Mediating Home in Diaspora: Identity Construction of First and Second Generation Nigerian Immigrants in Peckham, London

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Abstract

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Title: Mediating Home in Diaspora: Identity Construction of First and Second Generation Nigerian Immigrants in Peckham, London.

This thesis originally sets out to interrogate Brah's conception of diaspora as the site of everyday lived experiences. Unlike other notions, Brah's contention is that migrants' desire for the homeland is a myth. For seven months, the thesis investigates the validity of this statement in the everyday diasporic experiences of first and second generation Nigerians, in the diasporic space of 'Little Lagos'; Peckham, London. Of particular interest, and under focus in the study, is media use and the affordances that new media technologies, as tools of negotiating multiple attachments to a contemporary Nigeria, provide. In the main, the study sought to find answers to three questions. The first of these was whether the media made the diaspora feel at home within the diasporic space of Peckham. The second investigates how connections between contemporary Nigeria and the UK are negotiated, and the third, the different identities and attachments constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to media engagements with exceptional media events such as those relating to terrorism.

Based on media ethnography, the study involves 67 demographically diverse participants – 49 first generation and 19 second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham. A combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data. The collected data was analysed manually using thematic analysis.

One of the key findings is that home is lived in the present by the Nigerian migrants, validating Brah's proposition, and corroborated by mediation from social, cultural, religious and commercial practices. Although both generations interact with a contemporary Nigeria that is trendy; and has been facilitated in differing ways by technological developments; the first generation of the Nigerian migrants use the media to navigate ties with the home and the place of settlement. For the second generation, the media are windows to global trends, connect them to Nigerians all over the world, as well as keep them abreast of events and issues in Nigeria. Furthermore, the thesis shows through both generations' contestation of media's emphasis on the Nigerian aspect of the Woolwich killers' identities, and through the younger generation's celebration of the inclusion of afrobeat music, Nollywood and the representation of ankara in the host society and the global mainstream, that discourses of hybrid identities would continue to revolve around a national centre.

This thesis builds on the work of Couldry (2013) and Johnson and McKay (2011), as the findings demonstrate that social, religious and cultural practices shape both generations' engagements with diasporic media, and expand national identification and definitions of home. Overall, the key discovery is that home will continue to be a major issue in diasporic discourse.

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This is but the beginning of a search for empirically validated knowledge as I seek to help raise a new generation that would contribute to the growth of knowledge and help to build our beloved country, Nigeria.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT I
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS II
TABLE OF CONTENTS V
LIST OF FIGURES VIII
LIST OF TABLES IX
CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY 1
INTRODUCTION 1
1.1. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS 5
1.2. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY 6
1.3. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY 8
1.4. RESEARCH CONTEXT 11
1.5. LITTLE LAGOS PECKHAM, UK 16
1.6. METHODOLOGY 18
1.7. THESIS OUTLINE 20
CONCLUSION 22
CHAPTER 2 NIGERIA, MIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF A 'DIASPORA' 24
INTRODUCTION 24
2.1. NIGERIA: COUNTRY PROFILE AND DEMOGRAPHY 25
NIGERIA'S COLONIAL HISTORY AND THE EARLY STAGES OF MIGRATION 34
2.2. PECKHAM AND THE NIGERIAN DIASPORIC POPULATION IN THE U.K. 38
2.3. THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA'S MEDIASCAPES 46
CONCLUSION 50
CHAPTER 3 THEORIZING DIASPORIC MEDIA 53
INTRODUCTION 53
3.1. THE SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF DIASPORA 54
3.2. DIASPORIC MEDIA: NEW AFFORDANCES OR COMPLICATIONS? 62
THE COMPLEMENTARITY OF MAINSTREAM AND DIASPORIC MEDIA 72
DIASPORIC MEDIA AND PARTICULARITY OF FOCUS 76
3.3. WEAK OR STRONG MEDIA AND HYBRID IDENTITIES 78
CONCLUSION 89
CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO EVERYDAY DIASPORIC EXPERIENCE 91
INTRODUCTION 91
4.1. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO MEDIA PRACTICES IN THE DIASPORA 92
THE RATIONALE FOR ETHNOGRAPHY 94
4.2. ENTERING THE FIELD: GAINING ACCESS AND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FIELD 98
SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS 111
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION 113
DATA COLLECTION AND RECORDING 115
4.3. RESEARCHER'S ROLE AND REFLEXIVITY 116
POWER RELATIONS AND ETHNOGRAPHER'S REFLEXIVITY 116
4.4. DATA ANALYSIS 120
4.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS 122
CONCLUSION 123

CHAPTER 5 MEDIA CONSUMPTION: THE SITE OF NEGOTIATING EVERYDAY DIASPORIC EXPERIENCE 124
INTRODUCTION 124
5.1. AVAILABILITY AND ACCESS 125
5.2. REFLECTING "NIGERIAN-NESS" 130
PARTICULARIZING ENTERTAINMENT: NEGOTIATING HOME AND AWAY THROUGH THE TV SHOW 130
NOLLYWOOD: BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND IDENTIFICATION 132
THE TERRAIN OF RADIO ADVERTS AND THE DIASPORIC GAZE 135
THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION 138
CELEBRATING "NIGERIAN-NESS" ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS 143
5.3. 'NEW' MEDIA: THE ALTERNATIVE SPACE OF PERFORMING DIASPORIC IDENTIFICATION 152
5.4. 'HOME,' BELONGING AND ONTOLOGICAL SECURITY 156
CONCLUSION 159
CHAPTER 6 'NEWS' PRACTICES AND THE RECEPTION OF TERROR: NIGERIAN IDENTITY DISCOURSES TOWARDS THE MEDIATION OF WOOLWICH KILLING 161
INTRODUCTION 161
6.1. MEDIA ECOLOGY: NON-ORDINARINESS WITHIN THE ORDINARY EVERYDAY NEWS CONSUMPTION 162
6.2. MULTIPLE TERRAINS IN NEWS PRACTICES: BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BRITAIN 169
THE VIRTUAL, MYTHICAL 'HOMELAND' AND LONG DISTANCE POLITICKING 170
6.3. NEWS OF TERROR: THE WOOLWICH KILLING AND MEDIA REPRESENTATION 178
THE EVENT: DECONSTRUCTING HYBRIDITY 179
DIASPORIC POWER DYNAMICS: REACTIONS TO MEDIA COVERAGE IN "LITTLE LAGOS" 182
6.4. EMOTION: NEGOTIATING DIASPORIC COLLECTIVE SENSE OF SHAME 190
CONCLUSION 196
CHAPTER 7 MEDIATING DIFFERENCE: DIASPORIC MEDIA, CREATIVE PRACTICE AND CULTURAL PRIDE 199
INTRODUCTION 199
7.1. POPULAR CULTURE TO THE FORE: AFROBEAT MUSIC 200
SITUATING CONTEMPORARY AFROBEAT IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT 201
AFROBEAT - A CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN DIASPORIC IDENTITY 204
MUSICAL LANGUAGE, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND GLOBAL POSITIONING 208
GENERATIONAL CONNECTION 211
7.2. GLOBAL MARKETING AND ANKARA FABRIC 215
7.3. NOLLYWOOD - PERFORMING THE LOCAL WITHIN THE GLOBAL 219
BEYOND ENTERTAINMENT: ARTICULATION OF PERSONAL AND CULTURAL VALUES 220
CONCLUSION 225
CHAPTER 8 'HOME', HOST AND THE DIASPORIC CONDITION: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 227
INTRODUCTION 227
8.1. EMPIRICAL MILESTONES 229
NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITY: HOME AND HOST 231
8.2. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY 233
GENERATIONAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES 237
MAINSTREAM AND DIASPORIC MEDIA AND THE MULTI-DIRECTIONAL GAZE 240
CONTESTING NEGATIVE MAINSTREAM MEDIA COVERAGE 240
BETWEEN EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION: STRATEGIC ESSENTIALISING OF 'HYBRID' IDENTIFICATIONS 242

8.3. METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS 244
LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 245
8.4. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH 246
CONCLUDING OBSERVATION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH 248
APPENDICES 250
BIBLIOGRAPHY 261

