily say that I cook Ghanaian dishes, my cooking is eclectic it's more open, however when I go to my mums I want Ghanaian food and I enjoy going to hers for strictly Ghanaian food.

S56- ah

S57- So for you where does it come from the idea of watering it down so to speak, so its not solely Ghanaian I guess your partner being Jamaican has an input.

J57- Yes it definitely has an input. (pause)

I would say it's more of a creative process when it comes to food it's not a specific Ghanaian route there's more of an openness…However, if I want to hold on to my identity as a British Ghanaian woman I feel that I will need to incorporate more Ghanaian dishes into my cooking preferences and that's something I'm not doing right now.

S61- Yes because that's what I was wondering I suppose food can be a representative of culture, a cultural representative so to speak. Is it more of a British way as in it's more eclectic?

J61- Yes I think from my perspective that would be a British type of preference

So what I am trying to say is that my British identity incorporates more of an eclectic approach to food, it isn't fixed- so many cultures have influenced my cooking style.

It has also demonstrated the mothers desire to embrace her Ghanaian identity in her mothering, specifically in relation to the practice of food preparation and in regards to the types of music she exposes her children to, as shown below:

S63- Yes and does that in itself create a tension with your identity so to speak because you said if you want to be more Ghanaian you would need to bring in some more Ghanaian cooking?

it's not a tension, but a desire to still hold on to a Ghanaian identity.

S64- Yes so it's almost like that's and anchor point that you want to keep hold of

S65- To your children

J65- Yes, to my children

S66- So you're trying to instill or pass on your Ghanaian heritage to them?

J66- Yes

I never used to listen to Ghanaian music at all but I find that I am now intentionally listening to it so that my children will know about Ghana through the music. This is another way of passing my Ghanaian identity too (pause)

2a. Personal identity preference- Only (sub theme, also mentioned above):

The child rearing practices enacted by the mother have been largely based on the mothers personal experiences, preferences and overall British Ghanaian influences, in relation to the educational and disciplining techniques being employed by the mother, as the following excerpt demonstrates.

J4- Or neither, I think this is a complex question for me because I remember a time, when I would completely consider myself Ghanaian. I was born here and everyone would ask me where are you from as a child. I remember from like as an early as reception being in primary school and pupils asking me where are you from and me feeling like oh I am from Ghana.

J5- I never considered myself British. I didn't think I could be British because of the colour of my skin, I felt that I was from Ghana and that I was Ghanaian because of my family's heritage and culture.

…when I started university I went to Ghana for the first time and when I got there… it was quite a huge shock for me erm because I felt at home to one degree- they all looked like me and you know seemed to be like me physically. But I didn't feel that I was connected to them.

J8--…It was not until that point that I realized that I actually am a British Ghanaian, I would say now that I am a British Ghanaian that is how I identify myself erm and I don't know what a British Ghanaian is (laugh) really (pause) but erm I've created this identity which incorporates my Britshness with my Ghanaianess some how. It is a creative identity that I've created and that I believe other people- I guess I can only refer to my siblings have created too. 0

S9- Mhm, so you're not quite British and not quite Ghanaian, you're a bit of both?

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J10- Yes, yes I would say that because when I think about my culture and what is Ghanaian about me, I would say my colour and I would say maybe my preferences for certain dishes, the music and the liveliness of it and my want to always wear bright colours (laugh) but the rest feels very British and I don't even know what British is, the rest feels erm kind of like (pause) ah I can't even describe what British is.

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J12- I'm trying to make sense of it myself because this is new for me but its just little things that I would class as British that maybe a Ghanaian living in Ghana would not get and this is the example I can provide of that.

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I'm now more open to natural ways of healing, which means I'm more open to ancestral ways of doing things than I was before.

So I'm always seeking to learn now, it's such a huge shift- it has shifted so much.

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S50- (laugh) I was going to ask that, what's happened to the western research?

J50- (laugh) It's still there, it's still there erm so for example if I hear about a natural way of doing something that is ancestral, I then look for alternative research studies, so it doesn't have to be necessarily medical, but it might be homeopathic research, that's the difference.

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S104-So you have the Ghanaian influence of education, education, education so to speak and your take on it now is the honed and focused- what is right for them.

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S111- So…their way of doing it has actually influenced you to want to take a different route?

J111- Yes

S112- So are you saying that your families way and perhaps the Ghanaian way is a bit more functional, you get an education, you get a job and get on with it, without the individual sense of purpose or meaning?

