MIGRANT MASCULINITIES:

An exploratory study on African men negotiating manhood and fatherhood in Bergen, Norway.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT

Background

Traditional migration research has predominantly focused on men and tends to examine men as non-gendered humans thus undermining the gendered dimensions of their experiences. While the impact of migration on gender identities and norms has been predominantly explored and understood from female migrants' perspective, how migrant men negotiate their masculine identities in their host societies remains under researched. While masculinity studies have enjoyed considerable growth in the West, this study fills in the gap to address the dearth of research on transnational African fathers.

Research Objectives

In this study, I investigate the case of the transnational African fathers raising their children in Norway and how migration (re) defines their constructions of masculinity as men and as fathers. Given this context, I contribute to research on men and masculinities by investigating how the migratory experience challenges, modifies and reinforces conceptions of manhood and fatherhood. In the case of migrant men, this study did not merely examine the loss of patriarchal privileges to their female partners. Rather, it also explored the manner in which the construction of their male identity (manhood and fatherhood) is transformative.

Data material and methods

In this study, data was collected through semi structured interviews and observations with 11 African men. In some cases, personal photographs presented by participants during the interviews helped to generate more meaningful conversations pertaining to fundamental aspects of their sense of self and masculinity and the nature of fatherhood. The data was analyzed using Connell's conceptualization of masculinities (e.g. 1995, 2005), Kimmel (1994, 2000) on manhood and masculinities, and the doing gender theory of Zimmerman and West (1987).

Findings of Study

There are multiple and situational ways of expressing, negotiating and enacting masculinities. Hence, whereas some men embodied patriarchal and emasculated masculinities, others engaged in non-violent and transformative masculinities. More significantly, some fathers embodied a

hybrid masculine identity across situations. Rather than a homogenous and stable masculine identity, the construction of migrant masculine identity is a complex and contradictory process. The role of emotions in this study is profound given the intimate testimonies of these men regarding how they cope with their emotions to encounter the demands imposed and changes required of them by the people and cultures they encountered.

Conclusions

Because of pressures of masculinity, migrant men experience internal conflict and resultantly a sense of 'double consciousness' when they fail to fulfil cultural expectations regarding breadwinning which can result in feelings of inadequacy and guilt. Whilst paid work is a key element in conceptions of masculine self-hood in migrant men's lives, it can undermine an individual's social roles and values. Furthermore, maintaining the dual role of 'provider' and 'nurturing caregiver' is seemingly impossible and conflicting, as men tend to value engaging in the public sphere over preoccupation with domestic life. Though migration became an opportunity to assume bread winning, some men welcomed the opportunity to foster emotionally expressive and healthy relationships with their children and wives.

This study contributes to the transnational migration research in these ways: examining the personal and emotive side of transnational migration by going beyond the examination of the loss of patriarchal privileges for men by also establishing the manner in which they consciously distance themselves from normative cultural ideals of what it means to be a man (manhood) and a father; and the multiplicity of masculinities among transnational migrant (African) men.

Key words: African men, manhood, masculinities, fatherhood, Norway, transnational migration

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Matthews and Nagada (2014, p. 143) define diaspora as "a category of practice which articulates claims, and projects, formulates expectations, mobilizes energies and appeals to loyalties." Della (2014, p. 188) asserts that diaspora is a "process of *constant becoming,* built and negotiated day by day, a process that can engender, in a short time, hardening of cultural and gender identities, but in the long term it can imply a deep inevitable *transformation* of the individual immigrant." For this reason, this paper deals with gender explicitly and explores how migration can modify and (or) reinforce some elements brought from communities of origin (Parrado & Flippen, 2005). This is because a fundamental change occurs in the social, cultural, economic and political lives of migrants when they relocate elsewhere. Migration can result in the disruption of family life and shifting gender roles and gender relations (Choi, 2018; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Parrenas, 2005).

The study of masculinities and globalization is a more recent wave of the broader study of masculinities (Gelfer, 2014). The study of masculinity originated in the *sex role theory* which questioned what defines/determines men's roles and how individual men were positioned in relation to that criterion/standard (Pleck, 1987). Thinking of men in terms of biology (being male) then paved the way for greater focus on the social construction of gender (being masculine in our context) (Gelfer, 2014; Hare-Mustin & Marecek 1990; Lorber 1994; West & Zimmer 1987). This highlighted the manifestation of diverse forms of *masculinities* in particular historical and cultural contexts and how *hegemonic masculinities* function by regulating women and atypical men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Gelfer, 2014).

Though traditional migration research has predominantly focused on men, it tends to examine men as non-gendered humans which undermines the gendered dimensions of men's experiences (Charsley & Wray, 2015; Donaldson & Howson, 2009; Sinatti, 2014). Whereas the impact of migration on gender identities and norms has been predominantly explored and understood from female migrants' perspective (Anardo 2010; Dreby 2006; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Parrenas, 2001; Salgado de Snyder 1993; Sadiqi & Faniji, 2004) how migrant men negotiate and respond to male and female gender identities in their host societies remains under researched (Charsley & Wray, 2015; Donaldson & Howson, 2009). Considering the pressures men face to be

key providers and to continue to sustain their authority in their households in their host society, various personal, cultural, educational and systematic barriers hinder their ability to fulfil their expected role as 'men' (Choi, 2018; Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Pasura & Christou, 2017; Tsolidis, 2014).

The question of masculinity in relation to transnational cultural communities has attracted attention among scholars (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Pribilsky, 2012; Smith 2006; Thai, 2008). Most of the studies however have centered mainly on Filipinos, Mexicans, Indians, Vietnamese and recently Ecuadorians (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Osella & Osella, 2000; Parrenas, 2005; Pribilsky, 2012; Smith 2006; Thai, 2008) leaving other transnational communities under researched. Hence, I investigate the case of transnational African men and how the experience of migration (re) defines the way masculinity is expressed. While masculinity studies have enjoyed considerable growth in the West, this study fills in the gap to address the dearth of research on transnational African fathers. In Norway, the subject of masculinities has been poorly explored as it focused mainly on young men and masculinities in organized sport, in rural and the agricultural and also multiple masculinities of Polish migrant men, to name a few (Bell & Pustulka, 2017; Berit, 2016; Beyond & James, 2014; Coldwell, 2010; Dowling, 2001). This research seeks to fill in the gap as there is a lack of research on African migrant men (fathers) in Norway.

1.2. Research Objective

The main objective of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of how African migrants construct their gendered behaviors and identities in Norway, as men and fathers. This study is thus important as it aims to move gender analysis towards a broader understanding of men's varied and complex gendered identities. Hence, I explore the impact of migration and settlement on how they (re) construct their conceptions of manhood and fatherhood. This is a crucial aspect in this research as they are under studied, as African men and as fathers in migration literature.

1.3. Research Questions

With the objective of this study in mind, the main research questions are:
1. What are men's constructions of masculinity (manhood) in their country of origin?
2. What role do men's constructions of masculinity while in their country of origin play in shaping

their decisions to migrate?

3. How does their migratory experience challenge, modify, or reinforce conceptions of manhood and fatherhood?

1.4. Thesis structure/ Chapter Overview

The thesis is organized into 9 Chapters. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter offering a general background of the study. Chapter 2 is a review of relevant literature on migration, manhood, fatherhood, parenthood and masculinities. This chapter also identifies the research and knowledge gaps in the literature that this research tries to fill. Chapter 3 discusses the theoretical framework on masculinities and their relevance to my study: Connell's (1995) and Connell & Messerschmitt's (2005) conceptualization of masculinities and Kimmel (1994; 2000) on manhood and masculinities. Complementarily, the notion of 'double consciousness' by Du Bois (1903) and later by Manson (2010) is discussed to enrich the understanding the complex nature of masculinities. Zimmerman and West (1987) gender theory is discussed briefly. Chapter 4 presents the research methods, methodological limitations and ethical considerations undertaken. Chapter 5 introduces the integrated findings and discussion chapters and offers a table of main themes of key findings discussed in chapters 6 - 8. Chapter 6 establishes the cultural meaning of manhood in participants' countries of origin. Thereafter, it investigates the impact (or lack thereof) these notions have had on their decision to migrate. Chapter 7 explores the elusive nature of how migrants (African) experience being a man and a father in Norway. Chapter 8 presents the notion of 'parental efficacy' to present how they negotiate their parent (father) identity in Norway. Chapter 9 draws on the conclusions of this research to present limitations and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses primarily on empirical research relating to the interrelationship between gender and transnational migration. However, in order to explore the specific research questions, scholarly literature on the meanings and nature of manhood, men and masculinities and parenthood (fatherhood) were used to inform and contextualize my research. This was fundamental as it enabled a rich discussion of findings. This section also identifies the research and knowledge gaps in the literature that this research tries to fill.

2.2. Literature search process

The main database I used to access relevant literature for this study was Oria (University of Bergen Library online database). I also borrowed some books in the field of migration and masculinities from the University of Bergen library and used Google scholar since it provides access to materials across various disciplines. I used terms such as 'hegemony', 'men', 'manhood', 'migration', 'masculinity', transnational, 'fatherhood' and related synonyms to guide my search and also made room for variations (e.g. immigrant/ migrant/ transnational; men/ manhood/ masculinity/ masculinities). My systematic search was limited to literature published in English. The reference lists from the articles I obtained in my online search were also used to identify papers of interest.

2.3. Gender and the decision to migrate

Existing literature highlights how the gender order is central in shaping one's decisions of migration, the process, including the experiences of the individual (Birchall, 2016; Jackson, 1999; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Migration literature agrees on various factors (economic, social, psychological and political) made within the family framework or individually that motivate individual decisions to move (Akyeampong, 2000; Ari, 2008; Choi, 2018; Kanaiaupuni, 2000; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). These decisions stem from the expectation that it is beneficial to move as one can further normative, economic and social-cultural aims (Ari, 2008; Tsolidis, 2014). Ari (2008, p. 35) contends that "the family defines the feminine (and masculine) role and the motives to migrate are forged accordingly". The family also constitutes the structural reality within which the status of men in society is defined and shapes the power structure within the family (Connell,

2009). Whereas the decision to migrate is often made by men in traditional societies, both men and women are involved in modern or more egalitarian families (Ari, 2008). Ari (2008) notes that apart from distinct gender related functions, differences between spouses in earnings, education, self-esteem, in origin and religiosity can impact upon decision-making within families.

The status of men and functions in their country of origin is often manifested in the decision to migrate (Akyeampong, 2000; Birchall, 2016; Choi, 2018). For some men, migration manifests as a means of providing for their families owing to the social fact that men are expected to be economic providers and heads of households (Akyeampong, 2000; Boehm, 2008; Choi, 2018, Tsolidis, 2014). Whereas migration is often seen as a rite of passage for young men embarking upon male adulthood, labor migration for women and girls may bring about new opportunities and freedoms to escape restrictive and oppressive gender norms (Birchall, 2016; Raimundo, 2010). Raimundo (2010) argues that traditionally, scholarly migration literature tends to overstate the male responsibility of supporting the family economically by accentuating migration as a male specific activity as men are portrayed as primary movers. Thus, this study contributes to this gap in research by establishing that mere opportunities can disrupt normative gender role constructions. This was done by exploring how masculinities are redefined in transnational families, triggered by women's migration.

Flahaux and De Haas (2016, p.1) argue that "Africa is often seen as a continent of mass migration and displacement caused by poverty, violent conflict and environmental stress yet such perceptions are based on stereotypes rather than theoretically informed empirical research". It is thus important to note that the factors that push people to leave sub-Saharan Africa may also be a deliberate choice that varies from country to country and person to person, inclusive of paths taken to reach their destinations (Pew Research Center, 2018).

2.4. The markers of manhood: what it means to be a man

Morrell and Ouzgane (2005) argue that Africa is not a homogenous continent; rather, it is an exceedingly diverse continent in terms of cultural and social diversity. Although there are infinite variations among African men, there are also commonalities as all men have access to the patriarchal dividend, the power that being a man affords them the choice to exercise power over women (Connell, 1995; Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). However, this also encompasses the power that men can have to control the lives of other men (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005).

Existing literature has shown that African men construe being the 'head of the family', provisioning and 'starting a family' as a significant aspect of their sense of self and what it is to be a man (Donaldson & Howson, 2009; Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2005; Sinatti, 2004). Dover's (2005) study of ideals of manhood in a Zambian village found that male ideals constitute a 'man of power'; such a man is described as independent, hardworking, successful, family provider, defends his own and family honor and is a potent man whose bearing demonstrates his power. Furthermore, Nsamenang (2000) found that most sub-Saharan Africa is male dominated because the notion of male superiority is an accepted public attitude that places women in a subordinate position to men. Contrastingly, Theo (2007) argues that while scholarly literature has shown a somewhat general gender domination by men in most parts of Africa, gender inequality is not considered as necessarily patriarchal from an indigenous perspective as role expectations of women balance the power of men.

For migrant men, paid work is a key element in their conceptions of what it is to be man (Birchall, 2016; Cornway-Long, 2006; Davalos, 2018; Della, 2014). Similarly, the studies by Donaldson and Howson (2009) and Sinatti (2014) revealed that regardless of education, family background and experience, men's responsibility as breadwinners or key providers and 'family heads' are fundamental aspects of their sense of self and masculinity. A study by Akyeampong (2000) revealed that conspicuous consumption, property investments in one's country of origin and supporting family members financially signify a 'successful' migration for Ghanaian migrants in the US.

2.5. Parenthood: Men's' identity as fathers

Parenthood is one of the ways in which men acquire and enact their masculine identity. Parenting involves the intricacies of raising, educating and supporting a child from infancy to adulthood (Self Growth, 2012). According to Santrock (2011), most parents adopt parenting practices from their own parents, whilst some are adopted others are discarded, perpetuating both desirable and undesirable practices. Some researchers, for example Baumrind (1967) have suggested that there are four distinct parenting styles consisting of authoritarian parenting, authoritative parenting, permissive parenting and uninvolved parenting. An authoritarian parent expects children to follow strict rules they establish arbitrarily, uses a strict discipline style and is typically less nurturing (Cherry, 2012). In contrast, the authoritative parenting style is more democratic as parents are

willing to listen to their children, are more responsive, nurturing and reasons behind disciplinary rules are clear and explained (Cherry, 2012; Santrock, 2011). Whereas permissive parents allow their children a lot of freedom as they offer limited guidance, uninvolved parents are often indifferent or negligent and make little to no demands of their children (Cherry, 2012). Cherry (2012) suggests that parenting styles may vary due to factors such as culture, personality, travel, educational level, religion and parental background.

In relation to fathers, Butler's (2009) notion of 'gender performativity' can describe how gender is attained by displaying routine acts that express and create masculine identities. Fathers' behavior is thus shaped by aspects internalized as necessary for being a father (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2003). Role expectations are situational and can constitute responsibility for financial stability of the family or being a caring and expressive father (Ihinger-Tallman, Pasley, & Buehler, 1993). Lucas, Mirza & Westwood (2020, p. 2) assert that "fatherhood is socially and culturally constructed, and there are changing definitions of fatherhood through time and across different geographical contexts". Gregory and Miller (2011) note that childcare is perceived primarily as maternal responsibility and fathers are expected to enact sole bread winning in most parts of the world. However, societal attitudes and expectations regarding the roles of mothers and fathers in the family have shifted due to changes to family forms (e.g. same sex parents, fatherless households, single parents) (Gregory & Miller, 2011). More so, this shift has been due to the model of a 'new father' which emphasizes increased emotional involvement with children and making financial and emotional contributions to the family, taking into account wider concerns regarding gender inequality and social cohesion (Lucas, Mirza & Westwood, 2020). Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine's (2017) model of the 'new father' theorizes three components of fathers' involvement: fathers' engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Fathers' *engagement* constitutes direct interaction with children, for example caretaking, play, or leisure (McMunn, Martin, Kelly, & Sacker, 2015). *Accessibility* is defined as the father making himself available to his children and *responsibility* of ensuring that the child is taken care of by providing needful resources (Lamb et al., 2017; Pleck, 2010). Thus, a father's presence matters in terms of economic and social well-being, and child development (Lamb & Lewis, 2004; Nsamenang, 2000).

The contemporary model of Lamb, et.al (2017) is idealistic considering that there is a gap between this model and men's actual fathering experience (Nsamenang, 2000.) This is because this ideal image of fatherhood overlooks the complexity of fathering owing to opportunities and

constraints that intersect with age, class, sexuality, disability and ethnicity (Featherstone, 2009). This study thus considers the complexity of fathering and the impact of intersections such as gender and ethnicity to discuss how fatherhood has become progressively individualized, resulting in the degendering of gender roles and of the family (Williams, 2008).

Nsamenang (2009) criticizes the image of the Euro-American father as responsive, nurturing and involved (Lamb, et. al, 2017) which has become a universal yardstick against which all other images of fatherhood are measured. This is because the Eurocentric image of fatherhood is not always in agreement with the values or reality of the image of fatherhood in Cameroon and other sub-Saharan countries (Nsamenang, 2009). With this in mind, the cultural image of an African father is that of a highly esteemed member of society, the head and focal authority of the family, allowing him to dominate and dictate the behaviors of other members of the family, and control family resources (Nsamenang, 2000). Furthermore, the common belief that a man that is fatherless has wasted his life, makes men anxious to father children (as their wives fulfil the primary responsibility of bearing children) (Nsamenang, 2000). Nsamenang (2000) argues that though the culture acknowledges and sanctions the absolute authority of the father over the family, it fails to designate a routine childcare role for him. A father that is tender-hearted and nurturing towards children is perceived as effeminate, and thus a deviant (Morell & Ouzgane, 2005; Nsamenang, 2000). Fathers train their children to be Due to societal expectations to be obedient and respectful members of society and to excel in school (Nsamenang, 2000).

2.6. Migration and Settlement

This theme reviews relevant literature to explore the impact of migration on challenging, reinforcing and modifying normative conceptions of what it means to be a man and a father, including interrelated subjects. Hence, it is sectioned into the following 3 themes: the notion of remasculinization, shifting gendered power: power relations and gender roles and lastly, transnational families contested.

2.6.1. The notion of 'remasculinization'

Howson (2013) found that transnational migration challenges traditional notions of manhood as male migrants continuously negotiate their gendered identities and behaviors in different national

and cultural contexts. This process is underpinned with the pursuit of economic opportunities, assimilation and integration in which varied understandings of masculine identity and practice are constructed and maintained (Mangezvo, 2015). Donaldson, Hibbins and Pease (2009, p. 3) write that "resistance, accommodation, subordination, segregation, marginalization, 'protest' and rebellion are all possible practices used as migrant males adapt in a new environment". Hence, when migrant males develop new codes that represent local versions of male ideals during the settlement process and beyond, the symbols are adjusted or changed to match those practiced in countries of origin (Donaldson, Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Mangezvo, 2015).

Previous studies reveal the interconnectedness between the migratory experience and the production or (re) enactment of masculinities (Della, 2014; Mangezvo, 2015; Pasura & Christou, 2017). Therein, remasculinization entails the efforts to integrate in a new country as a migrant and as a male subject toward a new hegemonic or dominant form of masculinity (Mangezvo, 2015). Sinatti (2014) explores the evolution of the constructions of masculinity amongst migrant Senegalese men who on one hand acquire the status of 'provider' within their family, and on the other hand seek to accumulate resources in order to establish their own independent household. Della (2014) explores Bangladeshi men's experiences and masculinity transformations in Italy characterized with efforts to integrate into the immigration context but also rejection and subversion of particular social and political norms. Their masculine identity is thus accomplished and maintained by providing economic means for their families.

Donaldson, & Howson (2009, p. 5) argue that, "with pressures on men to be the main breadwinner in the societies that they have settled, and to continue to maintain their authority in the family, they face a range of personal, cultural, educational and systematic barriers to realize their expected role as 'men''. This is because for migrant men, transmigration is a social process that is characterized with overt and covert challenges (Mangezvo, 2015), for example, the experience of forced migration may entail no longer being able to assume the role of 'provider' or 'protector' of their families (Birchall, 2016).

2.6.2. Shifting gendered power: Power relations and Gender roles

Studies have revealed how migration leads to changes in the nature of fatherhood and style of fatherhood from a more distant discipline-based fatherhood to one involving increased interaction and communication with children (Choi, 2018; Renzaho & Vignjevic, 2011; Williams, Hewison,

Wildman, & Roskel, 2013). African men in England argued that migration resulted in changes in the nature of manhood, fatherhood, style of fatherhood and gender roles (Williams et al., 2013). Nevertheless, some fathers displayed hegemonic masculine beliefs, for example, they valued being the 'head' of the family as a fundamental aspect of fatherhood as they try to maintain or establish 'leadership' within their families (Williams et al., 2013).

Hibbins and Pease (2009) research with immigrant men in Australia from all the countries he interviewed (East Africa, Middle East, Southern Asia and Latin America) unveiled how migration unsettled the 'natural' order as these men expressed how they felt pressured to share childcare and domestic household responsibilities, perceived as women's role. Zadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka and Ryndk's (2018) study on the use of parental leave by Polish fathers in Poland found that they disapprove of gender-egalitarian practices within relationships.