List of Figures

FIGURE 2.1 THE CONCENTRATION OF NIGERIAN EMIGRANTS BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE. 28
FIGURE 2.2 MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING THE 36 STATES 33
FIGURE 2.3 PHOTOGRAPH OF A BANNER IN PECKHAM WRITTEN IN YORUBA 42
FIGURE 2.4 TYPICAL STREET SCENE IN "LITTLE LAGOS" 43
FIGURE 3.1 SHOWING THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDIA EXPLORED IN THIS STUDY 69
FIGURE 5.1 FOLU AND KOLE DANCE WITH THE BRIDE, TO THE BEAT OF AN AFRICAN TALKING DRUMMER 146
FIGURE 5.2 THE BRIDE-TO-BE IS ASSISTED WITH TYING HER 'GELE' AT THE ENGAGEMENT PARTY 147
FIGURE 5.3 THE ANGLICAN CHURCH DRUMS 150
FIGURE 5.4 SIMILAR DRUMS AT THE RCCG CHURCH 150
FIGURE 7.1 BALES OF ANKARA FABRIC WITH TYPICAL AFRICAN PRINT PATTERNS 218
FIGURE 7.2 ANKARA DRESSES AT THE WEDDING OF FOLU'S DAUGHTER IN PECKHAM 218
FIGURE 7.3 NOLLYWOOD FILMS IN VCD AND DVD FORMAT ON SALE IN PECKHAM. 224
FIGURE 7.4 NOLLYWOOD FILMS IN VCD AND DVD FORMAT ON SALE IN PECKHAM. 225

List of Tables

TABLE 2.1 THE NUMBER OF NIGERIANS THAT EMIGRATED BETWEEN 1960 AND 2010. 28
TABLE 2.2 'BORN-ABROAD' MIGRATION NUMBERS 39
TABLE 3.1 THE CATEGORIZATION OF DIASPORIC MEDIA 65
TABLE 3.2 MEDIA EXPLORED IN THIS STUDY 66
TABLE 4.1 SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS. 104
TABLE 4.2 CLASS BREAKDOWN AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FIRST GENERATION PARTICIPANTS. 105-106
TABLE 4.3 CLASS BREAKDOWN AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SECOND GENERATION PARTICIPANTS. 107
TABLE 4.4 FAMILIES WHOSE MEMBERS PARTICIPATED INDIVIDUALLY. 108
TABLE 4.5 KEY INFORMANTS 110

Chapter 1 Background to the Study

"Peckham," … "is where the living meets the dead." "…It is where Nigerians can bump into a distant Nigerian cousin who they never even knew was in the UK… And everyone I met that I asked said they wanted to go home. Maybe not today, maybe not tomorrow, but - when their countries are at peace, when they've made a bit of money, when democracy returns - they will return." (Robin White, 2005- BBC News).

Introduction

The issues of home, belonging and identity are central to the diasporic experience. Of these, the concept of home is subject to the most debate because the groups of people comprising a specific diaspora group still maintain links with their original homeland even though they now live outside of it. Consequently, the extent of the influence of the homeland on members of the diaspora, and where they perceive 'home' to be, has generated intense debate among scholars (Falzon, 2003; Anthias, 1998; Clifford, 1994; Safran, 1991). Of particular importance to this debate is whether the homeland remains the "authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty" among members of diasporic communities (Safran, 1991:83-84). Within this context, Brah (1996) posits that 'home' is a 'mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination' expressed in 'a lived experience of a locality' (p.192). That means beyond the seductive psychological attraction of the 'home,' it does not offer pragmatic value in the life of the migrant. The implication of Brah's assertion is that the desire for homeland is a myth and that there is a difference between the geographical and the psychological in the construction of 'home' as far as the discourse of diaspora is concerned. Brah contends that even where the possibility exists to want to make a journey back 'home,' it is more of returning to a place of origin than actually returning to a so-called 'home.' The reason is that the 'home' is conceptually, "A place of no return;" a place that is not separable or divorceable from the everyday "lived experience of a locality" (ibid). Accordingly, the place of every day experience is the home for the diaspora. This study examines whether Brah's assertions are accurate in the case of Nigerians living in Peckham, London. That is, to identify if the desire for the 'homeland' is a myth for these Nigerians

living in diaspora or home is simply the site of everyday 'lived experiences', as Brah has surmised.

This thesis examines Brah's (1996) conceptualization of 'home' as it influences the concepts of 'belonging' and diasporic identity; particularly attempting to answer her question of 'when a place of residence becomes home', and when a migrant could 'lay claim to one as his own' (p.193). In recognition of the complexities of 'home' to members of a diaspora, as stated above, Brah posited a duality of home as "a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. A place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'" (1996:192). At the same time, home is the everyday "lived experience of a locality" (ibid). It is this latter perspective that this thesis interrogates in relation to the first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham. Thus, this study seeks to determine if 'home' is indeed the site of everyday lived experiences, and whether the participants' diasporic identities are indeed plural and processual (Hall, 1999; Brah, 1996). This includes consideration of whether, for this specific diasporic group, the homing desire is not actually a desire for the homeland, as Brah (1996) argued.

This thesis further enumerates the problems associated with the constructed nature of diasporic identities based on Silva's (2009) assertion that 'home' is the "most elusive, seductive and prized possession of the diaspora and has its pivot in diasporic identity" (p.694), and that this is more problematic for second and subsequent generations of migrants than for the first. This is because the second generation are caught within the processes of inclusion and exclusion that are "subjectively experienced under given circumstances" (Brah, 1996:192).

Based on the vital roles of 'home' and 'belonging' in members of a diaspora's lives – along with the associated tension that exists between feeling *at* home and feelings that one's place of residence *is* home (Brah, 1996) - the thesis addresses the issues of inclusion and exclusion. It looks at how identities are performed around engagements with media, and the media-related practices of two generations of migrants.

The thesis shows how diasporic media offer the symbolic space (Madianou, 2012) for articulating identities, and how 'home' is constructed by both first and second generation Nigerians in the diasporic space of Peckham. It further shows how the mediation of social, cultural and religious practices (Couldry, 2013; Johnson & McKay, 2011) shape the engagements of the two generations with various diasporic media platforms and their affordances in differing ways. In doing so, the thesis argues against "banal transnationalism" (Aksoy & Robins, 2003), that is, how media, in this case satellite television, only serves in bringing the ordinary and banal reality of life in Turkey to the Turkish migrants in London (p.5). It queries whether these particaipants engagements with media reflect the ordinariness of media consumption, or the complexities of attachments, identities and home. It shows that hybridity is not a seamless fusion; it can disassemble and reconfigure at certain moments in the diasporic experience. The three empirical chapters therefore examine how the subjects of this study negotiate multiple attachments, which are central to their diasporic consciousness.

Peckham, the site of data collection for this study, is often referred to as 'Little Lagos' on account of the visibility of social and symbolic practices that have been carried over from Nigeria by immigrants who live, work, shop and socialize there. Some of these practices are found at parties, for example, *aso ebi* ("like dressings; dressed alike" Boticello (2009:143), which refers to the Nigerian custom of family members dressing alike for an event. Other forms of symbolic practices are food, music, media, religious gatherings, and various activities that are linked to their essential identity. Peckham thus becomes the melting pot, a 'home away from home' where the narration of identity is carried out in a diasporic space and the discourses of 'home' shift between 'here' and 'now' and 'there', through various practices, by both the first and second generation participants in this study. The practices considered in this research are those related to different forms of media.

Media is central to this study. Within this context is how the media is providing the materials for both generations of Nigerian immigrants in Peckham in constructing their

diasporic identities. The argument is that the contemporary Nigeria cannot be divorced from membership of the "contemporary techno-capitalist societies" (Kellner, 1996, 1994). This means that Nigeria is part of the global flow of goods, technologies and cultural forms as well as people (Kellner, 2002; Appadurai, 1996), which mark the contemporary world, even when such is unevenly distributed and the connection emphasizes Nigerians marginalization (Larkin, 2004; Appadurai, 1996). The discussion of Nigeria's media environment in Chapter Two attests to the fact that contemporary Nigeria, through diasporic media in its various affordances such as YouTube, Facebook, websites, blogs, and small and traditional media available through new digital technologies, is connected to a globalized world. Nigerians' exposure to cable, satellite and Internet communications situates Nigeria within the contemporary commercial cultures that characterize a global world (Best & Kellner, 2003, 2001). This contemporary Nigeria is also one that the Oxford Business Group (2013) and SWAC/OECD predict will continue to play an increasingly significant role in the global social, political and economic arena (this is also discussed in Chapter 2).

There is also an implication that even the diasporic space of Peckham itself exists within the contemporary techno-capitalist society. Here, diasporic experiences can be traced back to the colonial link with the UK, but now the first and second generations of Nigerians in Peckham have to articulate their identities within an emerging contemporary British society. In this process, it could be argued that not only is contemporary Nigeria within the global flow of electronic mediation and mass migration, Nigerians in this diasporic space are now part of the world of the present, where mediation and mass migration "seem to impel and sometimes compel the work of the imagination" as a collective social fact (Appadurai, 1996:4-5). In the context of Peckham, has imagination of the Nigerian diaspora become a collective social fact nurtured by the "mythic home" of Brah's perception?