J112- Well yes that's how I have experienced it in my family,

J113- I know that in the wider Ghanaian community there is this sense of religion as well and they find religion meaningful. That was missing from my particular family so perhaps that could also be a huge influence

S118- Mhm so in your upbringing you didn't have the second home of the church?

S125- so just staying with family members that have influenced your mothering style, I was just wondering how the father has influenced your mothering style because he is Jamaican is that right?

J127- …he was like my family, it took him a while to see the naughty or time out corner as a suitable method of discipline.

S128- his influence is quite similar to the Ghanaian one

J128- to the Ghanaian lifestyle in regards to discipline yes

S129- is there any other areas where he is influencing your mothering style?

J129- He thinks that if you are naturally gifted it will come, you wont have to do any extra work to get there and he is actually influencing me to some degree, because I am starting to think 'ok, take a step back, take a step back, don't do too much work with her, if it is natural it will develop.

So there is a part of me that is influenced by his parenting style when it comes to education because I want the interest to naturally develop as opposed to me imposing that interest upon them.

S130- Mmm yes, So beyond the family are there any wider community influences that have influenced your mothering style do you think?

J130- Wider community influences were the midwives initially but now I would say the wider community influences are the UKCP and BACP.

S131- right, so from your profession?

J131- Yes from my profession because I am really trying to honour their individualities

J132- You know the cpd courses that I like to attend on working with young people, they are very key to my mothering style at the moment because I am not able to completely draw on the parenting of my mother or my aunts or the members of my specific family, because my experience of them is that they did not value the individual qualities of their children.

Educational intelligence and emotional intelligence are just as important as each other and I want both to be valued in the parenting of my children…I draw on my profession because it is the only wider community group that I feel honours the child as an individual and it is the only group available to me right now.

S133- So the Ghanaian community isn't helpful so to speak in regards to your mothering style now?

J133- no not in regards to honouring the emotions of my children,

3. Pressures (Master Theme)- External Family Pressures, External wider community pressures (Sub Themes)

Imaginative Variation of the sub theme of, pressures:
Suggests that the mother experiences no external or internal pressures to adopt specific practices, values, or beliefs, in regards to the child rearing topic of discipline.

The meanings and essences of the theme of pressures: *Suggests that the mother experiences pressures to adopt specific cultural practices which are both external, due to significant family relationships and internal due to the cultural values and beliefs held by the mother, in regards to the child rearing topic of discipline.*

J15 (continuation)I struggled with this, my parents were adamant, they said they were going to fund it, they were going to find the person and I was like 'I'm not sure if I want to', but then I felt pressured to (pause) because that's my culture and this was the first time I felt really torn because with my daughter I just went with what the midwives said.

But when it came to my son being circumcised there appeared to be no other alternative even though my partner is Jamaican, I felt that it was important for me to abide by my culture with my son, even though I struggled with it.

J37-I felt a pressure to pretend that everything was going in the way that they would advise when in actuality sometimes I would choose my Ghanaian way or my family's way.

S38- So they were teaching you a western way so to speak?

J39- Yes I would say

S39- Or British way

J39- Yes

S40- And is there in that not acknowledging your Ghanaian preferences?

J40- Yes and I didn't feel that there was any room to share a Ghanaian traditional way or rather my mum's advice. When I say Ghanaian I mean my mums advice and my wider families advice or their ways of doing things.

S43- So you've got the concept not just from the midwives but from reading up about it but you needed that person to back you up?

J43- Yes

S29- But not a family perspective

J29- Not my families perspective

S31- So did that create a tension to navigate?

J31- Oh definitely, because there were things I felt pressured to do that I resisted against and then there were things that I felt pressured to do to that I went with, like my son being circumcised.

S67- So we've looked at food and music preferences and how this fits in to your identity, what about towards discipline, what are your attitudes towards discipline?

J67- discipline has been a tricky one for me because (pause) the Ghanaian way is that you respect your elders so the child doesn't have much autonomy. Erm there's this view that the child doesn't really have a say and whatever the parent says goes. I find myself struggling with the idea of discipline everyday.

J68- The reason I struggle with discipline is because on the one hand, it would be easier to go with what I know or what's familiar

S69- So the Ghanaian way

J69- Yes-

J70- so I want to be more mindful of my own children's feelings and experiences but at the same time I want that balance of authority in their lives as well.