Silberschmidt (2005) found that African men's authority as 'figureheads' is subject to change and challenge, including their identity and self-esteem, making their roles and identities complex and contradictory due to economic marginalization. Silberschmidt's work over the years thus focuses on male disempowerment in East Africa as a recurring theme to explore the adverse impact of socio-economic change and unemployment on men's lives (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). Notably, refugee and diasporic communities are affected the most as being displaced from their respective societies can become even more disorienting because migration often disrupts the migrant's self-hood, which can contribute to social pathologies and family violence (Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson & Pease, 2009). In this regard, studies suggest that men's migratory experience is transcendent as merely fulfilling the role of economic provider also brings forth dilemmas in their lives because of how it challenges the hegemony of men and their notions of manhood (Adhikari, 2013; Howson, 2013; Kilkey, Mellar & Baldassar, 2018; Ruxton, 2014; Schmalzbauer, 2015; Tsolidis, 2014).

2.6.3. Transnational families contested

Yenika-Agbaw (2009) contends that for some immigrants, for example those who come from Africa often confront the reality of having to negotiate their relationship with the new culture as they perceive themselves as "Africans first and members of a national group second" (In Motion, p. 8). For the African immigrant in the US, the home, school and media which are sites that

significantly influence childhood culture (Jenkins, 1998) are fraught with underlying tension and conflict. This is partly because they generally uphold values which do not only undermine, but also degrade African cultures, complicating child rearing experiences in the diaspora (Yenika-Agbaw, 2009). Similarly, Arthur (2008) argues that African parents (especially fathers), struggle to raise their children in the diaspora as they have to contend with the omnipresence of the media that challenges their authority as they try to establish and maintain authority in the home and to also work hard to attain respectability at their workplace.

In traditional African communities, parenting is not only the responsibility of the parents as it is also shared by the extended family (Amos 2013; Nsamenang, 2000). Hence, the meaning of 'family' for Africans goes beyond the nuclear family as it also pertains to extended family. Whereas the nuclear family consists of both parents and children, the extended family is made up of the nuclear family, uncles, aunts, grandparents and cousins (Amos, 2013; König & de Regt, 2010). The function the extended family serves is to provide economic, social and emotional security to its members, and it allows any elderly person to correct or discipline a child (Amos, 2013). According to Amos (2013), the extended family is therefore a fundamental tool in parenting because it enhances the development of a strong sense of social responsibility in the child, enabling them to be respectful, responsible and supportive members of the extended family and society. However, König and de Regt (2010) suggest that it is fundamental that the family is not over-idealized in its traditional stable form as it is now in a crisis. This is the case of sub-Saharan Africa; while the extended family exerts considerable influence, its control of individual welfare and family security in transnational families is increasingly under restraint (Nsamenang, 2000). Because of globalization, particularly social media that knows no boundaries and conflicting values of traditional parenting from countries of origin, negotiating parenting is thus one of the most pressing challenges experienced by most African migrant parents (Øien, 2007; Renzaho & Vignjevic, 2011; Yenika-Agbaw, 2009).

In an article by Øien (2007), Angolan migrants in Portugal speak of hardship and disappointment due to anxieties emanating from the fear of the failure to fulfil promises to family back home and changes in expectations and obligations of gender and parenthood. In a comparable study, Konig and Redgt (2010) also unveil the fluidity of migration and the manner in which African migrants cope with pressures from their families in their countries of origin, on the road, and in Europe. Some studies have investigated immigrant parents in the US and the Netherlands

and their experiences of childrearing (Arthur, 2008). Their findings on the experiences of immigrant families raising children in a new country whose culture they may be unfamiliar with, indicate similar intergenerational conflict and challenges faced by African immigrants in the United States owing to conflicting cultural values underpinned with white mainstream, Black American minority, and conflicting African cultures (Yenika-Agbaw, 2009). Øien (2007) highlights the role of humiliation and marginalization in the lives of young Angolans in Portugal who grow up between conflicting ideas and ambivalent dynamics regarding an 'African upbringing', and a Portuguese dominant discourse about child rearing.

2.7. The Norwegian Context

Father's involvement with children is associated with good developmental outcomes and positive child well-being (Lamb & Lewis, 2004). Active fathering and intensive parenting are promoted by work-family reconciliation policies in Norway (Aure & Munkejord, 2015). All EU countries currently provide paternity leave (since 2009), for fathers to take time off in order to take care of their children at the time of childbirth, taken in parallel with maternity leave (van Belle, 2011). However, fathers' uptake of paternity and parental leave is low, impacted upon by social norms and workplace cultures (van Belle, 2011). A father's leave uptake is important for female labour force participation, enabling families to reconcile work family responsibilities and child development (van Belle, 2011). Zadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka and Ryndyk (2018) study on the use of parental leave by Polish fathers in Norway found that some fathers desire a dual career model and for some, their lives had improved upon settling in Norway as their participation in household duties and childcare responsibilities are supported by working environments and social system. However, it was reported that these fathers were enacting the father role in a passive manner (Zadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka & Ryndyk, 2018).

Gender equality is an ideology that is strongly promoted in Norway. Norway is also recognized for its strong welfare state and it has been ranked as one of the best places in the world to raise children owing to the following five indicators: maternal health, children's well-being, educational status, economic status and political status (UNICEF, 2019). Considering that gender equality is a fundamental aspect of the welfare state model, national policies aiming to promote equality of opportunity in reconciling parenthood and employment are flexible and generous. They are inclusive of the right to paid parental leave (49 weeks at full pay or 56 weeks at 80% pay) for

mothers, whilst fathers are entitled to between zero and 10 weeks depending on the income of their wives (Bø, 2008). Together, parents can also receive an additional 49 weeks of full pay or 56 weeks at 80% of their income (Bø, 2008). A degenderizing 'home allowance' allows either parent to stay at home when a child is sick, and parents are also entitled to subsidized childcare services (Bø, 2008). Though research suggests that fathers are spending more time with their children and caregiving is thus an aspect of the construction of their masculine identities and role as fathers (Kitterød, & Rønsen, 2018), their care for children is mainly manifested through engaging in leisure activities whilst women exercise more practical responsibility for children, such as having an overview of their needs and tasks (Bø, 2008).

There has been a shift in the dominant family ideal in public discourse in Norway from a single earner model to a dual earner model, egalitarian ideal wherein both men and women are expected to share responsibility of working in order to provide for the family and care for their children (Syltevik & Wornness, 2004). Norwegian women are however amongst the most discontent in Europe regarding their husbands' share of domestic and household responsibilities. This is because research suggests that most European countries (including Norway) still reinforce traditional division of gender roles such that childcare, household tasks and cleaning are still primarily performed by women Zadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka & Ryndk, 2018). While culture norms have a significant impact on this situation, it has been attributed to an outdated labor policy (Filios, 2018). Hence, there is a gap between (policy) intention and the reality in the Norwegian context.

The experience of parenting in Norway is characterized by 'defamilization' (Leira, 2006) as childcare is divided between the family and the state with the state overseeing the caring duties of parents to promote female labor force participation. It has been reported that since 2012, 90% of children aged one to five have been enrolled in childcare services. The kindergarten is thus a fundamental social institution in Norway, as it symbolizes a 'normal' childhood upbringing and parenthood. To promote a holistic approach to child development and learning, kindergartens are based on a social pedagogical tradition (Kitterød, 2002).

In the Norwegian context, approaches to parenting highlight the primacy of cultural codes of love and authority in parent-child relationships that promote emotional intimacy (Hennum, 2004). Hence, the dominant cultural discourses are descriptive of 'being a loving parent and the wanted child, the good childhood and youth-as-product (Hennum, 2004). Parents are thus expected

to parent in the 'best interests of the child' (Daly & Abela 2007, p. 164) which entails bringing up children in a manner that ensures that they attain their best at home, school and in the community by providing basic care, ensuring safety and emotional warmth. In this regard, the rights of a child as an individual deserving of a happy childhood with 'kos' and play are promoted. Hence, parental authority is expected to be in conformance with this dominant cultural code of love. Hennum (2004) suggests that because immigrant parenting may be in conflict with the cultural understanding of the intimate parent-child relationship, it can result in challenges in the construction of their parent identities.

Daly and Abela (2007) note that in some European countries, corporal punishment is prohibited as it breaches children's human rights since they are persons who have their own rights, rather than their parent's property. In contrast, in many other countries, hitting a child is considered within a parent's right (Christopoulou, 2018). The Norwegian Child Welfare Services (Barnevernet) is obliged by law to intervene and provide whatever help is necessary to ensure that children receive the care they need (Christopoulou, 2018). The Norwegian child welfare service has created a worldwide controversy as it appears too many children are taken into foster care or welfare institutions without good reason (Christopoulou, 2018). Various Norwegian media reported that child separation from their families tripled by 2014, in total, 1, 664 children were put into foster care in that same year, of which a fourth were separated from ethnic minority parents (Christopoulou, 2018). This triggered a local and international outcry as some ethnic minority parents felt prejudiced against owing to their heritage or religious beliefs (Fylkesnes, 2018). The main concern against Barnevernet is that it seemingly is too eager to apply a 'one size fits all' solution of child removal to situations rather than devising time to work with each family to monitor or solve issues (Christopoulou, 2018).

Given this background, considering the dominant ideals of gender equality pertaining to what it means to be a 'good father', the Norwegian context is understood as impacting profoundly upon the experience of fathering. Thus, the gendered experiences of fathering are discussed in relation to aforementioned normative ideals of parenting roles and the division of domestic and childcare responsibilities.

2.8. My contribution to the field of Gender and Development

In the development of a gendered understanding of Africa, men have been overlooked and perceived as a homogenous category (Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). Hence, not only does this study contribute to this imbalance by establishing how it contributes to, draws on and deviates from existing perspectives, it is transcendent as it explores men's varied understandings beyond national borders and their migratory experiences thereof. This study is thus fundamental as it moves gender analysis towards a broader understanding of men's varied and complex gendered identities. This is because traditional migration research has predominantly examined men as non-gendered humans, undermining the gendered dimensions of men's experiences (Donaldson, et. al, 2009). Hence, addressing men and masculinity in development meant examining men as gendered beings as considering male subjectivities is key to understanding gender relations (Jackson, 1999).

I am contributing to the understanding of male gender identities as masculinities are relational, thereby illuminating the relational contexts that have the potential to shape the experiences of women. Researching the social construction of masculinity was therefore necessary as it also calls into question men's superordinate status by unveiling how men gain and sustain power to subordinate women. It is therefore beneficial for strengthening feminist projects for gender justice as it illuminates the possibility of change. Exploring the impact of migration and settlement on how they (re) construct their conceptions of manhood and fatherhood is thus crucial as they are under studied, as African men and as fathers in migration literature.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Jackson (1999) contends that acknowledging differences amongst 'men' as a starting point for any gender analysis is fundamental. Hence, I primarily used Connell (1995) and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) theoretical framework of masculinities to explore the 'multiplicity' of masculinities and the power relationships among them to guide the analysis and presentation of my research findings. Kimmel's (1994; 2000) conceptualization of manhood was used to enrich my understanding. In a complementary manner, the notion of 'double consciousness' by Du Bois (1903) and later by Manson (2010) was used metaphorically to convey 'internal conflict' and dual identity to enhance my interpretations of the multiplicity of masculinities. Zimmerman and West (1987) theory of 'doing' gender facilitated my understanding of the gendered nature of migration. In the following sections, I describe each theory, establish interconnections amongst the selected theories and describe their suitability to my study in more detail. It should be noted that these theories did not only aid the interpretation of findings but also the framing of research questions and the review of relevant literature prior to conducting the research.

3.1. Conceptualizing manhood and masculinities

The distinction between men and masculinities has been examined (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1994). A single definition of manhood remains and sets the standard against which other forms of manhood are measured (Kimmel, 2000). Whereas manhood is usually perceived as an eternal intrinsic nature of men (for example, men as inherently aggressive), it is socially constructed in culture and is historically shifting (Kimmel, 1994). Masculinity is however not a natural character type, or a behavioral average or norm of what men ought to do or be (Kimmel, 1994). For Connell (1995), masculinity "is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (p.71). Within this, 'hegemonic masculinity' is "the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable" (Connell, 1995 p. 76). This hegemonic definition of manhood is "a man of power and a man with power" (Kimmel, 2000 p. 76). It requires all men to position themselves in relation to it, permits men's dominance over women to persist and sustains the power that some men have over other men (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1994). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that

hegemonic masculinity entails the pattern of things done and not merely an identity or expectations that permit men's dominance over women to persist. Hegemonic masculinity is a historically mobile relation as it is not fixed but changes in time and space (Connell, 1995).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been distinguished from other 'lesser' forms of masculinities (complicit, subordinated and marginalized). Connell (1995) concept of masculinities rejects the idea that all men are the same and thus enables one to differentiate collective constructions of masculinities and to also identify existing power inequalities among these constructions (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). 'Masculinity as homophobia' is demonstrated when men who subscribe to traditional notions of masculinity become afraid of or have hatred for those that subvert the notions (Kimmel, 2000). Thus, among men, oppression positions gay men at the bottom of a gender hierarchy as homosexuality is easily assimilated to femininity (Connell, 1995). Kimmel's (2000) definition of masculinity as a 'flight from the feminine' concurs with Connell's (1995) notion of subordinate masculinity. Traditional masculinity is a repudiation of the feminine in the sense that an emasculate man can be criticized by his peers (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2000). Working class, migrant, black and gay men typify what Connell (1995) describes as subordinate variants of subordinate masculinities (Mangezvo, Ratele, 2014). Masculinity as a 'homosocial enactment' entails how markers of manhood (wealth, power, status) function in relation to male scrutiny, male authority and male acceptance (Kimmel, 2000).

Though hegemonic masculinity is normative, only a minority of men might enact it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) assert that men who benefit from patriarchy without subscribing to normative notions of masculinity represent complicit masculinities as they have a relationship of complicity with the hegemonic project. Rather than overt domination or an undisputed display of authority, Connell (1995) asserts that marriage, fatherhood and community life often entail compromises with women. Some of the men who represent complicit masculinity are also respectful towards their partners, are never violent towards women, help with household chores and support their households with a family wage (Connell, 1995).

Marginalized masculinities resemble the interplay of gender with other structures like race and class which may become an integral part of relationships between masculinities (Connell, 1995). Subordinate and marginalized masculinities are relational to the legitimization of hegemonic masculinities by the dominant group (Connell, 1995). In masculinity scholarly

literature, black men represent marginalized masculinities for the reason that they are marginalized and subordinated to hegemonic masculinity (Morrell & Swart, 2005). This is because of the understanding that race is a marker of inferiority in the context of colonialism and imperialism (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). Morrell and Ouzgane (2005) note that African men must contend with their complex positioning as the 'other'. Race is an obvious, but however not the only factor that subjects them to subordination (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). Nevertheless, Morrell and Swart (2005) suggest that one must not essentialize black men and arbitrarily place them in a subordinate position.

In the book, '*The Souls of the Black folk*' Du Bois' concept of 'double consciousness is a "sense of always looking at oneself through the eyes of others." (Du Bois, 1903 p.3). He postulated that Blacks often perceive themselves through the generalized contempt of white Americans owing to racialized stigmatization and dehumanization in a white dominated society. Hence, though Africans have self-awareness, they also have an awareness of how others perceive them. Double consciousness is utilized in this study because of its myriad applications in the nineteenth century culture. Over the years, its meaning has been expanded as it has been used by philosophers, psychologists, physiologists and authors of fiction (Manson, 2010). Hence, not only has it been used to describe dual identity, it also is indicative of internal conflict experienced by some individuals (Manson, 2010). Nineteenth-century double consciousness has been descriptive of conflict experienced by individuals being split into a socially conforming and rebellious self (Manson, 2010). Furthermore, the split has been around issues of success and failure in a world of masculine achievement and the underlying tensions between the public and private spheres as a result of an individual's masculinity not being adequate to social norms (Manson, 2010). Manson (2010) suggests that one must consider cultural norms when utilizing the notion of 'double consciousness'. In this context, in this study, it is used metaphorically to suggest an internal conflict and a dual identity to enhance my interpretations of the multiplicity of masculinities.

A study by Morrell (1998) of black men in South Africa revealed that where black men resisted class and race oppression, they also simultaneously engaged in defending their masculinity. Derrick Bell (1992), a founding proponent of critical race theory proposes narrating stories from the perspective of the racial 'other' to unmask racial hegemony. In this regard, this study investigates race as a lived and materially located identity. The concept of 'double consciousness' is fundamental to my study as it enabled me to explore the concept of marginalized

masculinities: the two-ness of being an African man as well as a migrant in Norway and how it can lead to internal conflict as a person is faced with the reality of having to identify with two social worlds, thereby perceiving oneself as insider and outsider.

This section has discussed how an idealized notion of masculinity and manhood is embedded in social processes. The theories of masculinities and manhood discussed above are relevant for my paper as it allowed me to investigate how new (and multiple) forms of masculinity, manhood and fatherhood might displace older ones. Exploring how these men experience complex and contradictory relations with hegemonic masculinities that offer benefits as well as challenges is fundamental to this paper. The theory of masculinities can also help provide a relevant framework that recognizes the geography of masculinities, its embodiment in contexts of privilege and power in which internal contradictions are actualized (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

3.2. The theory of 'doing' gender: Zimmerman and West (1987)

Zimmerman and West (1987) proposed a constructionist model of gender that makes a clear distinction between sex and gender. Whereas sex is a biological category that classifies one as male or female, gender is a social category and construction (Zimmerman & West, 1987). Gender is conceptualized as a 'social construct' as it is shaped by roles and stereotypes ascribed to one's biological sex (Zimmerman & West, 1987). The conceptualization of gender as a "social construct" is fundamental to this study considering the differences in gender norms existing across diverse cultural contexts. The concept of '*doing gender*' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) entails how gender is not merely a set of traits but rather, a performative routine 'achievement' as people act in ways that constitute what being a man or woman is, governed by social norms. Notably, though West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is socially constructed, they explicitly acknowledge that it constitutes free will and human agency as gender is not an internal and stable structure controlling men and women cross culturally. In a following article, Zimmerman and West (2008) acknowledge how gender is both interactional and institutional; implying that 'doing gender' has the potential to reinforce masculine hegemony and to produce change. This process of change entails detachment from the essentialized normative characteristics of masculinity and femininity due to a change in normative conceptions about gender constructs (Zimmerman & West, 2008).

These concepts of gender are suitable and relevant for my study as I uncovered how African fathers are *doing gender* (Zimmerman & West, 1987) by constructing and reproducing (or reinforcing) gender asymmetries and more notably, the *'undoing'* of gender primarily in domestic spheres as they modify some of their cultural practices from their countries of origin. More so, because masculinity is a way of 'doing gender' in relation to other individuals in social spaces, this establishes the interconnection between the two main theories aforementioned. This enabled me to elucidate the nature of idealized notions of masculinity, their plurality (hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, marginalized etc.) that are socially constructed in culture and are historically shifting (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1994).

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS AND ETHICS

This section explains and justifies the rationale for the chosen methodological strategies, and which underlie the interactive process between objectives, research questions and study design. Limitations due to methodological problems are also identified.

4.1. Epistemological Approach

This study adopted an *interpretivist* epistemology to understand social meaning in context. It rests on the premise that social settings and subjective points of view shape individual choices, but people have significant volition to create and transform those settings and to develop a point of view (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In addition, all truth is constructed by the individual through their social interactions and beliefs as they create and reinforce shared meaning (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In this study, emphasis was placed on understanding individuals' decision-making processes, their subjective feelings and the ways in which they understand and express events throughout their lives. Equally significant, I was interested in exploring how external and structural forces can shape individual actions. Therefore, this qualitative approach was purposeful to explore varied subjective experiences and how social context mediates behavior (Creswell, 2007; Skovdal & Cornish, 2015; Yilmaz, 2013; Yin, 2011). Hence, the need to explore the opinions, experiences and reflective deliberations of African fathers in Norway justify the suitability of this epistemology to understand reality through the eyes of these men.

4.2. Research Design

This study adopted a *phenomenological design* as it enabled the researcher to develop a composite description of the essence of the experience for all individuals regarding 'what' they experienced and 'how' they experienced it (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The need to examine minutely and understand how African men construct their behaviors and identities throughout their lives and the meanings they attach to those experiences is a type of problem best suited for this design. It is through this design that subjective experiences of a phenomenon and objective experiences of the common meaning for several individuals are examined (Creswell & Poth, 2017). In this study, understanding individual lived experiences consisted of using suitable data collection mechanisms to examine the way an individual expresses and establishes personal identity and agency and how

social factors can shape their lived experiences. Hence, it was important to utilize a phenomenological design to understand how social meaning is created and expressed in their personal relationships (their homes), cultural (racial or ethnic) and historical contexts (time and place), in which their lived and shared experiences are embedded.

4.3. Study Area

The study was conducted in Norway (Bergen) at sites chosen by participants. Bergen is the second largest city in Norway. It has 277 391 inhabitants (Bergen Kommune, 2020). The Pew Research Center (2018) writes that emigration from countries in sub-Saharan Africa has grown exponentially over the past decade, including to Europe and the United states. There are approximately 5335 African immigrants in Bergen (Bergen Kommune, 2020). Bergen was conveniently chosen as the study location since I reside in that city and I am a student at the University of Bergen. In addition, exploring the topic in Norway was ideal because of the differences in social, economic, cultural and climate conditions to much of sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, considering these differences, it was interesting to explore how African men are negotiating manhood and fatherhood in Bergen.