This leads to the final argument in this thesis – that the contingent and indeterminate (Barker &Jane, 2016) nature of hybrid identities (that is, the fact that diasporic identities disassemble and reconstitute across spaces) leaves room for essentialism to creep in through the back door (Madianou, 2012, 2002). This thesis shows that, through the

identification of members of the second generation with the global positioning of Nigerian artefacts, and the contestation of the 'identity' assigned by the mainstream media to the perpetrators of the Woolwich killing, both generations articulate a diasporic identity that is linked to a national centre. It further demonstrates that hybrid identities decompose and reconfigure in diasporic space. Thus, hybrid identities are not value-free, although they enable the recognition of production of new identities and cultural forms (Barker & Jane 2016; Kalra et al. 2005). Still, identity remains open to essentialism.

This chapter begins by defining the key concepts employed by this study. Thereafter, the study presents its objectives. This includes specific aims as well as research questions derived from those aims. The chapter highlighted both the research context, methodology adopted in carrying out the study and a preview of the whole thesis as a way of providing the road map to aid the navigation of the eight-chapter study.

1.1. Definition of Concepts

The empirical focus on Peckham as a diasporic space is premised on the definition of diasporic space as an imagined physical space imbued with social meanings, wherein "social relations, communication and actions take place and shape the members' identities and conceptions of 'home'" (Georgiou, 2006:5). Consequently, emphasis is on Peckham as a diasporic space for enacting social, cultural and economic activities that relate the group to the physical and national space of Lagos and Nigeria.

Regarding other terminology, "first generation" refers to those initial migrants who live in a country other than their country of origin or birth, while "second generation" refers to the children of the first generation, those who were born in the country in which their parents settle. 'Home' in this context is defined as a geographical place (Cohen, 2008, 1997; Safran, 1991) as well as a space for national identification and definitions of home (Johnson and McKay, 2011), whether virtual, physical or 'imagined' (Anderson, 1991). The study, however, acknowledges its other referents, such that relating to a place, a house or family domain and specifically the multiple connotations it has for diasporas

as construct or a space of belonging that includes but is not constrained to the domestic; which addresses the notions of diasporic imagination, longing, and belonging (Georgiou, 2006; Brah, 1996). The concept of 'homeland' appears in quotation marks throughout the thesis because of the symbolic and ideological implications. In this study, it is used to reference a specific geographical location, namely, Nigeria, the country of origin of the participants. "Host" refers to the migrants' current country of settlement or residence, in this case, the United Kingdom.

Although there are nuanced differences, diasporic media are the combination of particularistic ethnic media, various homeland-based traditional television channels, radio, newspapers, social media, Internet, online blogs and forums, that are alternatives to the mainstream media (Karim, 2012). Thus, particularistic and alternative media are used interchangeably in this study based on the definition of ethnic media and diasporic media as all media that have the primary goal of providing information needs and enabling marginalised groups to participate in society (Karim, 2012:182). In this context, diasporic media include all the media that are alternative to the host's mainstream, with which the two categories of participants negotiate the multiple terrains of home and host. For instance, BEN TV (Bright Entertainment Television) and Naija FM are ethnic, minority, particularistic, and transnational media because of particularity of their content and focus. They are also alternative to mainstream British media. Furthermore, diasporic media comprise all the various forms of media, other than the mainstream. It includes various platforms through the Internet such as diasporic video and music platforms, YouTube, social media (Bozdag, 2012), Facebook, What's App, and Nollywood because of its availability in alternative formats such as CDs, DVDs, and VCRs (Krings and Okome, 2013; Ajibade, 2013; Miller, 2012; Lobato, 2010; Evuleocha, 2008). (See Figure 3.1 for the framework.)

1.2. Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to investigate how media consumption, and the various media-related practices of first and second generation Nigerian immigrants, reflect the complexities of 'home' that migrants experience in their countries of settlement, and whether this affects their understanding of home and their identity construction. Of

particular importance is the exploration of the role diasporic media play in the everyday lived experiences of the participants, who are first and second generation Nigerians in the Peckham district of London. Thus, the study seeks to determine the extent to which their media use is grounded in the notions of identity and belonging. In light of the opportunities, which new media technologies and the establishment of particularistic media afford, the study considers whether each generation's engagements reflect the ordinariness of media consumption or nurture ties with Nigeria and the UK alike.

The media consumption and everyday practices of first and second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora are examined in order to ascertain how both categories of immigrants negotiate the complexities of home and host through what they do with media, and other social practices that are associated with media, in the context of their everyday diasporic experiences in Peckham. This can then reveal intergenerational similarities and differences in engagement with media and in the everyday, media-related practices that are central to identity construction and the understanding of 'home.'

Admittedly, recent studies on diaspora and migration have focused on families, transnational links across nation states, remittances, the impact of social media on transnational communities, and the geography of migration. Similar extensive explorations have not been extended to the concepts of 'home,' belonging and identity with regards to the subjects of this study. Consequently, the discourse on 'home' in relation to the diaspora, migrants' experiences and other issues surrounding them continue to be in a state of dynamism requiring further probing to enable intellectual understanding of the subject matter. The main objective of this study, therefore, is to contribute to the building of knowledge in that direction. Specifically, however, behind this investigation is the aim of achieving the following three chief goals:

- To identify if the diasporic experiences of first and second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham approximate Brah's argument that 'home' is the site of everyday diasporic experiences through their media and media related practices

- To determine how first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham construct home and negotiate connection with contemporary Nigeria and the UK and the tension of nostalgia that are associated with multiple attachments.

- To identify the different identities and attachments that are constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to media engagement with exceptional media events, such as those relating to terrorism.

To this end, the following research questions are posed:

RQ1: How do experiences of first and second-generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham approximate to Brah's perception of home as being the site of everyday diasporic experiences through their media use and media-related practices?

RQ2: How do first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham construct home and identity in their media practices? How do they negotiate connections between contemporary Nigeria and the UK?

RQ3: What are the different identities and attachments constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to media engagement with exceptional media events, such as those relating to terrorism?

These research questions informed the analysis that follows in the three empirical chapters.

1.3. Justification for the Study

Media and migration scholars have shown how media offer symbolic spaces for identity articulation; shape the variety of migrant experiences as well as their diaspora situation (Johnson and McKay, 2011; Ong, 2009; Madianou, 2005). This study fulfils the new need, observed by Karim (2012, 2006, 2003, 1998), for research into various aspects of the use of communication technologies by members of diaspora. Their needs for information and entertainment, he stresses, have led to the proliferation of ethnic media, and therefore warrant exploration, particularly the effects of media on issues of citizenship

and social cohesion as well as their relationship to mass media. Several studies already touch on this topic, including Gillespie (1995) on the Asian diaspora in Southall, Georgiou (2006) on Greek Cypriots in London and New York, Robins and Aksoy (2001), and Aksoy and Robins (2000, 2003) on the Turkish diaspora in Britain, France and Germany. This study of the impact of media use on minorities' identity formation adds Nigerians to this ongoing dialogue. It also constructs a fuller picture of what some studies have found in relation to older immigrants' preferences for culturally specific content and for channels that relate to their background. It is expected that this study will contribute to the advancement of ethnography as the appropriate methodology for studying media use in context, as advocated by Dayan (1994) and Karim (1998).

Of further significance is the necessity to study identity and the identity-building strategies of the second generation, those who were born in diaspora. As the generation following the initial immigrants, they do not have a direct attachment to a recently departed 'homeland'; thus, a tension exists because their concept of 'home' and identity is distinct from that of their migrant parents. They also have a broader taste for a greater variety of media (Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997; Gillespie, 1995). This has led to many diaspora parents nurturing the fear of their children's estrangement from their homeland as they continue to live in diaspora, exposed to the host environment's mainstream media representations of popular cultural artefacts. Irrespective of these differences, however, they still share a common diasporic experience with their parents. The second generation diaspora members, according to Tölölyan (2012), acknowledge an ancestral 'homeland' and diasporic identity, but one which is not fully conceived in relation to, and is subordinate to, the national and moral authority of the 'homeland.'

Many academic studies conducted on diaspora formation focused on the impact of mass media, new technologies of communication, and social media use among established diasporic groups. In particular, South Asians (Vertovec, 1999), Filipinos (Ong, 2009; Ong and Cabañes, 2011), Greek Cypriots (Georgiou, 2006, 2001), Punjabi South Asian youth (Gillespie, 1995), Turks (Robin and Aksoy, 2000), Iranians in London (Sreberny, 2000), Greeks, Cypriots and Turks (Madianou, 2002, 2006) and other minority groups living in

Britain and elsewhere. The literature on the Nigerian diaspora, however, is sparse, particularly on those living in “Little Lagos”, in Peckham.