So I'm struggling to find that balance between having a level of authority as a parent, but still being mindful of their feelings especially for my 6 year old- recognising that she has feelings too.

I mean this is a cultural thing that I'm fully aware of and I've read articles and research studies that have been conducted in Ghana talking about the child rearing practices in Ghana, so this particular subject is not just based on my own experience, I would like to think that there is something inherent in that society (clears throat) which is "you honour your mother and father".

S71- So you honour your mother and father and it's quite strict right?

J71- Yes it is quite strict because it's a sign of respect to honour

J73- If you don't do as you are told, you are punished but they don't view it as a punishment they view it as a child rearing practice, but I would say that the punishment can be quite intense.

you'll be caned.

S75- So does that fit into disciplining your children?

J75- No I don't physically touch them at all, my disciplining practice is the naughty corner or naughty step or for them to go and sit in a reflexive space to calm down and to think about what has happened and then we discuss compromises later.

S76- mhm

J76- When my daughter was younger the naughty corner worked up until she was about three, so I was like what can I do to ensure that discipline exists in our household.

I think it's all about boundaries as boundaries are important, so the next best thing I could think of was having this reflexive corner or space to think.

S77- Yes, so would you see that as a very western influence?

J77- It feels western to me (pause) because in western school or in state school anyway, they are now enacting the thinking chair or timeout chair

S80- Ok yes

I wanted the discipline to be the same as school.

S81- Yes

J81- So it would strengthen the notion of discipline or boundaries at least.

S82- So in that way the discipline is very routed in the school so it's a very English discipline if we call it that.

J82- ~Yes and this I why it feels more western because its part of the normal day-to-day schooling.

S83- Uh huh and do you feel the impact of your culture as in should I discipline strictly?

J83- Yes I have that pressure every single time I attempt to discipline but not because I want to smack but because I wonder if it is effective enough, I then have this anxiety that I am causing pain or that I am inflicting damage.

S84- So it kind of goes both ways then as almost through the internal pressure to discipline in a stricter way or a Ghanaian way

J84- Yes

S85- And then the pressure to not do that

J85- Yes because it could hurt

S86 Yes

J86- So then I'm caught in between the two

J87- because I feel discipline is important, that notion of discipline being important has been influenced by my Ghanaian culture

S88- And that's currently internal rather than external

J89- …when I have conversations with my sister who's in her mid twenty's- she's not had children, she says that when she has children she will be smacking

S90- mhm and what's that like for you when you hear that opinion from her?

J90- I find it difficult to hear because I almost feel like she's saying that my parenting style isn't good enough especially in regards to discipline anyway and I also wonder 'oh am I doing the right thing? (pause) that question comes up

S91- Yes

J91- Is this good enough

S92- So it feeds into that internalised cultural perspective

J92- Yes (pause) that discipline is important to instil values in children

S93- mhm

J93- values of listening to authority, knowing that there is a place for authority, these are the types of values that I would say are why Ghanaian's discipline or why my parents disciplined me.

Appendix K - Efya's Analysis

**   ** **=Invariant Constituents (AKA: Horizons)**

**   ** **=Thematic Label- (Core Themes)**

Identity (Master theme)- Earlier childhood perceptions of identity, Merged Preference, Personal preference (sub themes)

Imaginative Variation of the theme of Identity: Suggests that during the earlier stages of the mother's life she experienced a sense of embarrassment regarding her British identity. In the present day context she considers herself to be both British and Ghanaian. She is Ghanaian as she has been brought up in Ghana, this is therefore all she knows yet she recognises that she has roots connecting her to Britain. She merges her Ghanaian upbringing to her British heritage, combining and comparing the aspects of both, to form an identity, which has been individually created.

The Meaning and Essences of the theme of Identity: Suggests that the mother identifies equally as a British citizen with Ghanaian roots. She describes how her experience of her identity has changed over time, acknowledging the embarrassment faced during her younger years as a result of her Ghanaian heritage. This is demonstrated in the transcript below:

J6- so as you know this study will be looking at your mothering experiences and of course your identity. So to begin my first question is do you consider yourself to be British, Ghanaian or both?

E6- I would say both, just because you know I've grown up in this country so this is mostly what I know, but I do know that my roots do go back to Ghana and I acknowledge that proudly. So yeah, I'd say both.

E7- Erm, I remember when I was a bit younger in school and you would have that sort of (smile- looking up at me) little bit of embarrassment but I think as I've grown up, I've learnt to just love where I come from.