4.4. Recruitment of study participants

To ensure authenticity and somewhat homogeneity of participants, an African migrant man qualified to be part of this study if he was: from Sub-Saharan Africa; was raising his children in Bergen (at least one child); was married and lives with his wife in Bergen; His wife was also from Sub-Saharan Africa; Has been staying in Norway for a minimum of four years; Was above the age of 35; and had the ability to communicate in English.

Suitable participants were purposively obtained mainly through personal contacts and contacted via mobile to explain the purpose, the scope of the study and to address any of their concerns. Five of the participants were recruited through my colleagues. I met two other participants at a cultural event for Africans in Bergen. To increase the number of participants, snowball sampling was utilized to allow the participants to recommend individuals that met the inclusion criteria and could provide detailed information. A small sample size of 11 African fathers was fundamental to assess in detail the subjective understandings and experiences of these men rather than making general claims. It should be noted that out of the 11 participants, one man did

not meet the fourth criteria to participate in this study but was interviewed as he met every other criterion. At the time of the interviews, he had been cohabitating with a Norwegian woman and they had been cohabiting for four months. This man lost his African wife to a terminal illness and they had been married for more than four years. The backgrounds of informants are summarized in *Table 1*.

Name	Country of Origin	Number of years in Norway	Occupation
Mukisa	Uganda	10	Bus Driver
Robert	Ghana	26	Unemployed
Tatenda	Zimbabwe	13	Entrepreneur
Ike	Ghana	11	Shop Assistant
Ben	Liberia	15	Admin. Manager
Zach	Ghana	27	Bus Driver
Samuel	Ghana	16	Cleaner
Francis	Burundi	24	Service Engineer
Rugira	Rwanda	20	Software Developer
Michael	Ghana	4	Bus Driver
Kofi	Ghana	26	Unemployed

Table 1. Basic background of African fathers that participated in this research.

Pseudonyms have been used to ensure participant privacy and confidentiality. All of the 11 participants have more than two children. The age range of participants was 37-56. At the time of the study, four fathers were in their 30's, two in their 40's and four in their 50s.

The main challenge during recruitment was ensuring the long-term commitment from potential participants that had shown initial interest in the study and agreed to participate. For

instance, it was difficult to schedule a suitable time for interviewing as some constantly expressed how they were busy and could not find time. Subsequently, out of the 15 participants that had been initially recruited, two withdrew from the study and another failed to provide a date confirming his availability despite being reminded a few times.

4.5. Methods of data collection

Data was gathered using multiple types of techniques to enhance the rigor, richness and depth to the study. The primary data was collected from 22 October to 18 December 2018 through in-depth interviews. During the interviews, other forms of methods were used, such as observations and in some cases, photographs were incorporated to generate discussions.

4.5.1. In-depth Individual Interviews

According to Skovdal and Cornish (2015), an in-depth interview depicts a one-to-one conversation between the researcher and participant to provide detailed information concerning a participant's point of view. The interview enables realistic and rich descriptive details of situations within a given context (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). An in-depth individual interview was more suitable for this study in order to allow participants to report how they view their individual priorities, opinions, and experiences in great detail. Although group interviews and focus groups might have created a sense of belonging, they do not always guarantee openness and willingness to share opinions and experiences (Neuman, 2011).

For the reason that I was interested in exploring the impact of migration on the perceptions and experiences of manhood and fatherhood among African men in Norway, the questions investigated each individual's life in their country of origin and after their settlement in Norway. Hence, I developed an interview guide (*Appendix 1)* with open-ended questions to meet the research objective and explore the broad research questions. The interview guide was adjustable to allow each participant to discuss individual experiences freely. It is through this method that open-ended and emerging data can allow for comparisons by identifying similar and conflicting issues within and across participant accounts to generate common or shared experiences (Creswell, 2007).

The first introductory stage of the interview focused on providing information about the interview, explaining the nature of the men's participation and guaranteeing confidentiality, anonymity and privacy. I focused on building rapport in the second stage to make them feel comfortable, valued and respected as I attained background information by posing questions that were relatively unthreatening. In the third stage of the interview, I explored their understandings of manhood and fatherhood throughout their lives. In the last stage of the interview, respondents were encouraged to make further comments and also raise issues that were significant to their experiences but were not uncovered during the interview. This proved to be a fundamental aspect of the interviews as the issue of Barnevern (Norwegian Child Welfare Services) was raised by the first participant and because it appeared to be a prominent feature of all mens' fathering experience, I decided to raise this issue at the end of the interviews that followed when it was not mentioned by participants. Participants communicated their attitudes and feelings about Barnevernet openly and in great detail. It should however be noted that these four stages were conducted separately, in four sessions.

All participants reside in Bergen. All of the interviews were conducted within their homes, with the exception of one, which occurred in a coffee shop. The interview location was decided upon by each participant. The interviews lasted for approximately 1 hour 30 minutes to 2 hours 30 minutes. With their permission, each interview was recorded for transcription purposes which was advantageous considering the density of data generated compared to handwritten notes.

All of the interviews were conducted in English once participants expressed their willingness to communicate in this language. Though most of them communicated comfortably and easily in English, some had difficulties in expressing themselves at times. For the interviews that were conducted in the participants' homes, some of their children were disruptive which might have influenced how the participants' expressed themselves. The interviews were time consuming to conduct. As a result of timing and travel, the face-to-face interviews were costly to conduct. However, despite these limitations, it was essential to conduct the interviews face-to-face to allow for a more comprehensive understanding and to probe for explanations of responses. Furthermore, it enhanced the possibility of using visual aids to support the interview and to clearly identify and understand body language, facial expressions and social cues, utilized in this study.

4.5.2. Observation

I observed individuals and recorded field notes to enhance the rigor of my study. This is because contrary to interviews, observations unveil not merely what is said, but how people behave within their natural contexts when their actions and social interactions are closely scrutinized (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). This method was essential to address the typical challenge of social desirability during interviewing as participants may have provided answers, they deemed acceptable and polite.

Through observations, I was able to contextualize, comprehend and interpret individual experiences as they engaged and interacted within their homes. The observations primarily occurred during the interviews, and at times, continued subsequently wherein I was invited to join the family for lunch or dinner thereby necessitating lengthy and richer observations. Because I did not have enough time in the field to generate solid conclusions, participant observation could not be used solely or as a primary research method.

The main challenge of this method is that since some people might feel self-conscious about being observed and evaluated, the credibility of the observations may be compromised (Skovdal & Cornish, 2015). Hence, it was important to develop and maintain trust with participants in the beginning and during the whole process. The field notes generated during the observations were useful as I reflected on my own personal meanings and experiences, including how the data collection might have been influenced (Finlay, 2002). It was fundamental to ensure that my own reflections did not overshadow participant accounts. Skovdal and Cornish (2015), assert that to reduce researcher bias, there is a need to distinguish between observation, reflexivity and interpretations as one's role greatly influences what is worth observing, consequently shaping the data. Thus, a typical characteristic of all observations involved the recording of what I saw in written form, using an observation guide. It distinguished mere observations from interpretations and reflections concerning my personal meanings and experiences within their homes as a researcher *(Appendix 2).* Apart from assessing participants' verbal and non-verbal cues, the observations also examined interpersonal relations amongst members of participants' families; father-child relations and husband-wife relations (where applicable), including their immediate physical environment: their private homes. Observing the overt expression of attitudes shed light on the nature of the men's gender role and their parenting style which was consistent with the study objective.

4.5.3. Photographs

Photographs related to my research topic that were taken by respondents were incorporated during the interviews. This was more helpful to generate discussion than relying only on open-ended questions as the interviews with images generally created more emotional and affective conversations particularly with those that were open to discussing their feelings. Photographs presented revealed taken-for-granted things in their lives as they narrated their lived experiences. Particularly, fundamental aspects of their sense of self and masculinity and the nature of fatherhood, as they experienced it. For instance, most images explored the importance of fathers' contributions to their children's well-being as they directly interacted with them, for example, caretaking and leisure activities. Most images showed the significance of visiting their countries of origin regularly and places of worship with their children. Including investments in property in one's country of origin. More so, some participants spoke with pride about their children's high school graduation and with adoration for their wives considering the roles they play in their lives, amongst others.

The main challenge of using this method was that, at times, the time was not adequate to incorporate photos during interviews and some participants were unwilling to schedule another separate date to discuss the photos. Furthermore, the participants were not comfortable with sharing their personal photographs after the interview despite being assured that I would anonymize their faces. As a result, this method was discontinued as the interviews progressed. Five interviews utilized photographs to generate discussions on fathering.

4.6. Data analysis model and stages\steps\activities

To analyze individual transcripts, I identified emerging themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the usefulness of a theme is in how it unveils important issues within the data in relation to the research question. Braun and Clarke (2006) inductive thematic analysis approach which involves identifying, analyzing and conveying themes within data guided the analysis of interview transcripts. I used the following steps as proposed by *Braun and Clarke* (2006) for conducting thematic analysis to analyze and interpret the data:

1. Becoming familiar with the data through reading and re-reading transcripts carefully.

2. Generating initial codes which constitute initial ideas about what the data presents including what is interesting about them.

3. Searching for distinctive and coherent themes through identifying patterns of experiences. Contrary to initial codes, themes are broad units of analysis that represent interpretations of participants' accounts. Thus, the themes were generated inductively as I made interpretations of the meaning of the data.

4. Reviewing themes by re-reading the whole data set. The most significant aspect of this stage was refining the themes by examining the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set as a whole.

5. Defining and naming themes concisely that will be presented in the analysis of data through identifying the essence of what each theme represents and what aspect of the data each theme captured. In this stage, I also examined whether each theme contained sub-themes.

6. Producing the report by showing how the analysis is valid by ensuring that it is concise, coherent and logical and complemented with extracts that unveil the essence of each theme.

   These steps enhanced the identification of recurring pertinent issues and concepts that shed light on various aspects of the research topic underlying lived and shared experiences of the respondents. In this manner, this allowed the identification of dichotomies, inconsistencies, epiphanies, disruptions and contradictions within and across individual accounts (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Thus, after reading and re-analyzing each transcript and identifying and recording themes within and across participant accounts, I examined the observational notes I noted during each interview. Afterwards, I examined the post-interview observation notes from my reflective journal of the interview process and interview dynamics. This allowed me to make connections across the data sources. Using Braun and Clarke (2006), I generated 4 broad themes that guided data analysis, including the observational notes and photographs.

4.7. Trustworthiness of research

To ensure the trustworthiness and therefore the quality of data, I used Guba and Lincoln's (1985) framework which offers four constructs: credibility, confirmability, transferability and dependability. Credibility was assured through triangulation among complementary methods, explicitly identifying guiding principles for confirmation of propositions and by ensuring that descriptions of participant stories are context rich, and detailed (Yilmaz, 2013). Confirmability

was achieved by demonstrating how findings are grounded in the data in the meaning that individual participants hold about the topics under investigation and not the researcher's predispositions (Yilmaz, 2013). This was attained by providing extracts of participants' reflections expressed in their own words to support overarching themes in some parts of the thesis. The use of an observation guide also helped to reduce researcher bias. Transferability is attained when findings can be applicable to other similar contexts (Yilmaz, 2013). In this case, the results may be transferable to African migrant men in Northern Europe and migrant men in Bergen from different countries. The dependability of the study has been demonstrated by describing and justifying the research strategies I employed regarding how the research was conducted and analyzed, including the manner in which the findings are presented.

4.8. Negotiating roles as a woman researcher interviewing men

The role of the researcher signifies personal involvement, partiality and empathic understanding to obtain an unbiased insider's point of view (Yilmaz, 2013). Hence, this section explicates the methodological dilemmas and challenges I encountered as a woman researcher interviewing men. Though I also discuss other social attributes apart from gender that mediated the research relationship, it was essential to consider the impact of the subject of research as it also shaped the interview relationship. Hence, the question *'who is asking whom, about what?"* (Schwalbe & Wolkomir, 2001) was key to the negotiation of my multiple positionalities. Exploring the researcher-researched relationship and interactional dynamics which emerged during interviews reveals how men ascribed different and shifting identities to me.

As a woman interviewer, I was subject to gender power from men interviewees as gender relations were reinforced because my situated position is also a position of doing femininity (Pini & Pease, 2013). Throughout the interviewing process, some of the interviews reinforced the stereotypical gender discourses that propose that being a respectful, empathic facilitator for men's narratives is a women's role in conversations (Pini, 2013). The role I was assigned is that of a 'therapist' as they related to me on the basis of their expectations of me as a woman. I was thus perceived as a 'container of emotions' and 'emotional confession' (Pini, 2013). For instance, during the interviews with a participant that had an estranged relationship with his father and another who lost his first wife to a chronic illness, I listened sympathetically urging on as they

spoke in great detail, displaying feelings of rage and bafflement. One of the respondents expressed great relief and gratitude from participating in the interview as he exclaimed *"it is good that you came here with these questions today, because I like it…you should know the more I get it out my chest, the more I feel free."*

Similarly, to Lee (1997), a female interviewer, interviewing men, I found myself consciously deciding not to perform traditional femininity in terms of conduct and appearance to minimize the probability of sexual advances from my participants. However, once it was established that I was unmarried and did not have any children, one man perceived me as a potential date. During the interview, he constantly reminded me that he was looking for an African wife even though he was currently cohabiting with a Norwegian woman. He proceeded to proclaim that she was aware of this and approved of it. I felt uneasy and at times, bewildered as he continued to assert himself loudly, unmindful of how his partner was in a nearby room. After the interview, he informed me that I was graceful and easy to talk to. As soon as I received the messages, I informed him that I was in a committed relationship to forbid him from making any further (unwanted) contact.

At the outset of the study, I reflected upon how some men could be sensitive to issues of gender and therefore avoid sharing sexist sentiments even if they had them. The question that investigated whether the participants engaged in household chores such as cooking and cleaning was mainly received with hesitation, and at times, laughter. In these situations, I was perceived as a 'threat'. Some of the participants answered the question with words such as *'my wife is here; you can ask her yourself'*. Likewise, the questions that explored their understandings and experiences of what it means to be a man and a father were mainly met with resistance and restiveness as some participants adopted a defensive attitude. For example, one said *'that is a complicated issue, I don't know'*. Another proclaimed, *'I see everyone as equal, I don't see man or woman'*. When some men displayed feelings of hostility and at times, misogyny as they spoke about gender stratification within the home and society as a whole and about women generally, I found myself in a paradoxical position. I considered whether I should listen passively to attain a genuine account of their experiences or challenge them. My main concern was that my passiveness could have been interpreted as implicit support for their derogatory remarks. Interestingly, some men perceived me as a confidant as they spoke freely about their struggles and reflected upon and re-assessed taken-for-granted assumptions.

During the interviews, I positioned myself differently according to a respondent's age. As a 27-year-old woman, interviewing mostly middle-aged men, I found the interactions with the youngest more fluid and dynamic. In contrast, the oldest men asserted superiority by exerting themselves as knowledgeable, adopting a condescending instructional mode. I found that I was not in control of the role that I was assuming. In these situations, they challenged my opinions by asking what I thought about the question, rather than answering the question that I had posed. These situations were further accompanied with lengthy statements that did not necessarily answer the question. At times, attempts to change the direction of discussion were difficult as they persisted to 'prove a point'.

Despite my position as a woman, a shared African 'identity' status presented me as 'one of them', a friend. This was beneficial especially in the recruitment stage as some showed interest in the study without question. They were excited to meet another African, and particularly a Zimbabwean, as there are very few Zimbabweans in Bergen compared to other African nationalities. On arrival, their families were very welcoming making it easy for me to create rapport and establish trust with participants since they were eager to learn more about my country as we shared stories about our respective backgrounds. Afterwards, some of the participants asked me to join them and the rest of their families for a home cooked meal and our conversations transcended the interview topic.

In retrospect, I found myself more powerfully placed in terms of education considering that some of the participants did not earn a professional or graduate degree. In general, the social relationship between me and my participants was flexible as I did not adopt a specific authoritative demeanor. As I reflected upon the interactional dynamics including the subject of research, I questioned how the interviewer-participant relationship could have unfolded if a male interviewer had conducted the interviews with the male participants instead.

4.9. Ethical Considerations and Data management plan

4.9.1. Ethical considerations

I considered ethical issues such as obtaining permission to conduct the study from the research ethics committee of the university and sending the study plan for ethical review and clearance from the Norwegian Centre of Research Data *(Appendix 3)*. Informed consent *(Appendix 2)* from

participants was attained by communicating the purpose of the research, what it is about, who is conducting it and how it will be used (British Sociological Association, 2017).

Before each interview started, I explained the information in the participant consent form and reiterated that participation was completely voluntary and communicated their right to withdraw without consequences. Ryen (2011) stresses the need to be cautious about the degree of confidentiality researchers promise and to be realistic about their own abilities to protect the anonymity of participants. Hence, at the outset of data collection, I offered realistic assurances of confidentiality pertaining to the use of the data they supplied and anonymity in any reports or publications by specifying how materials would be used. I did not divulge any details of their responses to others. To protect the interests of each participant, I used pseudonyms for privacy.

As a researcher, it was imperative to discern the need to minimize potential emotional risks of participating in the study. As a result, each interview was conducted in a sensitive manner in which I refrained from raising emotionally arousing questions. Nevertheless, this was however a main ethical challenge in some cases as individual reactions could not be anticipated invariably. However, I consciously managed emotional responses in a manner that did not compromise the study when participants revealed personally distressing experiences.

4.9.2. Data Management

Audio recordings and interview transcripts were safely stored in a password protected university computer after each interview. They were all deleted once the transcription was complete. This helped to ensure participant anonymity and to protect their privacy.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

"All societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept of 'masculinity'" (Connell, 1995, p. 67). Because of the tendency for Western connotations of the term masculinity to be unquestionably transferred to other cultures (Jackson, 2007); I utilize the term 'manhood' to refer to cultural norms and expectations for what it is to be a man in African cultural contexts. Though this is a study of men from sub-Saharan Africa, uniformity or homogeneity is not arbitrarily assumed. Rather, I acknowledge underlying diversity and difference by establishing how these men do not necessarily possess the same kind of power or opportunities, even so, similar life trajectories (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005).

The aim of this section is threefold and will be presented in three separate chapters. I will begin with exploring the cultural conception of masculinity (manhood) in the participants' country of origin in order to ascertain the role of these conceptions in influencing their decisions to migrate. Thus, firstly, I explore this research question: *what are men's constructions of masculinity (manhood) in their country of origin?* Thereafter, the second research question is examined: *'what role do men's constructions of masculinity (manhood) while in the country of origin play in shaping their decision to migrate'.*

In spite of how men's subjectivities are socially constructed, they are subject to challenge and change (Hibbins & Pease, 2009). Thus, this study acknowledges that men are engaged in a process of incessantly constructing themselves. The third objective is therefore concerned with how this process of 'challenge and change' occurs for the African migrant men. This is accomplished by exploring how they (re)construct their conceptions of manhood and fatherhood in Norway since masculinity is a mobile and adaptable concept. Hence, the third objective seeks to answer the research question: *'how does their migratory experience challenge, modify, or reinforce conceptions of manhood and fatherhood?'.* The theories of Connell (1995, 2005, 2009), Kimmel (1994, 2000) on manhood and masculinity and Zimmerman & West (1987) gender theories are utilized present, interpret and analyze findings.

5.2. Table of Main Themes

Themes	Subordinate Themes
'Responsibility' (as a marker of manhood) (*Interconnection of virtues of Responsibility, Power & Respect*)	• Head of family role • Paid Work and Provider role • Moving out of parent's house • Marriage and having children
The Decision to Migrate	• Political Instability • Family reunification & challenging the Gender Order • Education and Paid Work *(Enactment of cultural male ideals in host country)*
Worthiness: The Ambivalent and Contradictory way of being a man	• *Inadequacy as bread winner/key provider* • Contradicting outcomes of being an adequate provider and nurturing caregiver • Emotional Literacy & Emasculated masculinities • Deconstructing male privilege of sole bread winning. • Reinforcement and modification of gender roles • Expansion of fathering role • Violent masculinities and transformation • Male disempowerment and the Barnevern • *Dealing with feelings of inadequacy*
Parental Efficacy	• The notion of 'Responsibility' • Child discipline approaches and Parenting Styles • Breaking the cycle of toxic parenting • Fathers' engagement and involvement with children • Emotional detachment and changing style of fatherhood.

CHAPTER 6: MARKERS OF MANHOOD AND THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

A society constructs a model of hegemonic masculinity against which men define and measure themselves as a man (Connell, 2009; Kimmel, 2000). This hegemonic definition is constructed in relation to social and economic aspects, including in relation to women (Connell, 2009). Any man that falls short in this criterion is most likely to be perceived as lacking and inferior as his social role and social value is undermined. Summative, this study found that a 'real man' is a 'responsible' man of power, status and respect. His masculine selfhood is contingent upon his ability to provide food and to secure a form of employment. Furthermore, he is married and has children and can defend and protect the household. These notions and other interrelated aspects will be discussed, in detail, in this section as I explore the following research question: *what are men's constructions of masculinity (manhood) in their country of origin?*

6.1. 'Being responsible.'