This study’s focus on the media use and media related practices of the two generations are also significant for another reason. As Harris (2006) observes, the growing population of Nigerians in the UK has changed greatly in composition since the earliest elite students came to Britain in the late 1960s and 1970s, as they were more transitory than the current population (p.2). Harris’s focus was specifically on the Yorubas as a group. The focus of this study is on Nigerians of any ethnic origin but in a specific location, Peckham. It does not minimize the plurality and heterogeneous composition of the group nor their presence in other parts of the United Kingdom. What it does is to focus on diasporic identity in order to investigate the question of what Nigerians living in Peckham understand as ‘home’ and how that is reflected in their media consumption and other media related practices. Thus, the role of media is considered in the context of the whole range of situations and circumstances of their diasporic everyday lives (Couldry, 2013; Silverstone, 1996; Miller 1988). Couldry’s (2013) expansive suggestion was that the study of media should investigate the “looseness openness” (p.37) of what individuals, groups and institutions do in connection to media in everyday practices. This means widening the scope of the investigation and analysis of media consumption and reception from focusing exclusively on technologies and texts to include all social practices. The idea of “open-ended processes of identity construction... are linked to media” (p.38) is especially favoured in this study. This suggestion facilitates the examination of diasporic media practices from the current theoretical positioning of identity as lived and performed. It also provides the opportunity to explore the domestic and social life in which media engagements take place beyond media and, and to render it in ‘thick description’ that avoids the media-centered or textual determinism of earlier inquires (Ong, 2015).

In adopting Couldry’s (2013) socially oriented media practice approach, the thesis argues that all other approaches are intimated. This approach enables an investigation of the whole range of practices that are oriented towards the media in the context of representation, which is linked to production, the interpretation of texts, and reflection

on the role of technologies as objects in everyday life. Thus, this approach has facilitated the current study's focus on investigating what members of this specific diaspora do with media as objects and texts, in relation to identity negotiation between the host and home countries in the three areas presented in the empirical chapters that follow. These areas are negotiating the 'home' in everyday life, navigating the 'host' through news consumption, and living with the difference in the "third space" (Bhabha, 1994; Appadurai, 1990) of diasporic creativity.

This study looks at a wide range of media practices of the first and second generations in Peckham, while earlier studies of the group only considered the first generation. For instance, Ogunyemi's (2012) study of the newspapers, films and television watched and read by Africans living in Britain, besides conflating the African diaspora into one homogenous group, employed a top-down approach involving onsite observations of five diasporic media organisations. In addition, Onoso (2012) carried out a comparative analysis of identity amongst second generation Nigerians in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, but still left a gap for the exploration of media consumption by both generations in the United Kingdom. Likewise, Ayankojo's (2010) exploration of the use of the Internet by Nigerians in Toronto for constructing their cultural identities noted the need to compare his findings with those pertaining to the second generation. Adeniyi (2008) also examined how Nigerians in London and Leeds use the Internet and other forms of diasporic communication in mediating distance, longing and belonging in Britain. However, this is the first study to examine the media consumption and everyday social practices and rituals that reflect identity and the understanding of home of both generations in the specific context of "Little Lagos" in Peckham, London.

1.4. Research Context

Through globalised media and communications technologies, diasporic communities are able to maintain relationships across borders and between 'home' and 'host' countries. The negotiation of new, hybridised cultural identities in host nations has been largely sustained through new media (Durham and Kellner, 2009; Pieterse, 2009; Straubhaar, 2009) and ethnic or diasporic media, which fulfil the information and entertainment needs of the respective diaspora groups in their countries of settlement. These new

means of sustaining hybridised cultural identities are not limited to the media, however. Interpersonal interactions occurring through associations, religious groups and in other ways have also been identified by many scholars as contributing to the navigation of diasporic identity and bringing about social cohesion in the new location. This has led Kim (2006, 2001) to propose a theory of cross-cultural adaptation, which states that the "adaptation of an individual to a given environment occurs in and through communication" (2001:36).

This is particularly significant in the Nigerian national context, where a feature film industry based around the small media forms of video, VCD, and VDRs distribution has developed (Larkin, 2005, 2004). This industry, known as Nollywood, Larkin stresses, has not only made Nigeria one of the largest film producing nations in the world, but it has also led to the emergence of a distinctive film practice. This practice has led to the rapid circulation of Nollywood films and styles all over Africa and arguably amongst the Nigerian and wider black diasporas as well (Miller 2012; Larkin, 2005, 2004). Although technological developments have brought satellite television, Internet and mobile phones to Nigeria, the uniqueness and the positioning of Nigerian film consumption and production in the global arena has its historical, institutional, cultural and infrastructural roots in the piracy of Bollywood (Indian) and Hollywood films (Larkin, 2004:304). Larkin argues that this phenomenon is informed by the fact that the comparatively small budgets of Nollywood films mean that the industry has to operate on lesser technologies. Nevertheless, the Nigerian film industry has gone from a parallel economy to the centre stage of world film productions. Whilst this is the case, it is paradoxical that Nigeria has a media infrastructure that creates the reality of a nation that is "ever more connected to a globalised world" which at the same time, emphasises Nigerians marginalization" (Larkin, 2004:308).

Although Nollywood is one of the diasporic media explored in this study (see chapters 5 and 7), both in its DVD format and through satellite TV and YouTube, this study does not explore the production aspects of this cinema style. Neither does the study explore the Hausa movie industry. The films produced are in Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and English. This demonstrates the heterogeneity of Nigeria's industry as well as that of the composition

of the Nigerian diaspora. The data and the site of the ethnographic work, however, are more reflective of the Yoruba, who are the majority in Peckham. Moreover, the Yoruba developed their own indigenous video industry as an alternative to imported cinema earlier (Barber, 1987, cited in Larkin, 2004). The focus in this study is on the consumption of various diasporic media among the participants. These consumption patterns situate Nigerian diasporic subjects of this study within the global patterns of migration, identity, and media consumption.

In the global context, the Internet in particular has been singled out as a medium for those who seek attachment to their cultural home and wish to strengthen their cultural identity. It has been called the "diasporic medium par excellence" (Sreberny, 2001:156) which has transformed diasporic communication by affording them new opportunities for sustaining the community, nurturing communal ties, re-establishing and re-inventing relationships, and for forging new cultural identities (Georgiou, 2002; Karim, 2007). Similarly, McKay (2010) observed how new media technologies, and especially the Facebook, are transforming norms of relationship and fostering belonging among Filipino migrant users. Despite these new affordances, the study recognizes the caution by Christophe (2012), that the newfound ability of adolescents in diasporas to connect to the country of origin could lead to their identities being shaped too strongly by "common living conditions and ethnic cultural roots (p.101)." Thus, the Internet could become a medium of segregation rather than serving the purpose of integration or inclusion in the country of settlement. She sums up by stating that "an exclusive use of ethno-media can create media ghettoization or media segregation where only priorities and perspectives of country of origin are presented in certain subjects…" (p. 101).

Nevertheless, scholars are optimistic about what they see as the contradictory roles of ethnic media and technology in fostering internal cohesion, maintaining links to the 'homeland' and integrating migrants into the host societies (Christophe, 2012; Oh, 2012; Lay and Thomas, 2012; Bonfadelli et al., 2007; Georgiou, 2005, 2006; Sinclair and Cunningham, 2000; Karim, 1998, 2003; Naficy, 2003, 1999, 1993). Some researchers have found that migrants act as active constructors of meaning by being purposeful in their media selection and in their motivation for using or not using certain media.

Studies such as Oh (2012), Christophe (2012) and Croucher et al. (2009), which looked at Korean American youths, second and third generation Turks in Germany, and first and second generation French Muslims respectively. They found that the preference for ethnic media amongst their study populations had a role in creating boundaries, resisting assimilationist policies and negative representation in mainstream media, and in fostering "a group identity if they are largely dissatisfied with their personal circumstances" (Christophe, citing Schneider and Arnold, 2006).

In Britain, Lay and Thomas (2012) affirmed the distinctive but conflated role of Black and minority ethnic (BME) media in London in keeping their viewers informed of news from their homelands as well as of news about their own communities in the UK. The question of whether this role is devoid of the tension experienced by similar groups in the studies cited above is investigated in this study in relation to the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham.

Regarding identity, the influence of media on identity formation and nation building has been established by previous studies (Dayan, 1999; Anderson, 1983), though it is still a subject of scholarly debates. It is generally accepted that media shape identities (Madianou, 2005) and that particularistic media sustain and maintain in existence imperilled communities, such as diasporas (Dayan, 1999). It is not the intention of this study to revisit the arguments about how powerful the effect of media is on identity or whether 'identities' are stronger than media. Some of these issues are addressed in Chapter 5 with regard to the adoption of media ethnography as the preferred methodology as a contextual, bottom up approach to the study of media consumption among the diasporic subjects. The effect of media is rather taken as an assumption, which has set the premise for media studies on identity and diaspora, especially in the era of globalization whereby a dialectic relationship has been heightened between the global and the local.

This theoretical and empirical position has informed studies such as that of Gillespie (1995), who explored the role of television in the formation and transformation of identity among the youth of a specific diaspora group, the Punjabis in Southhall. Thus,

in contrast to the earlier view of identity as fixed and given, studies such as Gillespie's have investigated media consumption from the premise of identities as fluid, that is, lived and performed, as well as dynamic. Similarly, contrary to the earlier belief that globalisation homogenizes cultures, scholars have shown through various studies how it rather has heightened the interconnection between the global and the local (Thompson, 1995; McGrew 1992; Madianou, 2012; Georgiou 2006). In most cases, this results in strengthening the multiple attachments of various diasporic groups and migrants with their home countries while at the same time facilitating integration into the host culture and internal cohesion among the migrants themselves.