Despite her earlier experiences, the mother has chosen to embrace both aspects of her British and Ghanaian identity and now feels more confident about embracing and combining both aspects of her culture to form a new distinctive identity which is subjective and therefore open to individual preference.

E8- You know, in school there was this sort of period of time where African's would be teased a little for being African but then you just learn to love the things they tease you about when you grow up, I mean because when you are younger you are more naïve and you tend to care a lot about what others think of you. When you get older you realise

there's more to life and you don't really care about what people say about your heritage. I just learnt to embrace my African heritage.

J9- So am I correct in saying there may have been a time where you were embarrassed about your African identity during the earlier stages of your life but that now that you are older you have learnt to embrace it?

E9- Yes definitely, definitely

E58- …I am a black woman with an African background who has been brought up in a Western society, which is British, I do also acknowledge that and embrace that as well because that is all I've known. So even though I might not be 100 per cent British in that sense, I do acknowledge that ok this is where I've grown up, I have an idea of what the culture is like and it has helped me to appreciate my parents culture too, it has helped in my processes of comparison, I have the chance to compare and combine the bits I like.

E62- Erm, I'm not saying that you can't be fully British as it is subjective, but from the household that I was brought up in even though I was born an brought up here there was a huge emphasis on where my parents were from and where my grandparents were from so that was drilled into me from a young age. When I say subjective I mean from the perspective of, I know that my roots are not from the UK although it happens to be the place I've lived and have adapted to.

You know I have friends here and everything so in that sense I mean I will probably never be fully British but I do understand the way things are done in our British society or British culture and I also do accept this as a key part of who I am because realistically that is all I know. I have never lived in Ghana before however I do know that my background is Ghanaian and everything I do know about Ghana has been taught. I also think that I'm still learning about my culture even now, I don't think you can fully know a culture, so yeah that's what I mean.

Mothering Practices (Master Theme)- New born Practices, Current Merged Preference, Personal Practices (sub themes)

Imaginative Variation of the theme of Mothering Practices: Suggests that the mother of the study had already been familiar with the practices involved in taking care of a new born prior to the birth of her daughter. She opted to breastfeed, placed her daughter in a cot and used Shea butter when caring for her daughter skin. These decisions had been based on the advice she received from the midwives she came into contact with and not from her mother or personal preferences. Her common everyday practices in the present consist of her combining her personal experiences, British upbringing and Ghanaian influence to form a personally created type of mothering style. These are demonstrated in her food preferences as well as in regards to her attitudes towards discipline and education. There is absolutely no desire to hold on to aspects of her Ghanaian culture.

The Meaning and Essences of the theme of Mothering Practices: The meaning and essences of this experience suggests that the mothering practices enacted initially by this mother had been chosen to reflect the mother's personal preferences and family practices. This is demonstrated in the transcript below:

J9- mmm interesting, I guess I want to know more about your identity as a mother, can you describe how you looked after your child during the new born stages?

E10- Ok yeah sure, it was all so very new and I was young. I mean I had babysat in the past, but it's very different when it's your own child because you are there 24/7 with no breaks whatsoever, so I mean it was more difficult for me because I was studying at the time and working part-time. It was a struggle.

E12- I was 17 at the time (laugh) so it was all very new and very scary and I really didn't know what to expect half the time, it was (pause) a learning curve.

J12- mm, so what sorts of care practices did you engage in when you were taking care of her can you remember, for example what where your feeding preferences?

E13- Yes I did breastfeed, this decision was made on what I had been told and based on my own research, which stated that it was best. Also, it was free (smile, laugh)

J19- How about in regards to your child's sleeping habits at the time were there any specific practices enacted that may have been influenced by either culture?

E20- The sleeping habits were difficult to get to grips with due to my hectic schedule. She had a cot, I didn't really sleep with her when she was very tiny.

E23- She taught me how to clean the belly button area, she taught me how to bath the baby with Shea butter (laugh), which my mum had brought from Ghana. Shea butter was my life saver (laugh)

The mother of the study recognises her desire to hold on to her Ghanaian heritage for her daughter and future generations. In regards to the current mothering practices the mother of this study explains that her everyday mothering practices consist of her combining her personal experiences, British upbringing and Ghanaian cultural influences to form a personally created type of mothering style. This is reflected in her food preferences, attitudes to discipline and her views concerning the importance of education, all of which are demonstrated in the transcript below:

J24- so you've shared some of the things you did when your child was a new born, what sort of child rearing practices do you do now, so for example what are her food preferences?