'A man is a person that is responsible. A man is a person who takes care of his family'
(Tatenda, Zimbabwe)

The quote above is representative of what appears to be common to the various ideals of manhood in the African context under investigation. Hence, being responsible is a significant aspect of masculine identity enacted by means of supporting their families. Accordingly, in the extract below, Francis, a father of three from Burundi discusses the virtue of 'responsibility'. Notably, he begins his conceptualization of 'what it is to be a man' by proposing a *semiotic* approach which conceptualizes masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which masculinity is defined as 'not-femininity' (Connell, 1995). However, with immediacy, his conception becomes discrepant as it points beyond 'categorical sex difference' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) to a matter of 'gender' (Connell, 1995, p. 69), elucidating the manner in which men can differ amongst themselves, and women can differ amongst themselves. He proclaimed that:

> *"When you are born you are already a man. The difference is already there, you are a woman, so you are born like that. So you* (as a man) *don't have to prove to anyone that you are a man... it's just your behavior because being a man…is like the way you behave...your judgement... the way you handle things...because there are some women who have good judgment and people say 'she is like a man' (...) They say every male is not a man because*

being a man is a quality...it is about taking responsibility for his own action" (Francis, Burundi).

Francis' shift in the conceptualization of manhood is fundamental to thinking about gender. For the reason that there are particular instances in which some actions and attitudes can be perceived as 'masculine' or 'feminine' irrespective of who displays them, this understanding challenge**s** biological determinism (Connell, 1995). His understanding supports Kimmel's (1994) claim that though manhood is usually perceived as an intrinsic nature of men, masculinity is not a natural character type or behavioral average of norms representative of what men ought to be. Though Ike's conceptualization below begins with age (maturity) as a determinant, it affirms Francis' as it challenges the arbitrariness of *semiotic* approaches and paradoxes of normative definitions, as he says:

> *'A man is someone between the age of 18 to 20 years. You have to be responsible. You can perform everything like a male, but if you are not responsible, you are not a man'* (Ike, Ghana).

6.1.1. 'Head of the family' role is emphasized.

In an interesting manner, inclusive of the expectation to be a 'responsible' man, Zach is the only participant that explicitly construed being the 'head of family' as a marker of manhood. His statement supposes absolute superiority to women as he expressed that:

> *'Being a man means taking responsibility, dedicating your life to your family, considering yourself the 'head'. Now we tend to say that men and women are equal, but we still consider ourselves men as heads of the family'* (Zach, Ghana)

A man that is the 'head of family' represents hegemonic masculinity as it legitimizes patriarchy, guaranteeing the dominance of men (Connell, 1995) and therefore, the subjugation of women. It is however important to note that this conception is implicit in other participants' varied understandings of what it is to be a man. Zach's sentiments seem to align with Silberschmidt (2005) who found that in Tanzania, men allegedly proclaimed superiority to women as they were 'born' head of house; a role that is 'God-given'. Comparable findings have shown that men's

responsibility as a 'family head' is a crucial aspect of their sense of self and what it is to be a man (Donaldson & Howson, 2009; Dover, 2005; Sinatti, 2004).

6.1.2. Securing paid work

In this study, paid work is a key element in most conceptions of what is to be a man. Thus, it represents a hegemonic form of masculinity as it embodies the most honored way of being a man (Connell, 1995). Comparable results have been reported for migrant men irrespective of nationality, family background, education, and experience (Conway-Long, 2006; Della, 2014).

Interestingly, for Benjamin and Rugira, change (becoming a man) is a natural part of the life cycle. For example, Rugira argued that while adulthood brings inevitable responsibilities, these responsibilities tend to be particularly salient for males. This conceptualization somewhat epitomizes Piaget's theory of cognitive development (1936) regarding how an individual reaches early adulthood, a time of relativistic thinking as they become aware of complexities and responsibilities in life. He exclaimed that:

> "*It just happens...a boy being a man...I think it comes with being an adult. I think adulthood comes with responsibilities which you can't shake off. You have to find a job, feed yourself...When you are an adult and you are a male, then you have bigger responsibilities...You have to be a man*" (Rugira, Rwanda)

It appears Kofi offers a hegemonic definition of manhood that was unveiled in most participant accounts that of a 'man of power and a man with power' (Kimmel, 2000 p. 76) as he saw being strong-willed, hardworking and persevering as essential to personifying manhood. He exclaimed:

> '*You have to do something, wake up early every day and do any work as long as it pays*'
> (Kofi, Ghana)

In discussing the notion of paid work as what is expected of men in his culture, Mukisa, a father of 2, from Uganda, also expresses the normative male ideal of gaining respect from one's community due to the attainment of employment:

> '*A boy doesn't have a job. A man is respectful to the community...that is something that he does in the community*' (Mukisa, Uganda)

6.1.3. Providing for one's family

In this study, providing for a family was common to various ideals of manhood. Similar findings suggest that achieving this role as provider can be a source of masculine pride (Donald & Howson, 2009; Dover, 2005; Sinatti, 2014). Accordingly, every participant expressed the value of family provisioning in enacting manhood. This conception signifies how gender is performative (Butler, 1990) and 'socially constructed' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) because it consolidates the impression of being a 'real' man as being a provider establishes male responsibility. Rugira emphasizes the significance of provisioning:

> *"If you can't provide, you are no man. In my society a man is expected to provide for his family. It is still very true. Still this mentality is still deeply ingrained in our society"*
> (Rugira, Rwanda)

Robert, a father of two, expounds on the nature of the male provider role. The ability to provide is not merely dependent on one's age. Moreover, the ability to send money to one's family in their country of origin proves manliness, a conception that studies of Bangladeshi diaspora in Italy (Della, 2014) and of Ghanaian migrants in the US (Akyeampong, 2000) have established. It thus appears that the male responsibility of family provision is necessitated securing paid work. Hence, for some male subjectivities in this study, 'care' manifests as provisioning by means of paid work. For exemplification, Ike and Samuel's extracts are presented below. While they share similar sentiments, Ike stresses the value of protecting family members. His understanding suggests that from the view of hegemonic masculinity, men who fail to attain this standard are easily subordinated to other men (Connell, 1995) who fulfill normative ideals.

> *'You have to work in order to provide. You have to protect. We have people, who are male, who do not do that. They are not a man'* (Ike, Ghana)

Samuel, a father of 4 also distinguishes 'boyhood' from manhood as he asserts that:

> *'For a boy, for example, my son he cannot take care of a family because he is not working, he is not earning anything, that is a boy'* (Samuel, Ghana)

A study that explored expectations of manliness in Zambia found that many men experience difficulties with living up to the expectations associated with the head of family and provider role

(Dover, 2005). Similarly, this study confronts the assumption that manhood expounds and values what is 'natural' as it also constitutes what may be difficult for men to accomplish. It affirms the assertion that though hegemonic masculinity is normative, only a minority of men might enact it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore, despite the fact that provisioning is revered as demonstrated through participant narratives, it can create feelings of frustration, guilt and shame as men attempt to live up to cultural expectations. For instance, two participants shared the frustrations of some men in their respective cultures owing to the complex reality of provisioning: Francis from Burundi, told me that:

> '*There are some fathers…that don't have enough resources, they try, and they don't get. There is some frustration with the family (…) Does it make them bad fathers if they try and fail and end up stealing because it's the only way they can provide for the family? (…) You cannot just sit there and look at your family without eating for 2 days. It pains you and then you see something...you will be tempted*' (Francis, Burundi)

Benjamin, a man from Liberia shared a sentiment akin to Francis', as he blatantly attested that:

> *(…) That is one of the problems in Africa, that is why we have corruption, because the man has to show the men's role he has* (family provider)*... so he has to do more. Sometimes he has to be corrupt* (chuckles) *as he needs to get extra money.'*
> (Benjamin, Liberia)

The corruption and thievery expressed in the two extracts above may thus be grounded in hegemonic notions of manhood which associate self-esteem with the ability to support a family. Comparably, the study by Silberschmidt (2005) of rural and urban East Africa demonstrates this issue of male disempowerment by highlighting the negative effects associated with cultural ideals that emphasize the provisioner role. It revealed that alcohol consumption enabled men to numb the resultant annihilating and disempowering feelings. Increased aggressive behavior, domestic violence and rape can possibly be a consequence of distressful economic marginalization - a means of (re) asserting male control, power and authority (Silberschmidt, 2005).

The findings of this study shed light on the notion that 'men no more than women are chained to the gender relations they have inherited' (Connell, 1995, p. 86). This is because patriarchy does not necessarily entail that men only have privileges. Rather, their 'expected' responsibilities make them prisoners and victims owing to their role as the 'dominating sex'

(Bourdieu, 1998). Hence the irony of the patriarchal system is deeply rooted in the fact that male authority is materialistic even though male responsibility is normatively constituted, making men's roles and identities contradictory and disconcerting (Silberschmidt, 2005). While these men have a positive role to play in efforts towards gender equality, these efforts can be obstructed as they are bound in concrete social circumstances and the outcome is not easily controlled (Connell, 1995).

6.1.4. Moving out of parents' house is seen as a key event.

Some participants highlighted how being (financially) dependent on one's parents can limit an individual's freedom. Nevertheless, for an adult man, his dignity is compromised when he falls short of the prescribed hegemonic norm of self-reliance which establishes male responsibility. Hence, whereas Kofi highlights how a 'real man' enacts self-reliance through moving out of his parents' house, Robert idealized a man of power along the lines of economic success- as one that is successful and has 'everything':

'At 18, you are matured. But back in Ghana if you are still living with your father, then you are a boy, you can't do exactly what adults do. People don't respect you. Even at 32, if you are still living with your father, you are a boy. You lose respect' (Kofi, Ghana)

Likewise, Robert spoke about developing a sense of masculine selfhood. His words confirm the assertion that a man's masculinity depends on his success in capitalism (Kimmel, 1994) as he identifies his masculine worth with economic achievements:

> *'If you are succeeding in life...like having everything. For example, a good job, if you dress up nice, have a house...'.* (Robert, Ghana)

These extracts, including the varied subjective cultural ideals of manhood identified across most participants' accounts seem to signify Kimmel's (2000) notion of masculinity as a 'homosocial enactment'. This is because wealth, power and status (markers of manhood) function in relation to male scrutiny, male authority and male acceptance. As a consequence, achieving this expectation protects a man's honor, reputation and self-esteem; a general inclusive understanding that is accentuated across individual participant narratives in this study.

Interestingly, this study found that masculinity is something that men have to constantly demonstrate, not solely to other men. Notwithstanding, their livelihood is typified by a harsh reality characterized by the constant scrutiny by women too. Hence, this implicates Kimmel (1994) notion of masculinity as a 'homosocial enactment' as he told me that:

> '*If I hadn't found a job (...) and had a salary to provide for the family...then there is no way I could have started a family (...) because no woman will accept that you will give a guarantee that you will be a family provider. I think women definitely look at your situation and think maybe he can marry me because he has a job because when kids come, we will have something to eat...it is a big factor in defining you as a man or not*' (Rugira, Rwanda)

6.1.5. Marriage and having children as a means of proving one's virility

Substantiating a study by Morrell and Ouzgane (2005), this research found that some participants conceptualized a 'real' man as one that embodies 'hegemonic' masculinity considering that it is implicitly a potent man whose offspring is indicative of his power. Moreover, this affords him respect thereby enhancing his status in his community. Being a 'responsible' man thus also constitutes another key event: marriage or rather, 'starting your own family' as most participants generally reported. This finding corroborates a study that revealed that upon marriage, subsequently having children proves a man's potency and affords him respect from his community (Dover, 2005). Hence this study elucidates the manner in which fatherhood proves a man's masculinity. Thus, marriage can be regarded as a manifestation of hegemonic masculinity as it entails ascendancy achieved through institutions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) in this particular case, marriage. Hence, the family plays a significant role in establishing and sustaining men's dominance in relation to women.

In this study, stable employment is perceived as a gateway to marriage and family formation. Thus, though becoming a father may be a significant marker of manhood, it implies some new responsibilities. For example, Kofi explicitly argued that being self-reliant demonstrates maturity which is fundamental if one is to obtain a 'blessing' from his parents before pursuing marriage:

> '*If you want to become married (...) your father can tell you are not matured. He is still taking care of you and buying you food. How can you expect to be able to marry and take care of your wife? So, if you want to marry your father should see that you have a*

sustainable job, that you can cater for yourself and your wife, then he will bless you and your wife' (Kofi, Ghana)

In a similar manner, Ike asserts that manhood can be acquired and enacted through marriage. However, the manhood of the said individual can also be compromised if household needs are not met, as he exclaimed:

'If you get married, people see you as responsible. If you do not take care of your family, you are not a responsible man'. (Ike, Ghana)

Likewise, Mukisa and Zach discussed the notion of 'responsibility' as an indication of masculinity. Mukisa communicated that a male demonstrates his manhood by meeting the traditional heteronormative ideal of marriage by having a wife and children, typical of a hegemonic form of masculinity (Connell, 1995). Because it is rooted in patriarchal ideology and heteronormative presumptions relating to masculinity that dictate that men should seek heterosexual relationships, it resembles hegemonic masculinity as conceptualized by Connell (1995). Comparatively, Zach reflects upon his migratory experience from Ghana to Norway, 27 years go by revealing how his identity changed from 'boy' to 'man' because of an underlying additional responsibility that comprises of taking care of his wife:

'I came to Norway as a boy. I was 19. I considered myself a boy. But when my girlfriend came (to Norway from Ghana) *and we lived together, I considered myself a man because I had a wife. That was the first time I was living with someone, and I was responsible for another individual'* (Zach, Ghana)

Similarly, Rugira and Francis' understandings emphasize hegemonic male ideals as 'starting one's family' is synonymous to 'being a man', establishing the interconnection between the virtues of responsibility, power and respect. Hence, a failure to meet this expectation strips an adult male of his manhood, regardless of age. It appears this individual is thus stuck in 'perpetual youthhood' and is subordinated to other men (with children) up to a time that he has children:

'Once you step into starting a family…you are a man… So, a 50-year-old who has no family of his own, with no responsibilities is not a man' (Rugira, Rwanda)

Unlike other participants, Francis explicitly expressed the significance of marrying and having children as a way of honoring one's family name:

> *'As a man they expect you to be responsible for your own actions - to begin a family and raise children so to have a family name'* (Francis, Burundi)

The significance of a family name resides in how it identifies who we are to others. Hence, it constitutes a symbolic power that conveys a meaning that can be associated with positivity or negativity. In most African cultures, the family name is usually carried by sons, a source of pride and honor (IPS, 2002). Thus, a marriage that produces at least one further male offspring ensures longevity of the family name. For these participants, it appears this conception of is characterized with an underlying inevitable gendered responsibility that is tasked to a man to preserve his family name and his own honor. With regards to male sexuality, it appears the ideology of male honor is therefore a hegemonic discourse because it idealizes, establishes and reinforces males as predominant in relation to women.

6.2. THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

In scholarly literature, migrant men are often the 'primary movers' whose status and functions in their country of origin is manifested in their families' emigration because of their major contribution to their families livelihoods (Akyeampong, 2000; Birchall, 2016; Choi, 2018; Tsolidis, 2014). According to Boehm (2008) for most men in developing regions, their mobility is a primary stage where expressions of male subjectivities are performed as the construction of masculinity is interwoven with migration. Hence, the goal of this section is to explore how masculinity interacts with migration by exploring this research question: *What role do men's constructions of masculinity (manhood) while in the country of origin play in shaping their decisions to migrate?*

This study has established that for some men, migration primarily manifests as a means of earning a living because of the social fact that as men, they are perceived as the head of the household (Tsolidis, 2014). Hence, while migration symbolizes a respectable path to manhood as men demonstrate their courage to provide for the family through hard work, it potentially creates feelings of hostility and inadequacy for those who stay and potentially, for those who migrate (Choi, 2018).

6.2.1. Political instability in countries of origin

In this study, three men were driven from their homes because of political instability: Benjamin from Liberia, Rugira, a Rwandan and Francis from Burundi. In the extract below, Benjamin reflects upon his experience of forced migration owing to war and conflict in which he subsequently became aware of the complexities associated with expected cultural ideals of being a man. Herein, he describes the initial attempt to achieve expectations as a 'struggle':

> *'I believe changing from boyhood to manhood is when I move out of my parents' house. But during the war I was 18... I was already struggling to become a man. To support my mother… When I became a refugee in Ivory Coast* (before settling in Norway) *I realized that I became a man…because I had to support the family'* (Benjamin, Liberia)

Benjamin's early experience at the tender age of eighteen typifies a double-edged sword that constitutes two demanding cultural manhood ideals: provisioning and moving out of his parents' house. While these expectations seemed unattainable at first, leaving his hometown and settling in

a neighboring country and subsequently in Norway, might have been an empowering experience that ultimately made him the man he 'ought' to be (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1994). In this manner, migration enabled him to enact his masculinity by fulfilling cultural hegemonic manhood ideals because he was able to provide food and fulfil household needs. Raimundo (2010) similarly found that people interviewed presented men's migration as a 'rite of passage' for male adulthood as it through migration that man matures quickly.

For Rugira, leaving Rwanda 20 years ago and settling in Norway meant more than just finding employment. He perceived migration as a journey that would enable him to live an affluent urban life and most significantly, an opportunity to gain control over the choice of intimate partners. Firstly, he told me about how his father influenced his ultimate decision of leaving the countryside and seeking an alternate livelihood in the pursuit of hegemonic ideals of independence and success:

> '*We were living in the countryside and my dad was working in the city he would come home either during the weekend or at the end of the month (...) he introduced me to the modern side of life...he was an employee in the government...making money...He is probably is the one that unconsciously introduced me to city life...When I started living there...I never returned back. He modelled me into not being stuck in the countryside. And I immigrated. It was a positive way... he achieved a lot of things*' (Rugira, Rwanda)

However, Rugira's desire to find himself a bride and establish a family was primarily implicated by the political instability in his home country. He was reluctant and uncertain about who to marry as he feared persecution from his family and community if he decided to marry a woman from a different ethnic group. As he shared his desires and fears about pursuing marriage whilst he was in his home country, I asked him: *'What would you consider as your biggest achievement, since you settled in Norway?'* He said:

> '*Starting a family is one of them. I had convinced myself that I needed to start my family. Because when I left Rwanda, I had passed the marriage age. I was around 30 and in Africa, at 30 one is old enough. I hadn't decided to get married (...) because of political unrest at that time (...) So I considered it after the episode of conflict. I changed afterwards as I was feeling alone, got married years later here in Norway. I think it was a good, but belated decision.*' (Rugira, Rwanda)

While Rugira's personal narrative was laden with perpetual sadness at first, he narrated the ability to eventually get married to a woman from the Democratic Republic of Congo after migrating to Norway with joy, contentment and pride. Hence, though the decision to migrate was primarily motivated by a life-threatening genocide in Rwanda, his immigration to Norway was just a stepping stone on his way to acquiring and enacting his manhood as he consequently attained the greatest sources of his masculine pride- employment and a marriage in which becoming a father of five children may have increased his self-esteem as it renders the continuity of his genes and the endurance of his identity in his offspring. Hence, in the view of hegemonic masculinity, Rugira embodies the normative definition of masculinity (Connell, 1995) in the pursuit of dominant cultural manhood ideals. Thus, this affirms the assertion that gender is an 'accomplishment' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) as he defends his masculinity by attaining independence, marriage and employment thereby enhancing his male status.

6.2.2. Family reunification and challenging the gender order

Raimundo (2010) states that traditionally, scholarly migration literature tends to overstate that only the male has the responsibility to bring in money to sustain the family. The narrative data of this study contradicts this view by challenging the supposed absolute centrality of the gender order. This is because the decision to migrate is in reality, a multi-faceted undertaking as mere opportunities can exert significant influence over normative gender role constructions.

Specifically, in this study, three men migrated to Norway to join their wives, which makes marriage a factor of migration. Their lived experiences substantiate the findings of a study of 'breadwinning wives and left-behind husbands' (Anh Hoang & Yeoh, 2011) that highlights the various ways in which masculinities are redefined in transnational families, triggered by women's migration. This study thus challenges the traditional concept of migration which accentuates the exclusivity of a distinctive characteristic of maleness in which men are chiefly primary movers. For instance, Samuel settled in Norway 16 years ago, he told me that:

> *'I didn't know anything about Norway before we got married. I came through my wife, because we were married, she was here before me...(..) so for me I think it is good that all of us would live together. That is why I decided to come'* (Samuel, Ghana)

Mukisa, a Ugandan that has been living in Norway for 15 years and Ike a Ghanaian who settled in Norway 11 years ago also conveyed a sentiment somewhat akin to Samuel's: they had come to Norway for a 'better life' and primarily to join their wives. Samuel's and Mukisa's accounts demonstrate how the pursuit of even the semblance of opportunity and reunification can lead people to destinations unbeknownst to them. While Mukisa identifies marriage as a factor of migration, the desire to have a 'better life' also inspired him to relocate.

Even though variations in practices may exist, society generally expects women to settle in their husbands' place of origin after marriage or follow their husbands wherever they settle (Choi, 2018). Therefore, whereas migration can enhance an individual's living conditions, the deliberate decision to migrate might have also created tension and possibly feelings of resentment for Ike, Mukisa and Samuel. This is because of the potentiality of emasculation as a consequence of settling in their wife's places of settlement/destination (Norway). This impression corroborates the finding that men who migrate to join their wives can experience increased challenges to their masculinity (Choi, 2018).