The findings of both Abu-Lughod (1993, 1989) and Mitra (2001) were also instructive to the present study on the interactions of first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham with media. Diasporic media, in particular, was examined as an alternative to mainstream media, as well as how the participants' engagement with them reflects the diaspora's need for negotiation between the 'host' and the 'home' in their everyday media and media related practices.

The globalizing impact of media has led researchers examining the relationship between media and identity to go deeper than the simple binary of strong media and weak identities or strong identities and weak media to include studies of diasporic and transnational audiences (Madianou 2005). This is especially the case due to the impact of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) and ethnic minority media, which are accessible globally (Tsagarousianou, 2004; Georgiou, 2003). Consequently, studies such as Gillespie (1995), Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), Aksoy and Robins (2000), and Robins and Aksoy (2001) have investigated how diasporic and transnational groups maintain multiple attachments to both the home and host countries, thereby complicating their identities. Others have shown how different generations negotiate multiple belongings through their media consumption (Gillespie; 1995; Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997).

This study is designed to contribute to knowledge in these areas regarding the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham

1.5. Little Lagos Peckham, UK

This section offers a short description of the study site, Peckham. An in-depth discussion of the site in relation to the history of Nigerian migration, state policy and reasons for emigration is given in chapter two. The association of Nigerians in diaspora with a particular geographical area is not unique - Chinatowns abound around the world - but it presents another angle for inquiry. While Binaisa (2009) cautions that, no area is ethnically homogenous, the concentration of specific ethnic groups in a location, or the traditional association of such groups with particular areas, has given rise to a range of studies exploring the unique features of these communities of immigrants. Such communities pose questions regarding the issues of segregation, integration, citizenship and the social cohesion of immigrants (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Georgiou, 2005; Karim, 1998; Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997). These are some of the questions explored in this research.

References to East London's Peckham as "Little Lagos" in the literature on diaspora so intrigued me that I decided to visit the area during a trip to London in 2012. Riding on either bus 36 (Queens Park to New Cross Bus Garage) or 436 (from Paddington to Lewisham), the terrain changes once the bus crosses the Camberwell junction towards Peckham. The change is even more pronounced on Bus 177 from Peckham bus station to Thamesmead, a line that has been colloquially designated the "Lagos Express" because of the large number of Nigerians it serves.

On this visit, I saw many Nigerians on the streets. They were easily recognizable by the way they walked and talked. Another easy form of identification was their typical Nigerian attire. Many people on the road were also speaking loudly, in Yoruba and pidgin, the usually Nigerian corrupted English. They were also code switching, weaving their conversation in and out of Yoruba and English. The air was filled with social, cultural and symbolic Nigerian practices. On display in the shops were Nigerian varieties of foodstuff and other articles. Nigerians owned a large number of the shops. Similarly, the same applied to the churches in the neighbourhood. Many were Nigerian with Nigerian pastors as well. Several of the churches exhibited the usual African way of worship, characterised by theatrics, clapping, singing, dancing, drumming and lengthy services.

There were other rituals associated with religious worship in a traditional Nigerian setting including mode of dressing. Despite the cold weather, barefoot women and men in flowing white garments were conspicuous on the streets. These were apparently members of the Celestial Church of Christ, one of Nigeria's white garment churches. Adding to the effect was stereo music from Nigerian films, and video vendors selling in stalls along the streets and playing the record of the Nigerian musician, 'Ayefele'.

There were social and symbolic practices that could not have failed to be noticed as being a carry-over from the homeland. They included the Nigerian-style parties and "aso ebi" (uniform clothing picked specifically for an occasion) (Botticello, 2009:143). Other forms of symbolic practices were the food, music, media, religious gatherings, and various activities that demonstrated a link to their essential identity. All of these reasons made it unsurprising that Peckham has been dubbed 'Little Lagos'.

The most significant encounter from this visit was a conversation I had with a 20 year-old British–Nigerian who was later to become one of the major participants in this study. Tolu was born to Nigerian immigrants in Peckham and still lives in a neighbourhood to the southeast. She expressed her delight at having the opportunity to engage on the internet with other young people from the country of her heritage, whether at 'home' and elsewhere in diaspora. This excitement about the Nairaland forum[1] subsequently soured when she realised how judgmental Nigerian youths in Nigeria were of those like her who live in the UK, USA and other parts of the West.

Evidently, diasporic media are subjectively appropriated, like other forms of media, based on sociological differences such as gender, age, ethnicity, class, geographical access and cultural influences. Various media scholars (Silverstone, 1994; Morley, 1986) have already affirmed this. In this context, however, not only are generation and age taken into consideration, but also geography, the particularity of media content and national affiliations. In addition, the availability of all forms of diasporic media, described

[1] *Nairaland* is a Nigerian discussion forum that offers threads on culture, entertainment, technology and other general discussions on contemporary issues in Nigeria and in diaspora.

as such due to the particularity of their content, link contemporary Nigeria to the current global flow of communication and media technologies. This is reflected in what Tolu reports as her experience of Nigerian youths living in Nigeria, with whom she interacted through diasporic online media, specifically the Nairaland forum. This has implications for everyone who engages with such media.

Furthermore, the mediation of identity, home and belonging are fraught with uncertainties in immigrants' lives, as they negotiate multiple attachments to the home country and the country of settlement. It would seem that this is even more so for the second generation. This demonstrates the uniqueness of 'Little Lagos' as a site that circulates diasporic media and also embeds them in a familiar context of a 'home away from home'.

1.6. Methodology

This study draws on traditions in media ethnography and theoretical frameworks of cultural identity in postcolonial, diaspora, media and migration studies to explore how 'home' is mediated by first and second generation Nigerian immigrants through ethnographic fieldwork. This method grounds the study in the context of the daily use of media by the participants in Peckham, and facilitates the empirical description and analysis of media use in the selected context. Personal stories, gathered through ethnographic fieldwork, offer the opportunity to develop rapport and relationships with the informants in their natural settings: in social situations and in the intimate spaces of their homes, "in everyday contexts rather than under conditions created by the researcher as in experimental setups or in highly structured interview situations" (Hammersley and Artkinson, 2003: 3). Gillespie (1995) affirmed the role of ethnography in the empirical description and analysis of cultures based on intensive and extensive fieldwork in a selected local setting. As stated earlier, Peckham, because of its large visibility of Nigerian migrants, served as the site of the seven-month ethnography.

In addition, in contrast to previous top-down traditions of media studies, ethnography enables the recording of the participants' views about key concepts in the context. This

strategy became central to media studies at the turn of the 1980s, when everyday media use by the audiences became the focus.

The current study asks how the understanding of 'home' and identity influences media and media related practices through the adoption of a similar methodology of ethnography where identities are examined as lived and performed (Madianou, 2005: 4). Studying the media and media related practices of the participants' means the emphasis is on their media consumption rather than on media as objects, texts, apparatuses or production processes (Couldry, 2010:121; 2013). Ethnography is the ideal method for recording the everyday practices associated with media in the social and cultural contexts of media consumption while also addressing the issue of identity. It offers the opportunity to bring to the fore "the small scale processes rather than the large scale products of people's perceptions, thoughts and actions" (Gillespie, 1995:1).

The rigorous and long term immersion in fieldwork, during which the researcher participates in the daily lives of the participants at their homes and in formal and informal gatherings, enables a "thick description" (Geertz,1996) of both the macro- and the micro- processes involved in media consumption and related practices linked to identity. Thus, as in the context of this study, ethnography serves to illuminate the definition of 'home' for immigrants whose lives straddle two or more locales - generally the host and the home countries - as the diasporic space for negotiating diasporic identity. This is especially significant for the second generation offspring of immigrants, as they are forced to navigate the twin terrains of identity and belonging as immigrants even though they were not the initial migrants (Kalra et al., 2005).

The participants in this study are first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham, who form part of the Nigerian diaspora [2]in the United Kingdom who live and use this location as the space for enacting their diasporic experience. This group of migrants encompasses a wide cross section of ethnicities, religions, migration trajectories, gender, ages, generations and other social categorizations. They are, therefore, not a homogenous group, the study acknowledges the presence of Nigerians

[2] Nigerian diaspora refers to those groups of individuals who self-identify as Nigerians in Peckham.

in other parts of London, indeed in the United Kingdom, and that the Nigerian diaspora includes all of them as well as Nigerians who are located in other countries. A full description of the participants is given in Chapter 4, the methodology chapter.