E25- She eats mostly African Ghanaian dishes, so I'll cook her Jollof rice, yam and stew. She doesn't have a problem with eating these dishes and I make pasta and mash from time to time so when it comes to food… I mean she can be a bit picky sometimes but she doesn't have a problem with eating Ghanaian dishes or British dishes, either way she's happy.

J25- so am I correct in saying you are incorporating both your British and Ghanaian cultural influences into your cooking preferences then?

E26- yes definitely I wouldn't leave anything out, I especially would hate to leave the Ghanaian side out because I think it's very important for them to be familiar with these dishes because its an aspect that needs to be passed on through the generations.

J26- so you are passing on your Ghanaian identity to your daughter through your cooking?

E27- yes definitely

J27- and this is your intention, as in it's deliberate?

E28- Yes of course (laugh), definitely.

J28- Interesting. Are there any other aspects to think about, for example what about your attitudes towards discipline, could you talk a little about that?

E29- Ok, I mean the way children are brought up in the UK is very different to how our parents were raised back home.

E30- It's a lot stricter in Ghanaian or even an African household. I've have had the opportunity to see other fully British families deal with their children and now chose to adopt both methods. So what I mean by this is that I take fundamental elements from my own family's choice of upbringing and small elements from the British influence.

J30- Can we speak more about what these fundamental elements are?

E31- The respect that you give to your parents is one element and it's very important, for me it's just right. There should be respect on both sides but it should be higher for your parents because they have more wisdom and have seen more and know what you are going through so can help or guide you. So I teach my daughter to have respect for her parents and I also teach her to know the differences between right and wrong.

E32- I would say that this influence represents my family and is more of a Ghanaian influence.

E33- So when I'm dealing with my daughter, depending on the situation I'll tell her 'right now I'm not your friend I am your mum and this is what you need to do or what shouldn't be doing'. It's sort of setting that boundary. She also should be able to differentiate between the tones in my voice so she can asses by saying to herself ' am I in trouble or is mummy playing?' this I think, is important.

J33- So setting a boundary is an important and a key aspect of your current mothering style?

E34- Yes definitely,

J34- And this has been influenced by your family and overall Ghanaian culture?

E35- Yes definitely,

E36- I mean one thing that I took from school and from being at home with my parents was the positive reinforcements and the negative reinforcements, so you know when the child behaves, obviously the child will be rewarded and when the child is not behaving then things would be taken away or penalized in some sort of way, so yes this also plays a role in my parenting style.

E37- So in the British culture you are not supposed to hit your kids obviously, where as in the Ghanaian culture that's not really an issue. When I say hitting I'm not meaning excessive bodily harm but just enough for the child to know not to do this again. So, just a tap but not one that harms or damages the child physically, growing up in a Ghanaian household this method was used quite frequently to keep me in check (laugh).

But when I went to school and saw that this method wasn't the same as the teachers would use detentions or time out chairs, it seemed totally different from what I was used to, but despite this clear difference I felt that the two worked well together and worked out nicely for me (laugh). My behaviour at home influenced my behaviour at school, positively.

J38- So would you say this is what has carried on in your own mothering style, the want for there to be a clear boundary of respect and the need to act on positive reinforcements.

E39- Yes Precisely, it's necessary if you want to bring up your child to be a positive member of society.

J39- mmm interesting, so when you are enforcing these values in your parenting style how do you approach the subject with your daughter?

E40- What I tend to do a lot of the time is explain before enacting the positive or negative reinforcements, because when you communicate with the child there is more of an understanding of what went wrong or why the reinforcement may be necessary. So I mean speaking is important too because at the end of the day children are expressive individuals anyway so having that conversation is necessary, it provides them with a level of understanding.

J40- Where has that come from, I mean the desire to communicate, does your Ghanaian influence accommodate speaking to your child?

E41-Not really, I think that this is something that I have incorporated into my mothering style (laugh) because when I was growing up we weren't given any kind of explanation, it was just 'Efya, don't do that' and the reinforcements would be handed. But for me I would say communication is very important.

J41- Interesting, so would you say then that this is more of a western preference if its not a Ghanaian one?

E42- Yes definitely, I think it's something I've learnt along the way from being brought up in the UK.

J42- ok, so we've looked at your attitudes to discipline, how about the topic of your child's educational attainment where are you with that?