6.2.3. Education and Paid work

In this study, two participants Zach and Tatenda travelled to Norway primarily for educational purposes, as education in Norway is technically free. They became optimistic that they could make lives for themselves in Norway, upon completion of their studies. However, particularly for Zach this decision was first characterized with perplexity and nostalgia as he desired to return to his home country. After contemplation, moving from Ghana to Norway seemed sensible as it would offer new opportunities and great possibilities for developing a sense of masculine selfhood. This is because it allowed him the kind of independence and financial success that he felt he could not attain if he returned to Ghana. Zach's reflective words denoted how a man who is successful in his job demonstrates socially his superiority to other men, as a result of having to compete with them to succeed (Kimmel, 1994). This study has established that for migrant men, the primacy of work in their sense of masculinity is profound as they cross international borders with the intent of finding a job (Ramirez, 2011) to establish themselves as 'real' men who can provide for their families. In this manner, they are 'doing gender' by reinforcing cultural manhood ideals that constitute what is to be a man (Zimmerman & West, 1987).

Michael is a 54-year-old man who narrated how economic hardships in his home country, Ghana propelled him to leave the country in his early 20's. Thereafter, unlike other participants in this study, he travelled to several countries and even resided in Spain and Portugal for long periods at a time, before eventually settling in Norway 6 years ago. This journey is underpinned with frustration and powerlessness owing to a seemingly perpetual search of masculine selfhood, contentment and a safe environment in which he can raise his children. He describes the unfortunate circumstances that initially sparked his mobility 33 years ago. Though his decision to migrate was influenced by socio economic conditions in Ghana, he exercises some degree of choice. Implicating the 'push and pull' factors of migration, Michael's extract below suggests that an individual will only migrate if they have the ambitions and resources to make that a reality (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Thus, in this case, migration manifests as a function of people's ambitions and capabilities to migrate (De Haas, 2011) as unveiled below:

> *'I came here as an employee to find a job. The reason why I first left Ghana is economic. It was poverty that drives me out. I couldn't further my education because of poverty, and I thank God that he gives me an eagle eye to see that if I stay in that country I will die of poverty. So I borrowed money to move from Ghana… I did not want my future kids to suffer like I did because if I did it will become a curse, even on me'* - Michael, Ghana

Previous research suggests that most Africans migrate for family, work or study (Bakewell & Jónsson, 2011; Schoumaker et. al, 2015). Bakewell and Bonfi-glio (2013) argued that although it would be impossible to undermine the significance of conflict as a cause of (forced) migration in Africa, that it would be 'equally wrong to neglect the on-going, perhaps mundane social processes that drive mobility, such as the search for an education, a spouse or a better life in the city' (Bakewell & Bonfiglio, 2013, p. 4). Hence, According to Flahaux and De Haas Comparative Migration Studies (2016) approximately 86 per cent of international migration within Africa is primarily unrelated to conflict. In this regard, this study has established that the decision to migrate was somewhat a deliberate and conscious choice for some men as they deserted their countries of origin in the pursuit of education, work and family reunification purposes whereas for others, their agency was limited, and thus a result of fortuitous circumstances such as political instability rather than personal intention. Nevertheless, the migratory experience was just a stepping stone on their way to acquiring and enacting their manhood relative to hegemonic cultural male ideals as they

consequently attained the greatest sources of their masculine pride: independence, employment, marriage, having children, to name a few.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CHANGING MANHOOD AND FATHERHOOD

The discussion on fatherhood and manhood uncovered men's beliefs regarding authority, child discipline, emotions and domestic work, amongst others. Instead of merely upholding fatherhood ideals, participants also reflected on ways in which their desire to be a good or better father (can) come to fruition. Hence, there was the realization by some fathers that they were seemingly incompetent for the role of fatherhood/husband as they questioned their capability to efficaciously care for their children and partners, and consequently their worthiness. In this vein, the participants in this study shared the personal, cultural, and social obstacles that seemingly obstruct their ability to be better fathers (including assuming cultural manhood ideals) in the Norwegian context.

The men's struggle to fit the euro centric image of the father as sensitive, involved and nurturant (Pleck, 1984: Lamb, et. al 2017) is explored considering that image is not always in agreement with the reality in their countries of origin. Moreover, this research uncovers how the Norwegian context necessitates diverse opportunities and challenges for these men as they think about and attempt to act as male parents in the pursuit of particular masculine ideals associated with fathering, to answer the third research question: *'How does their migratory experience challenge, modify, or reinforce conceptions of manhood and fatherhood?'*. Hence, this chapter utilizes Connell's model of multiple masculinities to highlight different ways in which these African fathers construct masculinities: i.e. through accommodation, negotiations, contestation and reinforcement. At times, Kimmel (1994, 2000) and Zimmerman and West (1987) theories are utilized.

''*We men pretend to be confident, to be the masters of the situation and to be the heads of the family but we actually don't know about how to be a man so we just improvise… and hope it will work (...) There are also things that we are unsure of… like...You are a man, then what? Are you a good man? Are you a good parent? How do you solve conflict with a woman? How is it that African men are 'monsters' in the Norwegian society? What is wrong with them? What are they doing wrong? Is manhood in African culture bad? How can I be a man in Norway? Should I emigrate back to Africa to be a man? When your manhood is reduced, it is non-existent because of the whole environment and the laws and the modes of conduct in Norway. Are you still a man? There are things that we are changing as we are living in a different society...you have to try to adjust. At times we can't (...) We have to put up a facade that we are men* (laughs)*. I think that is what manhood is about… your manhood is really diminished by this society* (Norwegian)*"* (Rugira, Rwanda)

7.1. Worthiness: Ambivalent and contradictory ways of being a man

With reference to the extract above, the feeling of inadequacy was evident across most participant accounts and it has been presented as either real or imagined in relation to provisioning, job status, perceived discrimination, masculinization of care responsibilities, the influence of the Barnevern on parenting etc. Hence the various ways in which migrant men experience their masculine identities as ambivalent and contradictory are described in this section.

7.1.1. Inadequacy as breadwinner/ key provider

Because breadwinning or being a key provider is a crucial feature of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) and men's fathering experience (Della, 2014; Sinatti, 2014; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005), some participants in this study displayed feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and guilt. This is because they revealed how they find it difficult to feel good about themselves as men/fathers due to the inability to live up to the cultural expectation of being a family breadwinner/key provider. Hence, the Norwegian context seems to challenge and disrupt their conceptions of manhood and fatherhood in their pursuit of particular cultural masculine ideals from their countries of origin. It is however important to note that the inability to assume bread winning is not just a matter of the Norwegian context as studies have found that many men in various African contexts do not have jobs, resulting in feelings of disempowerment (Morell & Ouzgane, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2005). It follows that they appear to experience internal conflict as the pressures of masculinity create a sense of 'double consciousness' as articulated by DuBois

(1903) considering that each man cannot be himself and still personify manliness by the world standards (Manson, 2010).

Zach, a bus driver could not shake the nagging feeling that he was not enough as he shared the thoughts that plagued him perpetually. On one hand, paid work represents a "key element" in his manhood. On the other hand, the nature of the job itself appears to encumber his 'masculine pride' as it is fundamental to his sense of self. In this manner, Zach's migratory experience seems to challenge his initial cultural manhood ideals that were underpinned by a stronger preference to positions of high social status and lucrative employment in enacting the family provisional role. It should be noted that in Norway, bus drivers are not looked down upon in contrast to his country of origin. His experience of his masculine self is in contention due to the internal conflict he experiences whilst being faced with the reality of having to identify with two social worlds. Thus, the quote below somewhat depicts masculinity as a "homosocial enactment" (Kimmel, 2000) as Zach is subject to male scrutiny, male authority and male acceptance in his home country, Ghana as it is fundamental that his job is perceived as 'acceptable' amongst other Ghanaian men. Zach's move to Norway enabled him to realize his independent self, albeit fracturing his sense of self all the same as he feels inadequate to cultural expectations. Hence, when I asked him what he considers as a "biggest achievement" since settling in Norway, he reveals a double consciousness (Du bois, 1903) as he looks at himself through the eyes of other Ghanaians, and he exclaimed how he had achieved 'nothing' upon settling in Norway:

> *"At this stage, in my life, I have achieved nothing. I have gone backwards (laughs). I didn't envision myself being in this situation…being a driver…so when I was travelling to Norway to come and educate myself, I thought that I would be somebody. In my country when you say you are a bus driver, social status wise, you are nothing. My achievement is thus negative"* (Zach, Ghana)

Samuel joined his wife in Norway 16 years ago and has been a manual laborer for more than 10 years. It seems he is in the same predicament as their job status seemingly creates a disconnect between their sense of self and masculinity. It appears that he is confined to this vocation owing to a (poor) educational background, resulting in feelings of frustration and inadequacy. Samuel's narrative complements the study of Choi (2018) who found that the decision to migrate for husbands who settle in their wife's places of destination can lead to tension and feelings of

resentment thereby enhancing the potentiality of emasculation. Hence, Samuel and Zach experience their masculine self as 'subordinate' to other Ghanaian men due to the failure to meet the normative (hegemonic) cultural manhood ideals in their country of origin: a man of power whose respect is attached to the nature of their job.

In this study, two fathers, Kofi and Robert, are unemployed and strongly tended towards economic duties of fathering. Kofi has been unemployed for more than 12 years due to a workplace injury that hinders his ability to perform manual work, a field he is solely experienced in. In contrast, the case of Robert, who has been unemployed for 1 year, is disconcerting as his wife is also unemployed since she joined him in Norway 10 years ago. Robert proclaimed that being unemployed is the biggest challenge he has experienced since settling in Norway. Their conceptions of manhood and sense of masculinity are challenged as their narratives implicitly reveal the desire to accomplish and sustain their masculine identity by honoring their expected role as key 'provider' within their families. A common understanding of unemployment is that it is antithetical to wage labor and hence men who are unemployed are emasculated and disempowered (Haywood & Ghaill, 2003). Hence, it appears the inability to provide financial assistance in their families results in feelings of inadequacy as it undermines their social roles and their social value, thereby making their roles and identities contradictory. Similar findings suggest that the reconstruction of life in the diaspora for men is characterized by a sense of loss of their social status as breadwinners and disrupts their sense of masculine identity (Birchall, 2016; Pasura & Christou, 2017). The cases of Robert and Kofi who fail to fulfill the normative breadwinning ideal establishes that though hegemonic masculinity is normative, only a minority of men might enact it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) as masculinity is not an intrinsic nature that dictates what men ought to be (Connell, 1995). In contrast to Robert who was already unemployed when he left his home country Ghana, Kofi arrived in Norway 26 years ago to further his education. Hence for Robert, his manhood was already challenged whilst he was in Africa due to less job prospects. Kofi saw migration as a way of attaining a masculine selfhood by advancing his education and seeking employment.

Williot and Griffin (1997) suggest that unemployment can result in a convergence between men and the domestic sphere. In this vein, this study found that though men are experiencing pressures associated with the need to participate more in the domestic sphere, for unemployed men this negates the cultural assertion that manhood is enacted by assuming bread winning, not by

performing 'women's work' (Ruxton, 2014). This rings true for Kofi, an unemployed father who seemingly finds his role contradictory owing to his settlement in Norway which compels him to perform domestic and childcare responsibilities, to his dismay. Hence, his narrative reflects a struggle to continually and actively reinforce gender ideals as he allocates domestic and childcare responsibilities to his wife. In this regard, his understanding of his masculine self rests upon doing gender in a culturally specific way (Connell, 1995).

Interestingly, Rugira's contemplative sentiments highlight the potentiality of complex and contradictory relations with hegemonic masculinity for African male migrants in Norway. More so, he ponders on the adaptability of cultural manhood ideals that associate self-esteem with one's ability to fulfil the family provisioner role. Rugira's sentiments align with the notion of 'geography of masculinities' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) as they are embodied in contexts of privilege and power wherein the actualization of internal contradictions is materialized. Hence, though Rugira considers how most African men strive to sustain the breadwinner role intact, he does not necessarily perceive it as the essence of fathering in Norway as he reflectively exclaims:

> *'Children here just go to school...and their parents are not even providers…if the parents can't provide...the government assists them...if you can't put food on the table, they will still eat anyway...you can't say you are a man because I feed my kids...everybody does that here'* (Rugira, Rwanda)

Unlike other participants, Zach's narrative portrays the complex reality of the annihilation of academic ambition as he attempts to balance family provisioning responsibilities, personal development and fatherhood. He wishes he had carved a different path for himself and studied when he was younger to enhance his economic prospects in the labor market. He portrayed feelings of inadequacy, guilt and regret seemingly rooted in a lack of academic ambition since settling in Norway more than 20 years ago, confining him to manual jobs that are unfulfilling. His narrative implicitly reveals a desire to attain success as a badge of respectability in the public sphere as told me that:

> "*The barrier is not the system. I wasn't ambitious enough, I think. When I came… after 2 years I brought my wife, I was young I could have used that time to find something else, something better to study...than just not liking the course I chose and then regretting the decision… I was lamenting... than being ambitious. I ended up resigning and then took*

> *manual jobs to pay bills and neglected the education aspects...I felt like it was too late for me especially when I got my first child and then I was working...So I concentrated on my family and not myself... I made a mistake of not pursuing my education when I think of my life"*   (Zach, Ghana)

Studies have found that men with limited education and work experience contend with a vast disparity between their aspirations and their accomplishments which can result in feelings of disconnection with their father identities (Achatz & MacAllum, 1994; Kiselica, 1995). Hence, this pattern is seemingly heightened for (these) African men resembling subordinate masculinities (Connell, 1995) as the**y** make less attractive prospects as their qualifications tend to be less promising in contrast to those of whites in the Norwegian context, eroding their ability to be breadwinners and probably enhancing the potentiality of emasculation. It is however important to note that because of the quality of education in Norway, many people from abroad seek education and work opportunities and thus despite the challenges some people experience, and some racism, everyone has a chance.

This study found that for some men, owing to the constraints that intersect with their racialized identity, migrant progression is hindered as a result of differential access to fundamental resources, including financial and social resources. For instance, Francis' narrative revealed a case of perceived racial discrimination, notwithstanding his subordination to other White males in his workplace, thus personifying both subordinate and marginal masculinities (Connell, 1995). This may result in feelings of powerlessness and frustration in the long run as he narrated how he felt the need to continuously prove himself 'worthy' enough by working harder than other males. The pressure to work hard could be indicative of how his subordinate position is characterized by an underlying 'double consciousness' (Du bois, 1903) and an 'imposter syndrome' because his self-awareness mirrors how he imagines other male co-workers perceive him to be: less capable and unworthy. An 'imposter syndrome' is whereby one tries to overcompensate for imagined inadequacies to prove themselves as worthy enough, resultantly becoming stressed, powerless and doubtful, with time (Blanchard & Crosby, 1989; Greyvenstein & Cillers, 2012). In this regard, the manner in which he defends his masculinity to prove its accomplishment awards him the respect of other men in his workplace, echoing Kimmel (2000) notion of masculinity as a 'homosocial enactment'. It should be noted that only 3 men mentioned cases of perceived discrimination, and

thus experience their masculine-self as marginal in their workplaces. Another mentioned being dismissed from work unfairly, whilst the other mentioned unfair treatment on the basis of his racialized identity.

7.1.2. Contradicting outcomes of being an adequate provider and nurturing caregiver

For some participants in this study, maintaining the dual role of 'provider' and 'nurturing caregiver' is seemingly impossible and conflicting as they typically seem incapable of offering the emotional intimacy or personal care to further nurture relationships with their children in Norway. In part, this is because they feel pressured to work long hours with limited time for involvement in their children's lives in order to provide food and fulfil household needs sufficiently. Furthermore, this is because some fathers felt pressured to work for longer hours as their wives were stay at home mothers. This compares to Davalos' (2018) work on migrant men living in Spain and Ecuador who perceive transnational spaces as an opportunity to enact their masculinity through bread winning, thereby protecting their social privileges within their families. Gregory and Miller (2011) note that childcare is commonly perceived primarily as maternal responsibility and fathers are expected to enact sole bread winning in most parts of the world. Thus, these men 'do gender' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) by reinforcing cultural masculine ideals through working in order to provide and therefore have less time for other things in life.

Benjamin, a father of 4, conveyed the conscientious process of managing the provisioning and nurturing care-giver roles considering that he had little time to spend time with his children owing to a busy work schedule. His remarks denote how fatherhood may signify self-sacrifice as he revealed that he sees himself primarily as a father comparative to his African and male identity as he had to forgo a number of things that he would have liked to pursue had it not been because of his status as a father. Similarly, Mukisa and Tatenda express the challenges they have encountered in Norway in which the pursuit of a masculine self-hood results in one feeling as if they resemble machines devoid of subjective emotions or feelings due to the alienating nature of the demands that come with raising children in Norway. Considering that in Norway, children's leisure athletics and sports participation are a fundamental tenet of their human rights, Mukisa frustratingly shared how he is incapable of assuming the expected parental responsibility of attending children's extracurricular activities:

'...One of the challenges is you don't have time for your kids, you are always rushing to work. When they come home, they have football activities, then you don't have time. Suddenly you get a complaint that you don't have time for your children, but it is the system that makes you have no time for your children, you are always stressed up, like you are programmed...' (Mukisa, Uganda)

Though Tatenda expounds Mukisa's thoughts, his case uncovers the unfortunate reality of foreigners that seemingly spend the majority of their lives in servitude as they are pressured to work harder and longer to meet financial demands, similar to the study of migrant men (Davalos, 2018). As a result, this compromises the time men can spend with their families. Since Tatenda originally first came to Norway as a student on a scholarship, his experience of his masculine self-hood appeared to be in a state of flux and subordinate (Connell, 1995) (as a result of having no legal documents) till he attained permanent residence. Thus, he explained the struggle to attain legal documents to enable him to work when he finished his studies including undertaking numerous 'low status jobs' to sufficiently meet the needs of his family thereby limiting the amount of time he could spend with them. His sentiments however revealed a double-edged sword as he mentioned how beneficial it was raising children in Norway as it also promotes intensive and active fathering, signifying how state policies and equality discourses influence gendered social relations in the Nordic context (Lund, Meriläinen & Tienari, 2019).

Rugira's experience of fathering resembles a fear of loss of self/identity as the disparity between his provisioning and nurturing roles also creates a dilemma that seems conflictive and irresolvable. Though he realizes the need to be more involved with his children (and wife), his job (regardless of the busy schedule) takes precedence. As Manson (2010) argued, for the male subject, double consciousness produces a division between the public and private selves, allowing him to preserve his public self. Hence, the contemplative extract below reveals a conflict between his public and private selves considering that quitting his job in order to spend more time with his children could also be an impediment to the attainment of one of the greatest sources of masculine pride (Cornway-Long, 2006; Sinnatti, 2014) as he exclaimed:

'Combining work with bonding with kids...with all the family duties...making the wife happy... making the kids happy... (...) I think it is the biggest challenge you can have in a family... What do you do when you get home late, and your kids are asleep; and they wake

up and you have to take them to school? You hardly have spoken a word to them. How do you compensate for that? I don't know… I do not have a good answer on how to do it… it is a challenge… Do you quit the job…If you do, then half of your manhood is gone... that is the dilemma (Rugira, Rwanda)

This research has established that men enacting bread winning are also subject to dilemmas and emotional conflicts that have the potential to challenge their hegemony and their notions of manhood (Adhikari, 2013; Howson, 2013; Kilkey 2014; Tsolidis, 2014). As Parrenas (2005, p.34) noted, "the nature of fatherhood for migrant fathers is reduced to the provision of material support and projecting authority from afar at the expense of emotional attachment and child-centered parenting". In this regard, despite the intricacies of each narrative of the 4 fathers discussed above (Rugira, Tatenda, Mukisa, Benjamin) commonality is established by how they all experience complexities in constructing their father identity as involved and nurturant on one hand and economic provider (the ultimate indicator of a masculine male), on the other. It can thus be argued that while these participants are incessantly negotiating parenting, their roles and identities as men are contradictory and disconcerting (McMillan, Anita, & Paul, 2011; Renzaho & Vignjevic, 2011; Williams et al. 2013). Perhaps this makes them prisoners and victims owing to their role as the 'dominating sex' (Bourdieu, 1998) because their failure to attain and maintain 'expected' responsibilities in a masculine world of economic and social accomplishment can create perpetual feelings of discontentment and inadequacy.

7.1.3. Emotional Literacy: Managing relationships with children and partners

In this study, I concur with Zimmerman and West (1987) assertion that gender is not static, inflexible or innate in human beings. Hence, fathering (or mothering) consists of learned behaviors not inherent in us. They are subject to change and improvement as circumstances change. This theme uncovered participant attitudes and behaviors pertaining to 'doing gender' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) in Norway seeing that they are in constant interaction with an environment that disrupts their established identities as their capability to perform 'women's work' is challenged. Some fathers claimed that unlike their wives who seem to have a natural ordained ability to care for their children, they were lacking. Seemingly, navigating emotions remains challenging for these men as they grapple with the dynamic nature of their manhood. This study found that men

being emotionally remote when interacting with their wives and children allows them to reinforce/ sustain traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity.

7.1.3.1. Emasculated masculinities? Masculinization of care responsibilities

This study found that some fathers seem to experience mental distress as a result of socially imposed emasculation as they felt feminized owing to the masculinization of performing care responsibilities in Norway, contrary to the idealized hegemonic masculine ideals in their home countries. These contested efforts to integrate and establish oneself as a migrant and as a male subject seem to embody Mangezvo (2015) notion of 'remasculinization'. This is because diverse understandings of masculine identity and practice are continuously being forged as they acculturate by seemingly accepting emasculation through their subordination (Connell, 1995), all the same bearing discontent.