The exploration of media and the media related practices of the participants is not limited to diasporic media, although two are favoured in the analysis, namely, BEN TV and *Naija FM radio channel*. Mainstream, alternative and particularistic media are all considered in order to avoid the trap of determinism in the role of diasporic media, and to acknowledge previous studies' claims that the media repertoires of migrants are not limited to one genre but are a mixture of all available media (Bozdag et.al., 2012; Georgiou, 2006; Sreberny, 2006; Aksoy &Robin, 2003; Gillespie, 1995). This study examines the roles of both mainstream and diaspora media in social integration and connecting migrants to their country of settlement. It regonises the fact that Mainstream media have been criticised for failing to represent minority groups and when they do, for stereotyping or portraying them negatively as homogenous rather than as individuals (Cottle, 2000; Christoph, 2012; Lay and Thomas, 2012). This is especially necessary given the technological advancements in the media, which have changed the terrain of contemporary diasporas by affording people the opportunity to have a continuous link to the 'homeland.'

1.7. Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of two main parts that is divided into eight chapters. The first part contains four chapters, which set the background to the study for the second part, which contains the three empirical chapters and the conclusion.

Chapter One is the introduction. It provides an overview of the thesis and its structure. It presents the research background of the study, the study's importance and its objectives.

Chapter Two describes the historical context of the Nigerian diaspora, their migratory patterns and the trajectories, which resulted in the current composition of the Nigerian diaspora in Britain.

Chapter Three grounds the study in the theoretical framework through a review of the literature on diaspora, diasporic media, home, identity, and everyday media use. It covers literature on the media of various diasporas and their role in sustaining and maintaining identities, identification and long distance links with the migrants' 'homeland.'

Chapter Four, following the bottom up approach, justifies media ethnography as the ideal methodology for this study. It is argued that ethnography with a media focus is the best for offering a thick description of identity and the practices that reflect the audiences' own position.

The second part of this thesis starts with Chapter Five. This empirical chapter discusses the use of diasporic media in negotiating home and identity and how participants various engagements reflect the particularity of an attachment to Nigeria and reproduce a sense of 'Nigerianness.' The chapter looks at how each generation's engagement with media reflects various aspects of maintaining ties with the two locations, Britain and Nigeria, which is crucial to their diasporic experiences and how this engagement reflects a connection with a contemporary 'trendy' Nigeria, one connected to the global flow of goods, technology, cultural forms and people.

Chapter Six explores how the participants navigate the host country through news consumption. In particular, it examines how identity was contested through the response to the media representation of the Woolwich killing in May 2013 viewed as a strategy of exclusionary politics on the part of the media. It also includes a reflection on the collective sense of shame experienced by both generations. The chapter shows how notions of home, identity, and belonging are embedded within what appears to be ordinary everyday news consumption.

While Chapter Five focuses on *BEN TV* and *Naija FM* radio, Chapter Seven follows up with a discussion about how identity is performed through popular culture, especially by the second generation. It discusses how the popularity of afrobeat music, the representation of ankara fabric in the global mainstream, and Nollywood in its

alternative formats on DVD, VCD, satellite channels and YouTube, influenced by the global–local dialectic, have become the symbolic as well as material means for the second generation to connect to contemporary Nigeria. In the process, they demonstrate 'Nigerian-ness' as an enduring component of their diasporic identities. By these means, they not only articulate a sense of pride in the nation of their heritage but also in the process demonstrate how they live with difference through diasporic creativity. Within the wider context of the African diaspora, the chapter also describes the 'revalorization of Africa' within black identities. In this case, the 'Nigerian identity' is strengthened through resistance to being incorporated into a 'Black British' identity.

Chapter Eight, the conclusion, enumerates the key empirical findings and the contributions that the study makes to the literature on diaspora, media, 'home' and identity. A thread running through the thesis is that both generations perform identity through media engagements that make the 'homeland' more homely with the combination of diasporic and host media. Furthermore, that both media technologies and texts are instrumental in the provision of symbolic space through which identities are performed.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out the background and a short introduction to the study. The Chapter raised and addressed the conceptual and contextual issues surrounding the study. Essential to the study was how the first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham, London, were mediating home in Diaspora through identity construction. Conceptually, the study shared from Brah's proposition of 'home' in the life of a migrant and explored its applicability or relevance to the contextual situation of Nigerian immigrants in Peckham, London. Alongside was the brief profiling of Peckham to provide a bird-eye's view of the study site. The study objectives and the three-part research questions deriving from it were cogently stated. Why the necessity for a study of this nature? The justification for the study provided some of the cogent reasons regarding the necessity for the study. A major point concerned that of the new need made by scholars for research into various aspects of the use of communication technologies by members of diaspora. Another also was that whilst studies existed on

other groups, the literature on the Nigerian diaspora was not only sparse but had somewhat been non-existence. This made the research on Peckham, the “Little Lagos” in London, important.

The chapter also highlighted both the research context and methodology adopted in carrying out the study. Much of the research context about the Nigerian immigrants in the study was woven around their consumption pattern of the various diasporic media; how they situated themselves within the global patterns of migration, identity, and media consumption. The study, invariably, adopted both a theoretical and empirical approach. It drew largely from the traditions in media ethnography and theoretical frameworks of cultural identity in postcolonial, diaspora, media and migration studies to explore how ‘home’ was mediated by first and second generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham. Seven months was devoted to conducting the ethnographic study.

At the beginning of the introductory chapter, there was a provision of short definitions of some of the key concepts adopted by the study. Concluding the section was equipping the reader with a compass with which to navigate the entire work by providing outlines of the contents in each of the eight chapters of the study.

The next chapter discusses the relationship between Nigeria, Africa’s most populous country, and the United Kingdom. It shows how Britain had served, and continues to account for being a recipient country of Nigerian immigrants, particularly in Europe.

Chapter 2 Nigeria, Migration and the Formation of a 'Diaspora'

"Nowadays we are all on the move." (Zygmunt Baumann, 2001).

Introduction

Nigeria's migration history predates the colonial period in terms of the nation's connection to slavery, and the establishment of large cities, such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, and Port Harcourt, which prompted the beginning of internal migration. From this internal migration, a micro-international flow developed within Africa to and from countries such as Ghana, Senegal, Cotonou, Cote d'I'voire, Sudan and many others. Thereafter, migrants started heading to Europe (de Haas, 2006). Traditionally, Nigeria was part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as one of the points at which slaves were picked up, and Nigerians were amongst the slaves sold in the Americas (Adeniyi, 2008; Cohen 1997). Consequently, the earliest Nigerian migration history can be put into the wider context of the African diaspora as a 'victim diaspora', meaning people who were forcibly dispersed and subsequently suffered from enslavement, severe persecution and forcibly ejection from their original homeland (Cohen, 1997, 2008). The term is usually applied to the Jewish and African diasporas.

The earliest recorded and empirically validated instance of Nigerians as voluntary migrants to the British Isles is that of colonial students in the early 1960s (Hermione, 2006). This first set of migrants left Nigeria in search of educational advancement. After their short sojourn abroad, many returned to be a part of the new bourgeois in the nascent republic, following independence from British colonial rule. Many of them, however, had British-born children, and consequently, as developments in Nigeria became unfavourable in the late 1980s and 1990s, many of those children returned to Britain, followed by some of their parents.

This chapter discusses the historical context, the motivation, and the geographical spread of the spread of Nigerian immigrants, with particular reference to the UK and on Peckham. The first section presents a brief profile of Nigeria and its demographic characteristics, some of which are singled out as providing the basis upon which many Nigerians at home and abroad construct their identity. The second section is a brief

outline of Nigeria's colonial history and the three main phases of migration to the UK. This is followed by a specific focus on the Nigerian diaspora in the UK and in Peckham in particular, acknowledging the dearth of information that makes it difficult to provide accurate demographic figures. The final section describes the media available to Nigerians in diaspora, which connect them both to the 'homeland' and their country of settlement.

Although arguably migration could be divided into three periods, the slavery cum pre-colonial period, and the colonial and post-colonial periods, the history recounted in this chapter considers only the last of these. It argues that aside from Nigeria's colonial connection with Britain, contemporary migrants are part of the late twenty-first century's global movement of peoples for economic reasons.

2.1. Nigeria: Country Profile and Demography

On October 1, 1960, Nigeria became an independent sovereign state and a member of the British Commonwealth through an act of the British Parliament. It became a Republic three years later on October 1, 1963. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa from the north became the first Prime Minister and Head of Parliament, while Chief Nnamdi Azikwe from the east was installed as Governor General. The capital of the federation was subsequently moved to Abuja, which is right in the heart of the nation's thirty-six states, while Lagos remained the commercial capital. The country is the most populous and one of the richest in Africa. However, various social, political and economic problems plagued the country, leading to the series of conspiracies and military coups that followed independence.

Three dominant groups, the Hausa Fulani in the northern region, the Yoruba in the southwest and the Igbo in the southeastern region, characterize the internal diversity in Nigeria, a land of many languages and ethnicities. There are another 250 ethnic groups, which are considered minorities (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005).