E43- Ok with that, I would say that when I was growing up there was a huge expectation on me academically (laugh), so in some respects I think I have the same expectation for my child as well. I mean she is pretty young now so I try not to badger her too much but I do pay attention to how she's doing academically to push her that little bit further as well, just to sort of like expand her horizons.

So yes we do a lot of reading and there is a lot of challenges, I mean sometimes she'll say 'oh mummy I can't do this' and I'll encourage her to try and to keep trying and once she realises that she can do it, I say 'I thought you couldn't do it, see you've achieved it!' so I am pushing her but not pushing her too far the other way or to the point whereby she starts to dislike what she's learning.

J43- Ok, so where did this idea or technique come from?

E44- I think this is from me (laugh), yes this is definitely from me and from my experience of growing up in the UK and from school as well, because like I said when I was younger there were huge expectations on me to do well but it was greatly forced… well some of the time, so you end up not really enjoying studying as much. So yes this has definitely come from me.

J44- So it's a personal preference

E45- Yes.

E47- I think a bit of both, because both my parents come from very large families, so when it came to the topic of their educational attainment, their parents had to choose which child would be going to university. In coming to this country their view is that you have all these opportunities available to you so we are expecting you to do better. So yes I think it's a cultural thing but also their individual experiences, when it comes to education.

E48- As you grow up and you look at other countries and other students from different backgrounds and how they value education because of how deprived they are, I thought ok I have an opportunity here. So I guess, now I really appreciate what my parents did for me in regards to my education whereas at the time when it was happening I wasn't happy. But looking back now I really appreciate it.

E49- Definitely and just to add to that I think that because there was a huge expectation on me to always achieve I think that when I got to a certain point in my education, I was expecting the same for myself as well, so I think when I started to grow older, the expectation came from my parents and myself.

J50- So to summarise you are combining your two cultural influences, personal experiences and personal preferences together and these factors combined are influencing your mothering view that education is important, due to the opportunities available as your Ghanaian culture suggests

E51- Yes

J51- But you also believe that there needs to be a level of interest and that has come from your personal experience and preference?

E52- Yes definitely

J52- What about your western upbringing has that influenced this view at all?

E53- Oh yes of course, I think being in a classroom with others can influence children to want to be competitive and in being competitive the interest develops and increases

J53- mmm creating a sort of healthy competitive drive which encourages them to want to achieve (smile)

E54- Yes (smile) healthy competition I think is important

E57- I mean she likes learning about both cultures, I try not to enforce it too much but when I see that she is interested or she's asking a lot of questions about both cultures, I try to provide her with information and if I can't provide the answers that she's looking for then I'll send her to her dad to answer those questions or to her aunties or uncles, they are very instrumental in teaching her about her culture.

I try to incorporate everything into my mothering style I don't want her understanding to be one-sided, I don't just want her to learn about the Ghanaian side or the Nigerian side alone, I also want her to learn about the Black British side to her identity. I feel incorporating all aspects of who she is into one, is very important.

J58- So you've created your own mothering style by combining your two cultures then?

E59- Yes definitely.

J65- So to elaborate on what you said earlier you are teaching her about where she is from so that she is always aware of where she has originated?

E66- Yes she is fully aware, she is fully aware of where she has originated from and like I said she is very happy and open to the idea of learning about all these different cultures. I think she is just as proud as I am, of her background.

J66- How do you share with her, is it through stories?

E67- Yes through stories, my mum does a lot of the story telling as well. With my mum, majority of the time she will speak to her in Twi (laugh)

J70- Right, so there's a desire to keep the relationships alive in your parenting then, is this so she's aware that there's a world beyond the one she see's?

E71- yes it is, so she has Ghana in mind and stays connected.

E72- Yes, when I was younger we took frequent trips to Ghana but as we got older we cut out some of the holidays we used to take and the phone conversations were very

consistent too, I think this has made a huge difference in my life and its certainly what I want for her too.

E76- Erm I think as a nation there is a very strong belief in God in Ghana and that this is always being passed down in every household regardless. It is so embedded in the society so I think it's an aspect that will always be passed on to the following generations. Even if it's not passed on in a strict manor its always there in the background on some level.

E78- By that I meant African and Caribbean background as well, which can be quite similar to the Ghanaian or African culture too, so she's constantly around those sorts of people too and is therefore very comfortable being around them. But at the same time she is also very comfortable being around other groups of people because of school and her extra curricular activities so she's very comfortable around lots of different types of people.