Francis and Rugira display discontentment, disinterest and powerlessness considering that their experience of fathering in Norway is under contention as they perceive manhood as an eternal, timeless and intrinsic nature of men (Kimmel 1994), deeming them 'unfit' to nurture children. In this vein, Francis a father of 3 describes a particular period in which he had to utilize the paternal work leave to enable his wife to continue with her studies, to his dismay. He shared his opinion regarding the significance of the work leave for fathers:

> *'For me, it did help… for planning, because if she stopped going to school it would be a problem. Being with the kids at that early age is very tough (chuckles) but someone has to be with the kids...As men we are not suitable to take care of small kids who cannot talk (....) So somehow, we lose... We are not patient, which makes us... unfit to give comfort to a small kid...'* (Francis, Burundi)

Likewise, Rugira argues that the masculinization of care responsibilities results in the distraction of family life as he proposes an essentialist understanding of his masculine self-typifying the core of the masculine as 'not - feminine' (Connell, 1995). Hence his migratory experience is underpinned with rejection and subversion of social norms regarding parental leave for fathers in Norway that 'masculinize' 'traditional' 'women's work as he shared his opinion on the significance of paternal leave in Norway:

'There is a father's role and mother's role with regards to a newborn that are really different. If the mother is not there the kid might die… but if the father is there or not there…the kid can never die… (chuckles)...The Norwegians look at gender… They say people have to be equal …the wife and husband have to do the same things... That is another extreme because the father can never be the mother. In this particular case... The role is for the mother… The father is not really needed when the baby is a newborn... I understand the reasoning behind gender equality, but it is really pushed and farfetched... After a few months… the father can step in… otherwise when you try to involve the father and say it should be the same… are you killing natural laws or something'?

(Rugira, Rwanda)

Rugira and Francis' sentiments resonate with Kimmel (1994) claim that manhood is usually perceived as a stable and innate nature of men. More so, this results in the 'sexual division of labour' (Connell, 1995) as the allocation of roles in their households is based on an individual's sex. Studies have revealed that migration unsettled the 'natural' order as men felt pressured to perform 'women' roles such as sharing childcare and domestic household responsibilities, to their dismay (Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Ruxton, 2014).

Interestingly, it is not long since Norway introduced changes in parental leave. For fathers of children born on or after 1 July 2018, 15 weeks of nontransferable parental leave is available to them. The purpose of this 'father's quota' is to promote the development of good contact between father and child and for female labor force participation (van Belle, 2011). It has however been a controversial subject not merely because of the idea of paternity leave itself (Korsvik, & Warat, 2016). Rather, critics condemn how time cannot be transferred to the mother. Hence a family can lose the leave period if a father does not take the leave reserved for him (Korsvik, & Warat, 2016).

Some fathers argued that by virtue of being a man and African, they are unlikely to possess emotional literacy skills that would enable them to effectively confront the challenges of managing relationships with their wives in Norway. Francis' extract below exemplifies this perspective as his wife expects him to become more emotionally expressive, contradicting cultural normative ideals that deem emotional expressiveness 'unmasculine' (Nsamenang, 2000; Morell & Ouzgane, 2005). In this context, the fashioning of his masculinity resembles a 'flight from the

feminine' (Kimmel, 2000) and the 'doing' of gender (Zimmerman & West, 1987) as he reinforces cultural ideals that uphold emotional remoteness in men and as he told me that:

> *"My wife expects me to be a good husband. You know, as an African, we are not good at communicating. Women expect that we should express our feelings. That is by nature...we cannot change that (laughs) even if you try (...) Even if we do wrong, we cannot say sorry… we do plenty stupid things... Maybe because of our ego, we are not able to say…. See, listen...I am sorry. You know what we do... It's actually all man..."*
> (Francis, Burundi)

Though some fathers in this study were raised in female-headed households, Zach explicitly discusses the complex experience of establishing his identity as a man (husband) considering that his father died when he was a toddler. He ambivalently reflected on the consequences of not having a father figure to emulate in order to efficaciously care for his wife. Hence his masculine identity appears to be ambiguous and 'lacking' as he struggled to give meaning to himself. This is because he exclaimed that he wished he had a father figure to 'look up to' to understand how to enact his role as a husband. Because of the lack of emulation, he concluded that his 'husband' identity is thus 'undefined'.

7.1.4. Lack of a communitarian spirit, extended family and the expansion of the fathering role

'*In Ghana it would be heaven because our extended families are there and everyone can help, they will even be begging to help, for free. You think about that then it is a bit difficult when you are here because of the 'help you need'*. (Zach, Ghana)

As the quote above suggests, most fathers highlighted that it is challenging raising children in Norway owing to a lack of a communitarian spirit contrary to their countries of origin in which children do not belong solely to their biological parents. This finding affirms Nsamenang (2000) assertion that childcare in Cameroon is not a parental prerogative as it is a collective and social enterprise consisting of parents, kin, siblings, peers and sometimes neighbors. Most fathers also expressed that the lack of live-in housekeepers and nannies in contrast to their countries of origin to alleviate the burden of domestic responsibilities makes fathering in Norway difficult and

stressful. Considering that their wives are also committed to work outside of the home, this makes these fathers the resource to fill the gap, broadening their roles and responsibilities. For instance, Francis' sentiments appear to elucidate how men's (African) decision to be involved in childcare in Norway is not necessarily volitional as they are compelled to perform childcare responsibilities owing to the lack of house help. In this vein, 'acceptance'/ 'accommodation' is an adaptive strategy shaping African masculine narratives embodying complicit masculinities (Connell, 1995) as this extract suggests:

> '*You see it's kind of different when you are in a society where you can't pay someone to do the job of looking after children and being home raising your kids... That's why people here… men push their babies in strollers…*'   (Francis Burundi)

Rugira's narrative also explicitly captures the complex nature of his fathering role that has been expanded in Norway as it renders participating in housekeeping and caregiving activities inevitable. Hence, the fashioning of his father identity also represents complicit masculinities (Connell, 1995) as fathers in Norway have to compromise with their wives and thereby are 'doing more' compared to fathers in Africa due to a lack of a live-in nanny:

> "*Here you have to do it by yourself. It is not just the mother alone. You as the father has to do it too, you have to be the mother and house girl (maid) too*" (Rugira, Rwanda)

The lack of house help in Norway is due to the fact that 'everyone' is working and often entails no extended family arrangements. Most arrangements are however systemic, school, kindergarten, after school activities and summer camps , amongst others. It is arranged in order to help families or parents cope and be able to work, partly taking the place of the 'extended family' system. While many Norwegians have grandparents, aunties and uncles etc. because of migrant status, their families are far away and cannot help. It can thus be argued that due to migration, the role of traditional African systems in parenting such as the extended family system is being challenged as its capability to fulfil its primary role of socialization is limited (Amos, 2013; König and de Regt, 2010; Nsamenang, 2000).

7.1.5. Patriarchal masculinities: Masculine privilege and masculine entitlement

'The good thing about being a man is that you are taken care of … in many ways: food...time to rest...There are a lot of things that you wouldn't get if you were a single man. You do not even know how to take care of yourself... It is like an incentive… to consider being a man by getting married…it feels good to finally have something that you are finally aware of… that is manhood' (Rugira, Rwanda)

As the quote above suggests, this study uncovered some men's privileged status within their own families encompassed with an underlying sense of masculine entitlement. Thus, this study found that their wives are expected to care for and serve them in objection (men's) to being caring and nurturing to their families, concurring with the assertion that one of the most fundamental reasons men benefit from marriage is the inequitable and taken for granted domestic division of labor (Ruxton, 2014). Hence, these men represent a form of hegemonic masculinities due to a gender privilege arising from their attachment to hegemonic masculinity allowing their dominance over women to persist (Connell, 1995). This therefore reinforces men's advantage and women's disadvantage within their households.

In the extract below, Rugira's sentiments denote a process whereby gender roles are being renegotiated, reconstructed and reinforced in response to disagreement and changing circumstances. With an underlying sense of male privilege and entitlement, he reveals how household responsibilities in his family embody a patriarchy considering that he benefits from the subordination of his wife as he nonchalantly exclaimed:

> *'I let it happen naturally. What happened was when she got into the house, I noticed… I was made aware that a woman needs to have control over her home, that means I have to let her have control...so I let her have control even for the things I don't like to do... Progressively we ended up like the housekeeping and food preparation is the wife (…) She started working at 3pm today but by the time she left, she had already prepared the food for kids to come and eat. I come home and everything is happiness. That is why I love my life as a man because somehow, I get help… the help that I would not get otherwise if I was not married… and it is good'* (Rugira, Rwanda)

Kofi, the unemployed father emphasized the desire to be awarded the respect he deserves as a husband as his wife seemingly lives a life of servitude, surbodinated to him. He reveals how this

is lacking in his marriage to his wife of more than 15 years. It appears the struggle to sustain hegemonic masculine ideals challenges his honor, ego and masculinity as he cannot control his wife who desires an equitable division of domestic responsibilities. It can be argued that his masculine identity is thus in contention as he cannot assume/reinforce the cultural image of an African father; one who has absolute authority over the family and is treated with respect attached to the role. (Nsamenang, 2000). Hence, this extract uncovers how Kofi's masculinity is being threatened as he looks at himself through the lens of equitable social norms in Norway that he detested:

> "*They have come to a place where they talk about gender equality. But we do not take it. You should respect your husband. A wife should cook for your husband. When I wake up and see that you have cooked for me and my bed is well dressed, I begin to love you more. Love goes down if you do not do those things. Sometimes I hear about equal opportunity and rights for all genders but there are some things that are very woman inclined, women should do it, not a man. The marriage cannot be sustained."*
> (Kofi, Ghana)

In an interesting manner, 2 other fathers displayed feelings of resentment and powerlessness as they exclaimed that the equitable social norms favored women, and thus 'women had more power than men' in Norway. The main reason was that they felt that women could decide to leave their husbands on a whim and receive custody of their children and other benefits from the state. Studies have established that migrant men experienced a shift in gendered power characterized by a sense of loss of male authority and respect in their families and a disrupted status as the 'head of family' because their wives felt that they were equal (Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Ruxton, 2014). Perhaps this is because for many men, unlike the public sphere, the home is not a workplace in which an individual can demonstrate one's status, prestige and power. Hence, men tend to value the public sphere over the domestic sphere (Collison & Hearn, 2005; Manson, 2010).

7.1.6. Deconstructing the male privilege of sole/primary bread winning

Some fathers in this study came to the realization that for the family to survive, women had to also generate income for their household, upon settling in Norway. This process is characterized by both contention and cooperation in response to changing circumstances as they alter their ideas

and actions concerning bread winning. Thus, on account of being subjected to new 'modern' insights, some men started questioning and disassociating from traditional patterns thereby recognizing that the male privilege of sole breadwinning is subject to change. For example, though Benjamin's alteration seems to be a result of circumstances rather than his own volition, he questioned the relevance of sole bread winning considering that the cost of living in Norway is high:

> "Though I bring money she brings money too… in the beginning, she didn't understand that (...) Like many African women… she would say as an African man I have to take care of everything… being a provider… I do not have a problem with that…if I were rich... but we are in Norway not in Africa, so we have to come together to make it happen. It would become complicated if the money is not too much… that's why she understood after some time…'
>
> (Benjamin, Liberia)

In contrast, Samuel's migratory experience is a perpetuation of the traditional family ideal and reinforces cultural conceptions of manhood and fatherhood, akin to the study of African migrants by Williams et al (2013). He expresses a strong subversion to dual-income households which he presumes are common in Norway. As a traditional breadwinner, he reinforces a hegemonic form of masculinity (Connell, 1995). This is because the values being the head of the family as he continually seeks to maintain 'leadership' within his family by provisioning and allocating childcare and cleaning responsibilities to his wife who is a stay at home mother. This *sexual division of labor* (Connell, 1995) somewhat epitomizes the notion of the 'political economy of masculinity' (Connell, 1987) as it fortifies men's interests and in this particular case, enables Samuel to control his relationship with his wife:

> 'In Norway, everybody takes care of the family despite being married. As an African man in Norway, I am trying to do what my culture asked me to do to my wife so that she can know that this man is a husband because if I try to go like the Norway system, it seems like we are 2 people living together. In Ghana culture, I am supposed to let her know that it is my duty to do so many things for her. It is my duty to work, it is my duty to make sure there is food on the table'. (Samuel, Ghana)

7.1.7. Household chores: the reinforcement and modification of traditional gender roles

This study found that for some participants migration has resulted in the change in the nature of gender roles as they appeared to be in flux. Thus, their migratory experience modifies gender roles, threatening traditional normative notions of gender, as established in a study of migrant African fathers in England (Williams et al., 2013). For instance, though Robert's initial conception of manhood depicts a 'repudiation of the feminine' (Kimmel, 2003), he found himself able to move beyond previously held gender norms because of the need to adapt to the Norwegian context, Hence, his conception of manhood is being modified as he told me that:

> '*In Ghana men don't usually go to the kitchen...few do... but if I was there, I don't think I would be in the kitchen, washing and cleaning, all those things. I fear shame. I would go out with my friends, then come home, eat and sleep. Yeah, we have different cultures. I mean it is not good. Men in Africa have to help. It is 50/50. I don't think if I was in Ghana, I would do that. But now I know… in future, if we move back to Ghana, I will be helping, because now I know the value'*. (Robert, Ghana)

The extract above also establishes how some fathers' migratory experience necessitated the examination of social roles and issues of gender thereby broadening their own understanding of women's positions and their participation in perpetuating systems of inequity. This therefore resulted in the need for greater domestic role sharing within their families, signifying how men are not helpless victims of masculinities. Zach's extract below also exemplifies how his sense of self has expanded as he developed an acceptance of gender-equity perspectives thereby challenging prescribed social roles and disassociating from traditional patterns:

> '*When my wife first came, for the first months I saw that she was trying to be the African wife, then I stopped her, I said no. She was preparing my food and giving me a title like 'my master' then I just stopped her. I told her to just treat me like we are equal. So, from then we are sharing bills...I do not know how it would be if we were in Ghana. Maybe I would have read about gender equality because I have educated myself about gender equality and the environment has given me something to work on and it has worked. It is the environment that has made me so'*. (Zach, Ghana)

This study has thus established that migrant men are not a homogenous group (Connell, 1995; Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005) as some of them are actually engaging in transformative and nonviolent forms of masculinity (discussed in next theme), notwithstanding being involved in fair sharing of domestic and family responsibilities. Hence, it should be noted that not all fathers engaged in rigid hegemonic definitions of masculinity as they exalted alternate ways of being. Perhaps this is partly because they were socialized differently with gender equity messages accented within their families, signifying the most pivotal role the family plays as an agent of gender socialization (Zimmerman & West, 1987) as gender roles learned from family may endure. In this vein, Ike revealed how domestic responsibilities are shared somewhat evenly in his household and attributes this to the manner in which his own father assumed domestic responsibilities by 'helping his mother'. Likewise, Mukisa discussed the significance of participating in household chores. He attributed this to the manner in which he was socialized differently by emulating his father as he forged his own masculine identity in Norway. Most importantly, he acknowledged the negatives of male privilege within his own life as a young boy growing up in a patriarchal community in Uganda as he told me that:

> *" I wasn't like I am an African man so I will just sit as you cook. That is not how I was raised. I was raised to be a flexible man. My father was an educated man. He taught us not to use our women as slaves. Because back at home, mostly we turn our women into slaves as they do more than men. But that is not my father, that is not me"* (Mukisa, Uganda)

Tatenda also discussed the fluidity of gender roles within his household owing to an upbringing that he perceives as 'privileged' unlike other men who were raised in families that essentialize gender roles. Hence, he distances himself from men who seek to maintain their hegemonic status as the sole provider in addition to detaching themselves from domestic responsibilities, as he confidently told me how domestic and childcare responsibilities are shared within his household.

This study also established that some fathers who began to alter their manhood and fatherhood ideals until they faced a disagreeable situation and reverted to previous attitudes and privileges. For instance, Kofi communicated how he detached from household responsibilities though he initially attempted to be more involved. The changes in domestic responsibilities are characterized with conflict and hostility considering that even though he is unemployed, he

expected his wife who is gainfully employed to perform household chores dutifully, as expected of her, as a woman.

In line with Connell (1995) conceptualization of complicit masculinities, the fathers discussed above, including Kofi (apart from when he reverted to previous attitudes) represent complicit masculinities on the basis that marriage, fatherhood and community life often entail compromises with women (Connell, 1995). Hence, rather than embodying hegemonic masculinities through overt domination in their families, they help with household chores.

7.1.8. Violent masculinities and transformation

Though violent masculinities can be a means to establish domination and control over others and to ensure compliance (Connell, 1995), this study found that violent masculinities are also subject to challenge and change. Robert, a father of two, emerged with an alternative healthier avenue to being a man upon contact with a positive male model (his uncle). He had been physically abusive towards his wife during the early years of marriage in which his aggressiveness went "too far". Perhaps his performance of hyper masculinity is connected to the marginalization and subordination he experiences as an African male migrant as research has established that in diasporic communities, being displaced from one's culture of origin can contribute to social pathologies and domestic violence as the migrant's self-hood is disrupted (Donaldson, Hibbins & Pease, 2009).

Though Robert asserts his hegemonic power by subordinating his wife, simultaneously he becomes cognizant of the strict laws on violence in Norway which are stricter and actually enforced, rendering his power fragile. Hence, he realized that to maintain the relationship with his wife, he had to change. Interestingly, he reveals how this particular incident became a defining moment in (re)establishing his manhood, shaping his sense of self upon bringing a masculine culture of violence from his country of origin. Hence, he represents a hybrid of masculinities: from hegemonic to complicit masculinities as he later becomes respectful towards his partner (Connell, 1995).

7.1.9. Male disempowerment and alienation: Father's authority in Norway and the influence of Barnevernet

'*I see my own father as an example but the capacity my father has as a father, I don't think that I have enough of it because of the environment here…We are crippled (...) The barnevern system cripples you. They listen to them (children) more than you, the parent. As you know a child is a child, they do not do things right. If you try to put them on the right path, in a bit harsh way you are in trouble. So, you are crippled because you have to be very careful or else you will be in trouble for the rest of your life. We can't do it as they do in Africa'* (Ike, Ghana)

The extract above is representative of the sentiments expressed by all fathers in this study. In summation, this study found that shared feelings of fear, frustration, resentment and powerlessness shape experiences of fathering in Norway as an African Black male. Participants expressed self-doubt in their capability as parental authority is seemingly somewhat constrained due to the Norwegian Barnevern system that significantly influences the enactment of the parental role. This therefore subjects African fathers' masculinities to contestation considering that ''a typical father in Sub Saharan Africa exerts considerable influence and wields enormous control over family resources, is responsible for setting and enforcing standards of behavior and has the power to decide whether his wife or children can engage in activities outside the home'' (Nsamenang, 1992 p. 11). These men's authority is thus threatened, including their identity and self-esteem as they respond to circumstances beyond their control in a position of fragility and subordination. Hence, this study found that they are somewhat prone to 'double consciousness'; a sense of 'two-ness' (DuBois, 1903) as they are torn between their cultural heritage and social norms in Norway.

It should be noted that almost every participant expressed despair and frustration when asked to discuss their opinions regarding the impact of the barnevern system on their authority as African fathers. For instance, Mukisa, a father of two, had personal experience with Barnevernet wherein his children were assessed. His narrative displayed a lack of control and fear owing to the reality of failing to fully exercise the crucial role protecting his family through moderating the influence of his children's interactions with the external world; a significant cultural image of the role of African fathers (Nsamenang, 2000). Likewise, Robert also had a personal experience with the barnevern when his daughter allegedly reported to her teacher that her father had beaten her. It appears to disrupt his status as an African father as his sovereignty is denied rendering parenting

in Norway challenging, thereby highlighting his performativity. He expressed that the barnevern was 'stupid' as he could not raise his children and discipline them as he pleased. He argued that though he screams and shouts at his children at times, it did not mean that he wants to hurt them.

Some participants felt that the barnevern fosters misbehavior and disrespect in children towards their own parents. Hence, for instance, Michael argues for the need to incessantly train his children in his own 'African way' by denouncing behaviors he deems unacceptable which undermine his absolute authority as a father. Perhaps the protective mechanism of maintaining social practices and values from his country of origin in parenting is a defensive mechanism against the barnevern he perceives as inhibitory. Moreover, it also allows him to maintain and reinforce the cultural image of a father as he resists his subordination. Hence, masculinity for him manifests as doing gender in a culturally specific manner (Connell, 1995).

Contrary to the skepticism that Mukisa expressed when he started discussing the influence of the barnevern, he later expresses confidence and relief as the interview progressed. This is because he prides himself as he fulfils the cultural ideal of an African father that is in total control of his household (Nsamenang, 2000), enabling the continuity of idealized cultural gendered behaviors, affirming his own sense of manly dignity. This is because he felt that his children respected him despite growing up in a culture in which it is common for children to disobey and disrespect their parents.