In terms of religious affiliation, the Hausa Fulani in the north, comprising almost 50% of the population, are mostly Muslim, while the Yoruba and Igbo from the southeast are

predominately Christian. Thus, approximately 40% of the population is Christian and the remaining 10% are adherents of the traditional religion[3]. These figures contrast sharply with those of the diaspora in the UK. According to the findings of research on the Nigerian Muslim community in Southwark, London, Muslims are the minority within the Nigerian-born population, representing a mere nine percent of this group (Communities and Local Government, Change Institute, 2009:6).

These broad categories of ethnicity, religion, and region have become the basis of Nigerian identities. Other sub-categories, such as age, gender and class, are obviously important, but as identities become territorialized based on ethnicity, religion and region, the emphasis is on the primordial, ascriptive and the "given," such as kinship, blood ties, ethnicity and language (Geertz, 1963). Non-territorial identity markers such as class, gender, and youth are subsumed under these major categories, all of which are grounded in the colonial experience (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005:22).

Also, the colonial experience, which lasted from 1851-1960, not only produced identities that are tied to ethnicity, religion and region, it also led to the evolution of a two-tier class structure with the dominant elite/ruling class on top and the non-dominant masses, the working class, at the bottom. Although the educated elite, such as the "privileged salariat, intelligentsia, bureaucrats, technocrats" (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005:13), have been situated within these two broad social categories, many debate whether this class is still in existence in the national context. However, over 75 percent of Nigerians, according to Lewis and Bratton (2000), subscribe to national and sub-national ethnic identities. Carling (2004) noted that ethnic group identities tend to be stronger than the Nigerian identity among the groups in diaspora as well.

While a sizeable number of its 173.6 million citizens[4] are reportedly scattered all over the world, the country is also home to a number of foreigners who were attracted by the country's oil boom in the 1970s or who were displaced by civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The country is today the ninth

[3] Encyclopedia.com http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Nigeria.aspx [Accessed 14/12/15]
[4] International Organization for Migration Nigeria, 2013; World Bank, United States Census Bureau, 2013

most populous in the world, but is expected to rank sixth in a few decades (Carling, 2004). Nigerians were the fifth largest group of asylum seekers in Europe in 2004 (Carling 2005; de Haas, 2006). Partly because of this, Nigeria as a nation is the second among ten countries experiencing a "brain drain" due to the emigration of its educated professionals, with, for example, over 21,000 of its doctors migrating to the United States while it suffers from a lack of doctors.[5] However, Carling (2005) stated that Nigerians are one of the "nine nationalities from outside the European Union" involved in organized criminal activities in Europe. Larkin(2004) observed that not only is Nigeria famous for pirating media products from Hollywood, Nigerians are also famous within and outside Africa for "migrating as workers, importers, exporters, smugglers, drug carriers and fraudsters" (p.298).

A notable increase in the number of Nigerians seeking asylum in Europe was observed between years 2000 and 2004. Whilst the earlier migrants in the 1990s tended to settle in the UK or Germany, there was an increase across Europe during these years. In the UK, males and females each account for approximately half of the migrants, but in Italy the majority of Nigerian migrants are women, which has been attributed to sex trafficking (ibid:41). In a study on a mapping exercise of Nigerians in the UK, however, the International Organization for Migration, (IOM, 2007) found that there were more males among the leaders of organizations and community groups, and all of the religious organizations leaders, both Muslim and Christian, were male. The women interviewed were leaders and heads of social and cultural groups as well as charity organizations (p.22).

Figure 2.1 below shows the progression of the total number of Nigerians that left the country from 1960 to 2010, while Figure 2.2 shows the country of settlement between 2000 and 2001 by percentage. While many believe that the UK and USA have the highest number of Nigerian immigrants, their population is in fact highest in Sudan. Since these are predominantly Hausas, this has been attributed to the social and religious affinities

[5] UNDP:1993

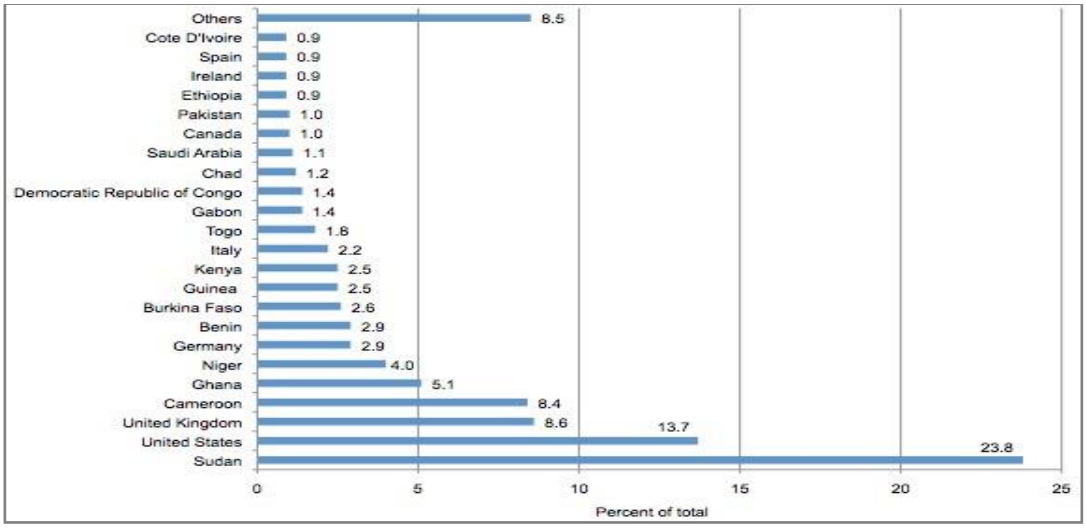
of this group of Nigerians with Sudan and the ease of passage through it to Saudi Arabia for the Islamic pilgrimage (Mberu and Pongou, 2010).

Table 2.1 The number of Nigerians that emigrated between 1960 and 2010.

Year	Number (in thousands)
1960	94.1
1990	447.4
2005	972.1
2010	1,127.70

Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2009

Figure 2.1 The concentration of Nigerian emigrants by country of residence.



Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2009

Carling (2004) estimated that there were 170,000 Nigerians in Europe in 2001, half of whom lived in the UK while the others were spread over a wide range of countries

including Ireland, Germany, Spain, and Italy. The latter is said to have the second largest number of Nigerians in Europe.

Regarding the age composition of Nigerian immigrants, the IOM found in the same study that most of them were adults between the ages of 25-44; and even among the community and religious leaders, none were older than 54. The study attributed this to the status of the migrants as economic migrants, i.e. those who failed to secure jobs to their liking in Nigeria due to the economic downturn, corruption and poverty, and emigrated to seek better opportunities in the UK. Hunt (2002) affirmed this finding in a study on how religion is aiding the construction of identity among West African immigrants to Britain. He found that the largest number of his respondents were between the ages of 21 and 40. A sizeable number within the 41 to 50 bracket followed this. Over 60 percent of his respondents were under the age of 31 (p.153).

While accurate figures on the skill levels of Nigerian migrants are difficult to obtain (Akinrinade and Ogden, 2011; Afolayan, 2009), it is estimated that approximately 10.7 percent of highly skilled trained in Nigeria in 2000 live and work in OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) countries. In the United States, IOM Report, (2009) states that " in the United States and Europe, 83 percent and 46 percent, respectively, of the Nigerian immigrant population are highly skilled" (IOM, 2009)[6]. This approximation is supported by Docquier and Marfounk (2006), who also claim that 64 percent of Nigerian immigrants have a tertiary education. There was a notable increase between 2000 and 2006 in those emigrating for educational purposes, from 10,000 to 22,000, with the majority heading to various universities in the USA (Afolayan, 2009:55-6).

The loss of skilled work force and its impact on social, economic and national development is not the only problem Nigeria, as a nation has to deal with. The country grapples with a national association with human trafficking, prostitution and criminality

[6] IOM- International Organization for Migration (2009) 'Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile 2009' Available: http://www.iomdakar.org/profiles/content/migration-profiles-nigeria (Accessed:28/03/016).

(Carling, 2004). Glickman (2006) coined the term “criminal diasporas” to refer to the phenomenon of “illegal transnational economic activities such as Nigerian advance fee (‘419’) scams” and the similar activities of drug trafficking networks that have been linked to Ghanaians and Somali gangs in London (Mercer et al., 2008:56). Thus, the image of Nigeria has increasingly become tied to asylum seeking, brain drain, human trafficking, and the violation of immigration rules through the forgery of passports and other travel documents (Carling, 2004).