J78- mmm so is this something that you would say is key to your mothering style then, I mean allowing her to be around many cultured people as possible?

E79- Yes and that's definitely from me… not so much my Ghanaian upbringing (pause) I think being open to as many cultures as possible helps you to appreciate your own.

J79- Where has this come from, this value of being more inclusive of others?

E80- I think that came from school because when you are at school you are amongst lots of people of different races, religions or ethnic backgrounds, so it's just something that becomes the norm and it's just something that becomes part of your life and I think that's the norm for her, she experiences this on a daily basis. I encourage her to ask as many questions as she can when she meets someone new and to try and learn about them. It's important you know, so you don't become ignorant.

J80- So although you recognise that this is your own personal preference, you've mentioned school so would it be right to assume this is more of a British influence too since it's what you've learnt from school?

E81- yes I think so you know because if I was living in Ghana or something it would be very different and I wouldn't have this idea of an all inclusive understanding because I wouldn't know what that would look like. So yes it's definitely come from the British side of my upbringing.

J81- mm and this is a key part of your mothering practice that you would like to uphold?

E82- definitely

E83- I think for me what is really important is just instilling the right values into her and just not letting her forget who she is because the likeliness is that she's probably going to grow up and have her own kids here in the UK and (pause) I would really love it if she could pass down her culture by not forgetting who she is.

J83- So there's a desire for your descendants to always remember that they are of Ghanaian heritage and this is something you are mindful of, even at this age?

E84 Yes definitely

Influence (master theme) Family influences, Wider community influences (sub themes)

Imaginative Variation of the theme of influence: Suggests that the mother of the study had zero influences initially during the earlier stages of her child's life and in fact drew on her own personal preferences. In regards to her current day mothering journey, the mother in the study has resorted to drawing on her personal views. Her mothering practices and/or decisions are therefore not currently being influenced by family or wider community.

The Meaning and Essences of the theme of influence: The meaning and essences of this experience suggests that the mother of the study has been drawing on the support of members of the wider community (Nurses, Gp practitioners) and family relations (her parents, aunts and child's wider paternal family) since the birth of her daughter. This process has benefited her present day mothering decisions of wanting her daughter to acquire the Ghanaian dialect of Twi and Nigerian language of Yoruba. This is demonstrated in the transcript below:

J14- Who advised you?

E15- The nurses, GP practitioners, my mum obviously (laugh),

J15- So the decision to breastfeed was a Ghanaian and a British influence then, since it came from your mum and health practitioners?

E16- Yes definitely, I mean my mum was pretty adamant but the advice came from both sides so it felt right.

J16- I see, so where do you think your mum's view that breastfeeding is indeed the better option came from?

E17- Well I mean she's had four children of her own and she comes from a big family so when it comes to child rearing she sort of advised me a lot but I think that these decisions were mainly based on her own experience of becoming a mother.

E21- My mum as the months went on would place her on her front to avoid her hair from eroding on the sides and this tended to be throughout the day (laugh). I think this was probably just based on her personal preferences and experiences as opposed to it being cultural.

E22- Yes (laugh), when I actually think back I think initially I did have a huge amount of support from my mum, she was sort of teaching me on the job. It was a very intense hands-on type of teaching because we didn't live together so she would try and cram in as much information as possible.

E56- Her dad is Nigerian, they are Nigerian so that's another cultural influence (laugh). So in terms of her upbringing yes there has been support on both sides, which has been great for her as well and like I said that's a whole different culture altogether.

E68- Yes, yes so I know when she's with my mum will speak Twi to her and when she's with her Dad and his family they tend to speak Yoruba to her too. So in terms of language she is sort of like absorbing the dialect. It's helping to make her feel proud of who she is and it's teaching her self-love, I mean I mentioned earlier when I was younger there was this feeling of embarrassment of being African. I totally want to sort of like nip that out of her as quick as possible because she shouldn't feel that, I don't want her to have that experience, I want her to have self love.

E70- … there are some influences from my auntie's back home. They tend to speak to my daughter on the phone so I would say that there is a sense of connectivity with my wider family even though we are not all in one place that influences the relationships she has with Ghana too.

E74- Mm lets say If she does spend a weekend with Grandma, she's likely to go to Church (laugh) with Grandma so she's aware of that and she'll usually just come home and tell me about her day at church. I mean my parents are strong Christians so they make sure she gets that influence much more than I do when it comes to religion.