Most participants expressed how they felt alienated and discriminated against as cultural differences that may impact parenting are not acknowledged and valued as the barnevern system seems to operate out of biased and degrading stereotypical frames of reference. This finding highlights how gender intersects with race in influencing participant experiences of fathering as race and gender in Norway interact in intricate ways to make the experiences of White fathers qualitatively different from those of Black African fathers. Furthermore, this finding is congruent to Connell's (1995) theory of *subordinate* and *marginalized* masculinities as structures of race and class are a significant part of relationships between masculinities in Norway considering that these African black fathers are subject to complex positioning as the 'other'. This has resulted in a climate filled with resentment, fear, suspicion and mistrust as a result of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination as the barnevern system is seemingly not addressing the 'real issue'- that of diversity. It should be highlighted that the barnevern has created a worldwide controversy because of putting many children into foster care or welfare institutions without good reason

(Christopoulou, 2018). This has triggered feelings of perceived discrimination from foreign born parents who felt prejudiced against due to their heritage or religious beliefs (Christopoulou, 2018; Fylkesnes, 2017). In this context, this study found that African fathers resist degradation and yearned to prove themselves as capable men (fathers). For instance, Francis' sense of self appears to be in conflict with degrading stereotypes as he told me that:

> *'Why is it that from the African family they take the most of the children from them?...It's the picture they have of us Africans…we are actually more careful, the system even makes parents scared to talk to their children...because we know that they can go to school, report to their teacher and the teachers report to social services…without knowing, your kids are taken (...) It doesn't mean you have beaten the kids, it can be something very simple. I once had a talk with a Norwegian, they did say that it is because of that picture that they have about Africans: we are barbarians, that we beat our children'* (Francis, Burundi)

Barnevern practices have been investigated from the perspective of ethnic minority parents, they expressed that the services lack cultural sensitivity and wrongly intervenes in family lives (Christopoulou, 2016, Fylkesnes, 2017). Francis' extract above epitomizes Johnson (2006) study on African American parents in the US that found that how one thinks about African American parents influenced how they responded to them. Furthermore, it concurs with a study on migration in Austria by Scheibelhofer (2017) that proposed that negative images of foreign masculinity (shaped by migration policies) can contribute to the construction of 'othered' masculinities by portraying them as problematically different. Therefore, this study suggests that there is a need to humanize African parents in Norway by seeing their intentional and creative qualities as it nullifies the presumption of 'parenting while black' is synonymous with children being at a considerable risk of harm (Johnson, 2006). Perhaps this would also allow the African fathers in Norway to 'overturn' negative stereotypes and all notions of Black inferiority, enabling them to prove themselves as honorable and capable fathers.

7.2. The role of Religious comfort, determination and resilience in dealing with feelings of inadequacy.

Some fathers in this study discussed how much behavior of their children is impacted by social norms, other people's expectations and peer pressure, making it difficult to raise their children.

Jenkins (1998) found that for the African immigrant the home, school and media greatly impact upon childhood culture and thus, these sites are fraught with tension. Hence, for parents under investigation, these fathers highlighted the significance of communicating their own attitudes and norms to provide their children with the standard. This helped reinforce positive behavior and reduce opportunities of engaging in problem behaviors.

Involvement in religious activity has been considered as a buffer against distress as it can provide tips for coping with hardships, shaping one's sense of meaning and purpose of life (Larson & Larson, 2003; Paloutzian & Park, 2005). On one hand, for some fathers in this study, religion appears to be a source of comfort as well as a coping mechanism for stressful circumstances and uncertainty as they enact manhood and fatherhood in a new cultural environment. However, on the other hand, their narratives highlight how their religion (and personal, cultural values) is an underlying source of conflict as they do not affirm certain values and practices in Norway. For example, some fathers displayed a hostile attitude toward homosexuality and emphasized that because Norway accepts homosexuality as a way of living, it is challenging raising their children in such an environment. Studies on immigrant families in the United States suggest that raising children in a new country resulted in internal conflict and challenges faced by African immigrant parents as they felt that their African cultures were demeaned (Yenika-Agbaw, 2009).

When I posed this question: '*Do you think that your faith keeps you grounded, gives you strength and makes you believe in your own capabilities as a father*'? Ike perceived his Christian faith as a source of strength, meaning and wisdom that enables him to protect his children against 'unacceptable' behaviors and attitudes. In this vein, He displayed a strong sense of trust and faith in God who he perceives as supportive and caring of people:

> '*Of course, the only thing I ask from God is for him to strengthen me, to give me wisdom, you know. To protect them, to guide them...to make them good people... you know…? The basics is to love them and care about them no matter what because when they grow up, they will pick up some Norwegian values and habits if you have love for them… they will remember what you taught them*' (Ike, Ghana)

Similarly, Benjamin highlighted the importance of religiosity and also the significance of a fathers' involvement in the early years of children's lives as it promotes their cognitive and social development. As he reflected on the influence of his father on his parenting style who gave him a

Bible in his childhood, his attitude shifted as he became confident in his own capabilities as a Father. This is because he felt that utilizing the Bible helped to guide the behaviors of his offspring. Thus, during the interview, he roughly quoted teachings from the Bible in which he displayed utmost trust in shaping his parenting approach and guiding his children. It can be argued that Ike and Benjamin's religiosity is a reinforcement of hegemonic masculinity as they exhibit masculine displays through the use of familial leadership. This is because 'religious' masculinity (Carolina & Zulema, 2015) somewhat emphasizes masculine behaviours embedded within (larger organizational structure of) the church that legitimizes and cultivates male dominance in both the private and public sphere.

A vital observation is that participants appeared to express that apart from religiosity, practicing self-determination and tenacity is key in managing their migratory experience positively regardless of challenges that might have resulted in self-deprecation. In this vein, perhaps for Zach, migration symbolizes an honorable path to manhood as he demonstrates courage, tenacity and resilience to provide for his family through hard work, a collective view reflected in most participant narratives. His narrative is suggestive of the reinforcement of hegemonic masculine ideals considering that male norms tend to emphasize courage, inner direction and toughness in mind and body. Hence, when I asked him how he manages resulting feelings of frustration and inadequacy, he adoringly shared the influence of his mother on his migratory experience in Norway:

'*She is hardworking, determined, and never gives up. So sometimes, I wish… I wanted to pack my things and just go back to Ghana but when I think of my mother, I think that would be accepting defeat. I think of her and I have the determination to keep moving on'* (Zach, Ghana)

CHAPTER EIGHT: PARENTAL EFFICACY

This chapter uncovers the notion of 'parental efficacy' which encompasses the unlearning of toxic behaviors when one becomes a father and breaking the cycle of toxic parenting, as conveyed by participants in this study. The notion of 'responsibility' is also discussed to unveil the manner in which these fathers express their masculinity. At times, Baumrind (1967) parenting styles approach is utilized to interpret and discuss findings.

8.1. The Role of Parenting

'My role as a parent comprises a whole lot of things. If you are a parent, you have to bring out your child to be a good person. I am teaching them to be good people in the future, how to provide for themselves, how to cater for themselves and others. To be nice to others and to themselves, and to live a good life' (Ike, Ghana)

The quote above is representative of what appears to be a common understanding iterated across most participant narratives regarding the role of parenthood in this study. In summation some fathers also emphasized that they took an experiential approach to parenting as they described themselves as being open minded, flexible and fairly relaxed by encouraging independence and autonomy to raise **s**elf-assured and kind children whose success in life is guaranteed. However, most fathers displayed authoritative styles of parenting. Perhaps it is a 'protective' mechanism considering that they are raising their children in an environment that upholds independent thinking by encouraging children to disagree with their parents, seemingly contradicting normative ideals that uphold the absolute authority of African fathers (Nsamenang, 2000). In this vein, this can result in feelings of hostility and powerlessness as one participant explicitly described the hegemonic functional role of fathers in his country of origin apart from providing and protecting his family and disciplining children:

> *'That is a father… he has authority, total control and respect... It comes from everyone, even from the wife and kids.'* **(**Benjamin, Liberia)

As Habib (2012 p. 6) argued, "What may be more significant and useful is how fathers themselves define their role(s), the centrality or importance of such meanings to them, and whether such meanings have any bearing on their actual fathering behavior". In this regard, five participants saw themselves primarily as a father. This role stood out in contrast to their identity as a man and as an African. The meaning they ascribed to themselves as fathers (by most participants) is suggestive of hegemonic masculine ideals: family provider, protector and disciplinarian. Hence, the enactment of the fathering role by these fathers is a reinforcement of cultural manhood ideals as it demonstrates the impression of being a 'real man' (Dover, 2005; Silberschmidt, 2005) and thus the doing of gender (Zimmerman & West, 1987). Interestingly, only one father, Robert, explicitly mentioned the role of 'nurturer' as central to his father's identity. Habib (2012) asserts that the centrality of these meanings to fathers' identity is evident in how it shapes their fathering behavior.

Nevertheless, this study found that 'care' manifests differently in these fathers, affirming Nsamenang (2000 p.6) claim that (African) fathers "care even if that caring is not shown in conventional ways".

8.2. Responsibility

This research has established the various ways in which African fathers under investigation assume responsibility as an emblem of masculinity. For most fathers, the aspect of responsibility is transcendent as it encompasses keeping the role of family breadwinner intact by also catering to their extended families in their home countries. Thereby, this reproduces the heroic narratives of migrants abroad, comparable to a study of migrant men in Spain and Ecuador (Davalos, 2018). Thus, this theme sheds light on how most participants in this study 'do gender' (Zimmerman & West, 1987) by finding ways to reinforce gender ideals by continuing gendered behavior as they enact cultural norms that reflect what it means to be a man and father as they negotiate parenting in Norway.

8.2.1. Assuming financial responsibility and the nuclear family

Francis comes from a female-headed household in which his mother assumed the role of 'provider' as she faced the harsh reality of having to raise nine children on her own when his father passed away at the tender age of six. In the extract below, Francis shared how his mother's life was laden with sorrow and impoverishment which affected her provisioning abilities. In addition, the value of provisioning resolutely was acquired from his mother. To meet the needs of his children sufficiently, he assumes his role as breadwinner, indicative of a 'hegemonic' form of masculinity as he exhibits familial leadership.

Reflecting on his present situation, Mukisa discusses what he considers as the most significant responsibilities necessitated by fatherhood. Like most participants, he shared how he enacts his manhood and attains his masculine pride providing for his children in Norway, among other responsibilities that reinforce the hegemonic cultural image of an African father (Nsamenang, 2000) as he told me that:

> *"A father's main role is to provide and to protect his family... that is his duty. They teach their kids about the future and they also discipline their children. What makes me proud is*

that I am able to provide for my kids as a father, I am able to guide and to teach them" (Mukisa, Uganda)

Ike, a father of two, shared what he considered as the biggest achievement since he settled in Norway more than 10 years ago. He appreciated the material benefits Norway offers as migration manifests as a means of earning a living and establishing a family. Four other fathers exclaimed that their 'biggest' achievements upon settling in Norway included: having a job, having a wife and children and being able to provide for them. Hence, by reaffirming cultural conceptions of manhood, their migratory experiences establish the interconnection between migration and the reenactment of masculinities (Choi, 2018; Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Pasura & Christou, 2017).

8.2.2. Assuming Financial responsibility and the extended family: the intensification of expected roles and responsibilities

'As you know, in our African culture, it is our responsibility to take care of our mothers and fathers and ... family. It is automatic'. (Samuel, Ghana)

The extract above establishes how most African fathers are experiencing an intensification of expected roles and responsibilities, complicating the Eurocentric Lamb et.al (2017) paradigm which ascribes a father's 'responsibility' within the nuclear family. According to König & de Regt (2010), because the extended family system is widely traditionally practiced in Africa, it is a common understanding that when one speaks of the family in an African context, one is not merely referring to the nuclear family, but rather, the extended family. In this vein, responsibility also encompasses cultural expectations of these immigrant men assuming financial responsibilities for their families and relatives in their countries of origin. This therefore reinforces hegemonic masculinity manifested in the country of origin as family survival (in the home country) is contingent upon participants' ability to move to Norway and successfully sustain their families in the country of origin. In this study, most participants therefore enacted their manhood by sending money regularly to family members in their home countries, which compares to Della (2014) study on Bangladeshi diaspora in Italy.

Rugira's narrative resembled discourses of African migrants in Europe (König & Regt, 2010), This is because his settlement in Norway reproduces the heroic narratives of migrants abroad due to the success that is connected to the idea of having been to Europe as he revealed:

> '*My parents died during the Rwandan tragedy and they left 3 kids, my younger sisters, so I had the duty to follow up with them and tried to help them to come, but it was a long process, and I lost the fight. So, I assisted my 2 sisters, got them into boarding school all the way to university…. I am happy I managed to help with what I could and now they are all self-reliant.* (Rugira, Rwanda)

8.2.3. Unlearning toxic behaviors: Behavior change as a man embarks into 'responsible' fatherhood.

As participants narrated their journey of fatherhood, a common understanding that was reflected in most accounts highlights how embarking into fatherhood demonstrates a sense of responsibility which entails the ultimate actualization of being responsible in a way that one has never been before. Hence, parenting behavior is not merely innate, rather, it signifies individual choice based on logic and reasoning as parenting skills can be acquired. In this study, most fathers reflected on how their lives changed as they embarked into fatherhood whereby, they were faced with the need to assess problem behaviors and demonstrate responsibility. For Ike, this meant letting go of bad harmful habits and behaviors such as alcoholism. Similarly, to Ike, Michael highlighted the virtue of responsibility, established through changed behavior. As he narrates his life story, he shared the importance of being selfless as a significant marker of responsible fathering. In addition, renouncing toxic/bad habits such as heavy drinking and attitudes was fundamental as he feared that his children would imitate bad behavior. His reasoning epitomizes the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) that suggests that behavior is learned from the environment by observational learning. Hence as a parent, he is an influential model for his children and provides an example of behavior to observe and imitate.

Francis, a father of 2, reflected on the moment he became a father. It was implied that the behavior change that the performance of child rearing necessitates (parenthood) is portrayed as natural as breathing, irrespective of localization. Thus, demonstrated in the exemplary cases of Francis and Ike, this study signifies how paternal involvement may result from commitment to the father role (Pasley, Futris, & Skinner, 2002).

8.3. Breaking the cycle of toxic parenting

Studies have found that parenting may involve continuities in intergenerational child rearing practices and beliefs within families of origin (Bates & Criss, 2001; Forman & Davies, 2003: Pettit, Laird, Dodge; Santrock, 2011). This paper therefore uncovered participants' realities regarding the influence of their fathers, mothers or guardians on their own parenting style. This is elucidated by exploring the various ways in which they avoided being toxic parents[1] and neglectful towards their own children so as not to create the same dysfunctional family dynamic they experienced. Furthermore, the positive influence they brought from their father/ guardian into the Norwegian context/child rearing in Norway is discussed throughout this paper. In discussing the approach to parenthood, some men initially displayed an awareness of how their parents were toxic and an understanding of how the cycle of toxicity works. They revealed the dysfunction within their childhood homes as they reflected on their upbringing. Resultantly, their parenting approach encompasses consciously resolving to not be the parent or guardian they had as a child.

Samuel, a father of four, displayed an authoritative parenting style signified by a balance between control and autonomy as discussed by Baumrind (1967) and Cherry (2012) by supporting the agency of his children. Hence, he described how he provides sensible guidance without arbitrarily imposing his will on his children as he revealed the positive influence his father has on his child rearing practices in Norway by making sure his children feel heard and respected. The quality of parenting has been considered the strongest potentiality modifiable risk factor that impacts upon the development of emotional and behavioral problems in children (Consolata & Koech, 2016). It follows that authoritative parenting styles have the potential to produce children who are happy, capable and successful (Maccoby, 1992).

8.3.1. What not to do as a parent: hitting or shouting at children

Rather than hitting their children when they misbehave, most fathers expressed healthy child rearing practices in which they discipline with love and positive parenting. This includes reasonably lessening their screen time on their mobile phones and setting limits by having clear

[1] Toxic parenting is defined as 'poisonous' and 'destructive' because it has detrimental effects on children (Dunham, Dermer, & Carlson, 2011)

rules for their children to follow. Furthermore, some fathers displayed authoritarian parenting styles congruent to Baumrind (1967) parenting styles as they stressed the need to give consequences of their actions (such as hitting their children) and adopting authoritative parenting styles as they have a calm conversation with them to address problem behaviors. For example, Ike shares how he grew up in a tumultuous home and how he relies on his own childhood experiences for fatherhood guidance. He discusses how he is striving to raise his kids differently from how he grew up to ensure their happiness:

> *'Back at home, when we were kids and do something foolish, you get whipped. Here I do not whip them… If there was a water glass it was meant for the father. Here they can hold it...they have liberty. I try to make them feel good. I remember when I was young and we went to a farm, I was tired, but I was asked to carry yam on my head a big basket. It scattered. I got insulted and I was beaten. Here I let them feel free. I had a bad time. Here they have good times'* (Ike, Ghana)

Likewise, Mukisa reflected on his upbringing as he shared how he is parenting differently. It appears his masculinity is 'subordinate' as his parenting approach appears to be a product of decisions he was compelled to make, rather his own volition owing to circumstantial demands. Hence the continuation of the traditional model of fathers has become less of an option as he told me that he did not hit his children as he could not do so. This is because In Norway, corporal punishment is against the law (Daly & Abela, 2007). Zach also pondered on how he engaged in the deliberation and re-evaluation of disciplinary actions wherein he questioned previously held beliefs that upheld corporal punishment as a means of establishing parental control and authority. He described how he used to spank his children and stopped when they turned four. He then exclaimed that though he stopped hitting his children in Norway because it is prohibited, it also made him realize more healthier ways to 'discipline' his children. Similarly, Schrader McMillan and Paul (2011) uncovered how Guatemalan fathers consciously distance themselves from adopting a "hegemonic masculinity" identity by rejecting the use of violence to discipline their children. Akin to Zach, it appears Michael's child disciplinary approach is a defense mechanism against a seemingly massive loss of idealized gender behaviors as he vehemently disapproves and rejects forces that challenge his parental authority in Norway. Hence, his parenting style appears to be a hybrid of Baumrind (1967) authoritarian and authoritative approaches as he attempts to

reconcile traditional ways with 'modern' norms of parenting with seemingly an underlying religiosity which justifies corporal punishment as he proclaimed that:

> *'There are different categories of discipline… sometimes I can beat them... They know that... sometimes if they deserve it… but not to brutally beat them... There is even a verse from the Bible that says: there is bitterness from the heart of a child and only a whip can remove it. I think it is important to not let your child overcome you. That's why they cannot tell me how to train my child here in Norway...When it's time to do it (beat them), I do it'*
> (Michael, Ghana)

Donaldson, Hibbins and Pease (2009 p.3) write that "resistance, accommodation, subordination, segregation, marginalization, 'protest' and rebellion are all possible practices used as migrant males adapt in a new environment". In this regard, with reference to the fathers discussed above, whereas Mukisa's experience of his masculine self as subordinate, Zach displays a hybrid of subordination and accommodation practices in order to adapt in Norway. In contrast, Michael resembles a hybrid of accommodation and rebellion practices in enacting child disciplinary practices as he adapts and modifies his cultural (masculine) fathering ideals to accommodate those practiced in his country of settlement.

Some fathers shared the significance of not shouting at their children. Shouting at children can enrage them and result in resistance or/and retaliation, which was observed during one of the interviews whereby a father reprimanded his children through yelling. Research shows that harsh verbal discipline is ineffective and harmful as it can result in emotional pain or shame and may cause more behavioral problems and depression in teens (Wang & Kenny, 2014). Zach, who was raised by a single mother, discussed the influence his mother has on his parenting style in Norway in which he disciplines his children in a calm manner rather than shouting, just as his mother did.

8.3.2. Modelling Behavior

Research has revealed that a man's perception of himself in relation to the status of father has the potential to shape his involvement with his children (Habib, 2012). In this regard, because these fathers perceived themselves as their children's 'role models', this study found that some fathers are involved in a process of modelling behaviors they would like to see in their own children. This involves teaching them right from wrong through calm words and modelling positive behaviors.

An important aspect that was raised was how modelling constitutes considering things from the child's point of view by putting yourself in your child's shoes by imagining yourself at the same age as your child and considering how you could have felt or behaved, as one participant exclaimed:

> '*Oh yes, I am human. So, what can they do to annoy me? They fight together -brother and sister...as you saw them fighting... but in my mind I say to myself: I know I did fight with my brothers and my sister. I just say, stop right there, sit down...I ask why, so I tell them to give each other a hug, they feel like it's a punishment, then they shake hands, and they say sorry, then I tell them I love them'* (Francis, Burundi)

Robert discussed an incident in which his child's behavior changed drastically once he started schooling in Norway. He described how his son once called him 'stupid' and had a temper tantrum when he reprimanded him. When he exclaimed that disrespect was one of the most challenging things about raising children in Norway, I asked him how he managed such situations. He told me that he perceived (misbehavior) it as normal because he used to act in the same manner during his childhood. For that reason, he does not beat his children. Rather, he sets limits and consequences for his children. It can thus be argued that Francis appears to adopt a parenting style that is a hybrid of authoritative and permissive parenting as conceptualized by Baumrind (1967) and Santrock (2011) considering that he is more democratic as he is ready to listen to his children and hardly punishes or disciplines them. In contrast, not only is Robert assertive, but he is also restrictive in this parenting approach.

8.3.3. Negative reinforcement and child discipline

This study found that some fathers enforce undesirable consequences as a result of bad behavior by setting parameters so that their children are aware of what to expect upon misbehaving. For instance, one father described a particular incident in which he took away toys from his son when he left the house untidy and refused to pack the toys away in the hope that he would be motivated to act in a better manner in the future. His approach to child discipline epitomizes the *reinforcement theory of motivation* (Skinner, 1957) based on the premise of the 'law of effect' i.e., individual behavior with positive consequences tends to increase the probability of repeated outstanding

behavior whereas an individual's behavior with negative consequences tends to decrease the likelihood of that behavior being repeated (O'Donohue & Ferguson, 2001).

The usefulness of using negative reinforcement as a disciplinary technique therefore lies in the potentiality of removing something aversive in the hopes of increasing the likelihood of desired behaviors (Sidman, 2006). Ike discussed how he disassociates from traditional cultural ideals of parenting that may hinder the development of a positive child-parent connection; indicative of authoritarian parenting styles which place strict controls on children allowing limited verbal exchange (Santrock, 2011). His understanding affirms (Santrock, 2011) assertion children who are raised by authoritarian parents might exhibit social incompetence (Santrock, 2011). However, it appears his deliberation as exemplified in the extract below somewhat renders a confliction and an underlying sense of 'double consciousness' in his identity as a father. This is because its effectiveness in producing desired behaviors in an environment that is child-centric is not always guaranteed, seemingly challenging his ability to control his children as he proclaims:

> '(...) You end up, like 'stop, if not, you won't get a gift'. Father, mother, parent connection with kids is very important for them to listen to you. If you push them away, acting like an 'African father', things will never work out. So that is my method. It's not working effectively, they still have the Norwegian system in them' (Ike, Ghana)

Hence, the Case of Ike in contrast to the other father implicates the negative reinforcement theory of motivation. This is because it undermines the agency of the individual (child) meaning that parents could also train their children (unknowingly) to act defiant/rebel. Thus, this approach does not necessarily produce desired behavior.

8.3.4. Emotional detachment and changing style of fatherhood

Some participants were reflective in recognizing the constraints of their own conceptions which uphold narrow meanings of manhood and fatherhood. Expressive emotions are incongruent with hegemonic masculinity and are attributed to effeminacy, a perceived unacceptable form of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1994). Thus, due to migration these men re-invent themselves by negotiating new alternate forms of masculinity in Norway that depict caring as masculine. Like other migration studies were migrant fathers confirmed that they experienced a change in styles of fatherhood from a distant based approach to one characterized by increased

communication and involvement in the lives of their children, (Renzaho & Vignjevic, 2011: Williams et al. 2013), this study confirms that, for some men, the same pattern applies as well. This is however because the fathers understood the need to be emotionally available and for their children to be able to express their own emotions. Some fathers thus revealed that raising their children in Norway has resulted in the changing nature of fatherhood as their communication skills have been enhanced considering that their children feel comfortable relying on them and talking to them about personal issues. This is partly because these fathers are able to spend more time with them, enabling them to develop strong relationships with their children.

This study found that fathers that were more physically available to their children had stronger emotional relations with their children. For example, this applies to Robert, who was unemployed at the time of the study for a period of up to a year. This finding highlights how men can also cultivate emotional relationships with their children. Hence, it is not a matter of gender, but a matter of availability, affirming the study of Poeze (2019) of Ghanaian migrant fathers. For Instance, Rugira exclaimed that due to his busy work schedule, he had 'missed' the opportunity to bond with his children during infancy. He concluded that the nature of his emotional relationship with his teenage children was therefore poor and unchangeable. His sentiments contradict preliminary literature that suggests that a new father's bond to his infant is independent of the time he spends engaging with and being accessible to and responsible for his child (Habib & Lancaster, 2005). Hence, when I asked Rugira if he was spending enough time with his children, he revealed feelings of inadequacy, regret, failure and ambivalence considering that he fell short as a father in relation to the notion of accessibility and engagement (Lamb et.al, 2017) as he said that:

> *'I was hoping you wouldn't ask that because… that is where I did doubt myself... If I have enough time… or if I do it good enough to bond with the kids and my impression is that I am probably a bad dad for that one…'* (Rugira, Rwanda)

Most participants reflected on the normalization of a father's emotional repression (in their countries of origin) and chiefly fulfilling the prescribed family provider role. Hence, this study found that some fathers thus welcome the opportunity to be more involved with their children's development and well-being in Norway, thereby modifying their conceptions or manhood and fatherhood, thereby subverting negative traits associated with a hegemonic masculinity, such as being unemotional, non-nurturing, and dispassionate (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Comparable findings on Guatemalan transnational fathers (Montes, 2013) revealed that migration can become an opportunity for fathers to reflect on the type of relationships they have with their children and resultantly, counteract hegemonic cultural ideals. In deep reflection, Kofi explained how he is raising his children differently considering the demands necessitated by child rearing in Norway. When I asked him: So how different are you raising your children from the way you were raised? He had this to say:

> '*In Ghana, I would not have to be at home taking care of the kids, I would be working but here I have to spend more time with the kids. But that also creates a bond, love between kids and a father but in Africa we don't show love to our kids. We will be going to drink alcohol and you don't even see your kids for more than 2 days. Here you have to see them every day, see that they are going to school and when they come home you check their homework. This is what is expected of you when you have kids here*' (Kofi, Ghana)

In contrast, the alteration of fatherhood ideals is not circumstantial for Robert as he reflects on the inadequacies of his own father who focused primarily on his job and rarely designated time to spend with his children. The open criticism of his father also reveals how his approach to fathering in Norway is thus a reaction to how he was raised by an 'absent father', as he revealed that:

> '*...My father was working all the time ...(...) when he came back. He never was at home. (...) So now when I've grown up, we don't have this 'father love' thing. Now I have a problem with my father now, as I am talking to you now. We don't have this good relationship as he wasn't there for me... I show my kids more love*' (Robert, Ghana)

The case of Robert establishes that the process of intergenerational transmission of a parenting identity is necessitated by the transition to fatherhood (Habib, 2012). Hence, the experience of being parented acts as the primary source of learning or is shaped by aspects internalized as necessary about the role of being a father (Habib, 2012; Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001). Interestingly, rather than perpetuating the ideal of being emotionally unavailable (like his father), to ensure a positive child-parent relationship, he became the father he needed when he was a child: a 'present' and 'loving' father to his own children.

8.3.5. Establishing an open and well-informed dialogue with children

In this study, the concept of parental efficacy is also utilized to explore the extent to which fathers establish open and well-informed dialogue between parents and children. Moreover, the self-efficacy of some fathers in their ability to engage their children about sex, dating and relationships was uncovered in some of the interviews.

Most fathers portrayed strong attitudes against teen sex considering the common perception that their children/teens were not ready to talk about sex or engage in sexual activity. Inaccurate perceptions of teens sexual experience may inhibit parents from effectively guiding their offspring on sexual matters (Malacane & Beckmeyer, 2016). Mukisa's sentiments below denote a case of 'selective' assimilation as he discusses how he conveniently selects components congruent to the Norwegian culture (promotion of parent-child communication about sexual and reproductive health) that he adopted whilst still maintaining some beliefs and practices from his country of origin. Thus, it appears the nature of fatherhood is being modified as he simultaneously attempts to resist forces that threaten his authority and control as he argued:

> *'I think besides being strict, I am a bit modern as I let them know about boyfriend-girlfriend things even when they are young which is different from other African and Ugandan men who can't talk to their kids. I tell them to take care of themselves first, they need to finish school also then be somebody. I think this is African style, because Norwegians don't care, they think it's okay for kids to have girlfriends when they are young. For me it's weird, I told them not to, I can't entertain it'* (Mukisa, Uganda)

Likewise, some participants revealed how they are incessantly embracing the need to be warm and supportive fathers whom their children can easily confide in. However, other fathers revealed that their children are more comfortable with speaking to their mothers, rather than approaching them. To some extent, this was attributed to how they felt inaccessible, as these fathers have insufficient time to engage with their children owing to their busy work schedules. For instance, Tatenda shared his desire to be a better father as he attempted to become more engaged, supportive and loving by devising a way to engage his children in conversation when he drives them to school. This served to encourage open conversations and to build a trusting relationship as he asked them personal questions.

8.3.6. Fathers' engagement with their children

Participants emphasized involvement measures that include positive forms of interaction such as shared activities and helping children learn highlighting their commitment to being involved with their children in positive ways. This finding thus challenges the notion that men are absent figures as some of the fathers in this study perceived settling in Norway as an opportunity to not merely assume breadwinning but to also foster emotionally expressive relationships with their children, comparable to a case of Ghanaian migrant fathers (Poeze, 2019).

The photographs that were presented by some fathers during the interviews elucidated the various ways in which they contribute to the well-being of their children by directly interacting with them. Some men expressed how they dedicate time to engage in leisure activities like board games, watching movies and playing football during the weekends. Most participants expressed the importance of periodic trips to their countries of origin regularly with their children to impart knowledge and values pertaining to their cultures. Perhaps these trips also serve to enhance their self-esteem and sense of belonging as they also value teaching their children their home languages and preparing food from their home countries. For example, Tatenda expressed that it was important for them to 'know who they are', the language he spoke first (his mother tongue) and for them to understand everything that he 'preaches', and everything does. He then exclaimed that his being was shaped greatly by his African Identity, which he 'could not ignore' and thus was important to his sense of self. Hence as Yenika-Agbaw (2009) contends, as a migrant, Tatenda perceives himself as an African first and then a member of the national group (Norway) second shaped by the reality of having to negotiate his relationship with the new culture. Likewise, most fathers revealed how their African identity significantly shapes their present situation in Norway as they enact manhood and fatherhood, a phenomenon which is uncovered throughout this paper. They thus embody and reinforce the cultural ideal hegemonic image of an African father as they expressed that they valued teaching their children to honor them, to be respectful and to excel in school (Nsamenang, 2000).

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

Main findings and concluding remarks

The aim of this study was to examine how migration contributes to the plurality of masculinities among African men (fathers). Hence, it uncovered multiple and situational ways of expressing, negotiating and enacting masculinities through accommodation, negotiations, contestation and reinforcement. Rather than a homogenous and stable masculine identity, the construction of masculine identity in Norway is a complex and contradictory process. Hence, though this study investigated the attitudes and practices of men from sub-Saharan Africa, uniformity or homogeneity was not arbitrarily assumed. Rather, I acknowledged underlying diversity and difference. Hence, whereas some embodied patriarchal and emasculated masculinities, others engaged in non-violent and transformative masculinities upon settling in Norway. More so, some fathers embodied a hybrid masculine identity across situations. This study established that studying men as gendered beings provides a better understanding of the intersectional analysis of gender relations, necessitating feminist research for social change projects geared toward gender justice.

The role of emotions is profound given how the intimate testimonies of these men unveiled the ways in which they cope with their emotions to encounter the demands imposed and changes required of them by the people and cultures they encountered. The emotions discussed in this study include fear, sadness, nostalgia, resentment, frustration, guilt, inadequacy, powerlessness, sacrifice and love elucidating the complexity involved in the decision to migrate.

The migratory experience is somewhat a gendered performance of masculinity. Though various reasons (deliberate/forced) motivated each individual's decision to migrate, their migratory experience enabled them to acquire and enact their manhood as they consequently attained the greatest sources of their masculine pride (e.g. independence, employment, marriage, having children).

The main conclusion is that the experience of migration manifests an ambivalent and contradictory way of being a man. Hence, the feeling of inadequacy is profound as men find it difficult to feel good about themselves as men/fathers due to the inability to live up to the cultural expectation of being a family breadwinner/key provider. The varied and complex ways in which internal conflict is experienced owing to pressures of masculinity result in a sense of 'double consciousness'. For instance, whilst paid work can give meaning and honor to migrant men's lives,

it can also be demeaning as it undermines their social roles and values, disrupting their sense of masculine identity. Furthermore, the migratory experience is underpinned with rejection and subversion of social norms regarding the masculinization of care responsibilities as some men perceive manhood as an intrinsic nature of men (Kimmel 1994), deeming them 'unfit' to nurture children. It follows that maintaining the dual role of 'provider' and 'nurturing caregiver' is seemingly impossible and conflicting, as men tend to value engaging in the public sphere over preoccupation with domestic life.

While some reinforce normative notions of manhood and fatherhood upon settling in Norway, others altered domestic relationships allowing for greater sharing of domestic and childcare responsibilities. In this vein, though settling in Norway became an opportunity for them to assume bread winning, they also perceived it as an opportunity to foster emotionally expressive and healthy relationships with their children and wives. Hence, their migratory experience contradicts negative traits synonymous with a hegemonic masculinity, such as being unemotional, non-nurturing and violent (Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005). Implicating the Euro-centric image of the father as sensitive, involved and nurturant (Lamb, 1987; Pleck, 1984), this study revealed that care manifests differently for some of these fathers. Therefore, the role of self-sacrifice, provisioning by means of paid work, changed behavior on the journey to fatherhood and being the father they needed during their childhood, is thus profound.

Notably, this study found that mere opportunities can disrupt normative gender role constructions as masculinities are redefined in transnational families, triggered by women's migration. Most significantly, the disempowering influence of the barnevern in parenting is profound as it disrupts the father's absolute authority over the family. The masculine self is thus experienced as subordinate, complicit and marginalized as some adapt by accommodation and others in rebellion. Considering that African fathers felt alienated and discriminated against as cultural differences that may impact parenting are not acknowledged and valued by the barnevern system, this study suggests that there is a need to humanize ethnic minority parents in Norway by seeing their intentional qualities, enabling them to prove themselves as honorable and capable parents.

Potential limitations and suggestions for future research

There are three major limitations in this study that could possibly be addressed in future research. First and foremost, the lack of previous research studies that are relevant to my research topic (migrant African fathers) might have affected my ability to have robust theoretical foundations for the research questions I was investigating. Hence, considering that gender theories that are based on Western epidemiology offer insufficient accounts of African masculinities, there is a need for the development of an African-centered theory of masculinities that constitute African conceptions of reality by scholars. Hence, as Mfecane (2018) suggested, such theories should conceptualize masculinity as a social construct that is also shaped by unseen elements of African personhood. In this manner, this therefore presents the need for further development in the area of men, masculinities and migration. It should however be stated that while masculinity studies have enjoyed considerable growth in the West, this study fills in the gap to address the dearth of research on African fathers (migrant) masculinities. In this case, the results may be transferable to African migrant men in Northern Europe (and perhaps beyond) and migrant men in Bergen from different countries.

The second limitation concerns the potentiality of confirmation bias. Because of my cultural background (African) and as a woman researcher interviewing men, I am cognizant of how I could have had biases toward data and results that affirm my arguments. However, in order to avoid these problems, I ensured that the data gathering process was carried out appropriately by triangulation of methods to help reduce bias (observations, photographs and in-depth interviews). Furthermore, to minimize confirmation bias, I continuously reevaluated impressions of participants and also questioned preexisting assumptions.

The third limitation concerns the notion of an idealized view of anonymity as guaranteeing complete anonymity to participants can also appear to be an 'unachievable goal' in qualitative research (Hoonaard, 2003: 141). Thus, with regards to the process of anonymization, I found it complex as I came to the realization that anonymity is merely a continuum (from fully anonymous to very nearly identifiable) (Scott, 2005). Hence, in the development of *Table 1*, I was tasked with balancing two competing priorities: maximizing the protection and privacy of participants' identities (e.g. use of pseudonyms) and also maintaining the value and integrity of the data. In this regard, though *Table 1* was an attempt to preserve anonymity concerns and demonstrate the richness of the interview material, it should be stated that it was a practical challenge as anyone who is closely tied to the research setting will most likely be able to identify the participants as

there are a few African fathers in Bergen. The difficulties faced in anonymity suggest the need of contextually contingent approaches in anonymizing data.

Since the study focused primarily on African migrant men aged 37- 56, it indicates the need for future research into the gendered experiences of younger men who are being born and raised by migrant parents (in this case Norway) and the manner in which they accomplish their masculine identity.

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APPENDIX 1:   INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR AFRICAN FATHERS

General Objective: To understand how African men (from Sub-Saharan Africa) negotiate manhood and fatherhood in Norway.

Interviewer introduction

Thank you for taking part in my study. I appreciate your willingness to share your experiences.

Introduce yourself

In the interview, I will ask questions to understand your personal views and experiences regarding manhood and fatherhood throughout your life (before and after migrating to Norway).

Offer assurances of confidentiality, privacy and anonymity regarding the information they will share.

NB: *Remember to emphasize that they might choose not to answer a*

question they are not comfortable answering and they can withdraw from the conversation if they wish to.

INTRODUCTION

• May you tell me about yourself? (Age, Country of origin, Family – sisters, brothers / dependents, parents?)

• How many children do you have?

• When did you get married?

• Are you currently employed? Prompt: what kind of job do you have?

DECISIONS TO MIGRATE

• When did you migrate to Norway?

• Why did you migrate to Norway? (primary reason)

• What can you say has been your biggest achievement since your migration?

• May you share what you like the most about Norway?

• What could you say are the most challenging things about living in Norway (Bergen)?

CONSTRUCTIONS OF MIGRANT MASCULINITIES

Conceptions of Manhood and Fatherhood

• How does a boy become a man in your culture?

• What makes a man a father in your culture?

▪ What is expected of you as an African man, husband and father in your culture? (By your wife, family and friends) (origin situation).

▪ Has that changed since you came to Norway? How? (impact of migration on beliefs and practices).

▪ In your present situation, what are the important things that define what it means to be a man (and father) to you? (present situation - Currently in the Norwegian Context).

▪ What part does being an African man play in your present identity in the Norwegian context? (present situation)

▪ Do you see yourself primarily as a man, African or father.... (or do these roles intermesh and none stand out?)   MAN, vs AFRICAN vs FATHER

▪ Do you share household chores with your wife? Prompt: Do you have specific roles that each of you does? (Cleaning, cooking etc.)

Father's presence and involvement in lives of their children

• What is your role as a parent? (what kind of role are you playing as a parent)

• In what ways are you engaged (involved) in your children's) lives? (Caretaking, play/leisure).

  How accessible are you to your children (Communication - interactive of distant)

• How was your father/ male guardian involved in your life?

• What did you learn/ did you bring any of the influence from your father into the Norwegian context/ child rearing in Norway?

• How would you describe your parenting style? (Including child disciplinary practices?) Etc.

(Misbehave, rewards for good behavior or performance in school)

APPENDIX 2: OBSERVATION GUIDE

OBSERVATIONS *How does he interact with his immediate environment?* **(Personality, General Conduct etc)**	INTERPRETATIONS *What does this tell me?*	REFLEXIVITY *How I was perceived?* **Interviewee/interviewer relationship**

APPENDIX 3: DECLARATION OF CONSENT

University of Bergen Department of Health Promotion and Development

Agreement between student researcher and research participant

I (participant's name) agree to participate in the research project of **Chipo Maziva** titled "Migrant Masculinities: *An exploratory study on African men negotiating manhood and fatherhood in Norway."*

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as part of the requirements for a master's degree at the University of Bergen. She may be contacted on 459 19897 or mazivachipo@gmail.com. The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committee. It is under the supervision of Associate Professor *Wenche Dageid* in the Department of Health Promotion and Development at University of Bergen who may be contacted on Wenche.Dageid@uib.no (email).

2. The researcher is interested in exploring the impact of migration on the perceptions and experiences of manhood and fatherhood amongst African men in Norway.

3. My participation will involve an interview that consists of questions that investigate my life and personal opinions (and experiences) about manhood (being a man) and fatherhood before and after settling in Norway**.** The duration of the interview is approximately 90 minutes. With my permission, it will be audio recorded for transcription purposes. The recording will be stored in a password protected computer and deleted after the results are reported.

4. I may choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not comfortable answering.

5. Since my participation is voluntary, I am free to withdraw from the study at any time.

6. The written report of the research may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviors, but it will be presented in such a way that it will be impossible to be identified by the general reader.

By signing, I acknowledge that I have read and understood the above information.

Signed on (Date):   **Participant:** _____

APPENDIX 4: NSD ACCEPTANCE

NSD

Wenche Dageid
Christiesgt. 13
5015 BERGEN

| Vår dato: 06.07.2018 | Vår ref: 61239 / 3 / OASR | Deres dato: | Deres ref: |

Vurdering fra NSD Personvernombudet for forskning § 31

Personvernombudet for forskning viser til meldeskjema mottatt 21.06.2018 for prosjektet:

61239	*Migrant Masculinities: An exploratory study on African men negotiating manhood and fatherhood in Norway*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Wenche Dageid*
Student	*Chipo Maziva*

Vurdering

Etter gjennomgang av opplysningene i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon finner vi at prosjektet er meldepliktig og at personopplysningene som blir samlet inn i dette prosjektet er regulert av personopplysningsloven § 31. På den neste siden er vår vurdering av prosjektopplegget slik det er meldt til oss. Du kan nå gå i gang med å behandle personopplysninger.

Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:
- opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
- vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
- eventuell korrespondanse med oss

Vi forutsetter at du ikke innhenter sensitive personopplysninger.

Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke endringer du må melde, samt endringsskjema.

Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i Meldingsarkivet.

Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS   Harald Hårfagres gate 29   Tel: +47-55 58 21 17   nsd@nsd.no   Org.nr. 985 321 884
NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data   NO-5007 Bergen, NORWAY   Faks: +47-55 58 96 50   www.nsd.no

Ved prosjektslutt 30.06.2019 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av