Nigerians have become targets of traffickers and smugglers and general criminality linked to immigration fraud because of their inability to secure legal inroads to Europe. Consequently, Nigeria as a nation, and hardworking Nigerian immigrants who make up the majority of the Nigerian diaspora worldwide, have had to endure the negative impact of prostitution and crime as stereotypically Nigerian, especially in Europe (Obasaju, 2014; Carling, 2004). There are regular media reports of prostitution, crime, email fraud, the ‘419’ Internet scam, drug smuggling, women who have children out of wedlock being sentenced to stoning under Sharia law, and the kidnapping of young girls by the Islamic extremist group Boko Haram. In addition, Nigeria was ranked the third most corrupt country in the world, surpassed only by Haiti and Bangladesh (Obasaju, 2014; Carling, 2004; Transparency International, 2004a; Europol 2003). Then there was the brutal murder of the British soldier Lee Rigby in Woolwich on 22 May 2013. Thus, honest Nigerians in diaspora, especially the second generation, continue to suffer from this stigma of attachment to a national identity associated with crime (Obasaju: 2014). This stigma is similar to the type expressed by the subjects of Ong and Cabañes (2011) with regard to the current economic situation of the Philippines as “the sick man of Asia” (p.209) in contrast to its promising economy prior to the 1970s. A condition that had driven many of its citizens to various parts of the world as cheap labourers (Kelly, 2015). Kelly’s study describes the emotional impact of the national stigma on the self-esteem and aspirations of second-generation Filipino youths in Canada.

On the positive side however, the country is now the largest economic power in Africa, the tenth biggest producer of oil, and aspires to be one of the twenty largest economies in the world through its “Vision 2020” initiative. The expectation is that, through this

initiative, Nigeria's leadership in Africa would be established and the country could occupy a significant position in the global social, political and economic arena (Oxford Business Group, 2013; SWAC/OECD: WestAfricagateway.org, 2012; Nigerian High Commission in U.K, 2009; de Hass, 2006, Carling, 2004). As pertains to the arts, the Nigerian film industry is but one facet of a vibrant cultural scene in which Nigerian artists such as Fela, Femi and Seun Kuti, Tony Allen, Keziah Jones, and many new young talents enjoy worldwide recognition (CIA: The World Factbook, 2015).

Despite its potential, however, the country continues to suffer from its dependence on oil exports, corruption, increasing unemployment, and its inability to develop sufficient refining and production capacities to generate enough local energy to boost its economic, social, security and political endeavours. The US State Department affirmed in 2010 that, ten years after the Transparency International report cited above, Nigeria is still one of the most corrupt nations in the world. A number of its citizens are still thought to be involved in high-level crimes, including the global trade in cocaine, financial fraud, money laundering and Internet scams/frauds; and the country is still a major centre of human trafficking. These are some of the main reasons for its citizens' mass emigration, including illegal migration, forgery of documents and various clandestine means of trying to reach Europe at the peril of their life (Ikuteyijo, 2012; Adepoju and Van der Wiel, 2010; de Haas, 2006, 2006a, 2006b).

The need to unite the 250 ethnic groups speaking some 4,000 dialects into one nation remains one of the most problematic issues and one of paramount importance. This pursuit has become the bane of the most populous nation in Africa. In its fifty-five years of independence, Nigeria has witnessed six military dictatorships and four civilian governments, and each of which has had an impact on migration, as many Nigerians fled the country during the various periods of political and economic instability.

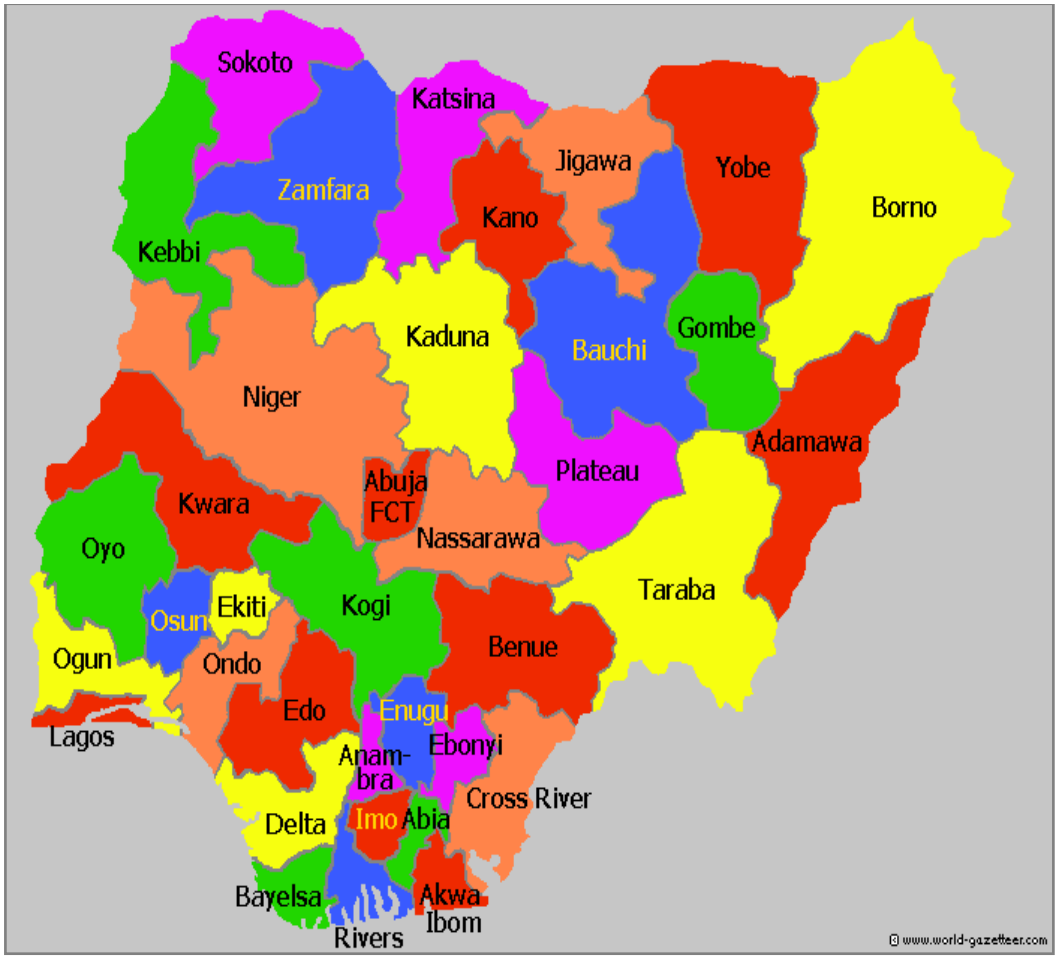
The most devastating of the obstacles to national cohesion has always been the ethnic and regional rivalries. These were reflected even in the initial organization of the media prior to the 1999 privatization law. The first television channel, established by the Premier of the Western Region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, on October 31, 1959, adopted

the slogan "*First in Africa."* In what at first amounted to no more than healthy rivalry, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe responded with the inauguration of Eastern Nigerian Television (ENTV) a year later with the slogan "*Second to None."* Other stations were founded as well, such as the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN), which established Radio Television Kaduna in March 1962 and the Federal government's Nigerian Television Service (NTS) in April of 1962. Thus, from the beginning, the media outlets catered to specific ethnic/regional groups. Most of the national leaders, including the first president Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, attended prestigious universities in either England or the USA. There they were exposed to the virtues of democracy and learnt to detest discrimination and the evils of colonialism. Unfortunately, their initial nationalistic high ideals soon got lost in their personal ambitions in regional and federal positions. Therefore, in line with Eriksen, (2010) postulation, political and cultural boundaries were set according to the ethnic interests of each leader, influenced by their various regions (Ukiwo, 2005). Consequently, in the early 1960s, the three regional governments as well as the federal government all had their own TV and radio stations propagating the partisan aspirations of the various leaders (Ikime, 1979; Egbon, 1982; Adegbokun, 1983; Oduko, 1987; Umeh, 1989). This rivalry later culminated in the devastating War of Biafra, which led to massive emigration.

Things have improved somewhat since those days. The modern Nigerian state has been cited as an example of a country with multiculturalism that works; one with a "multiple identity" whereby individuals are comfortable in their different affiliations with categories such as gender, region, class and religion. Thus, in addition to identifying with a social class, a Nigerian would also have an affiliation with an ethnic category, whether Igbo, Yoruba, Tiv, Hausa or any of the other 250 groups within the country. These different ethnic configurations reflect the "cut and mix" from various "ethnic heritages and cultures" (Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1993; Cohen, 1994, cited in Hutchinson and Smith, 1994: 9) which intermingle to form a sense of individual as well as group identities. Aside from these, there are strong religious affiliations with Christianity, Islam or traditional faiths.

The country today consists of 36 federal states and 774 local governments. Below is a map of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 Map of Nigeria showing the 36 states



Source:http://www.nigeriahc.org.uk/images/nigeria_map_m.gif [Retrieved:15/01/2015].

Nworah (2005) observes that Nigerians have become a part of the transnational communities that are a feature of globalisation. Nigerian diasporic associations and organizations are visible in many parts of the world where Nigerians reside (Lampert, 2009). Nworah explains that Nigerian professionals, in common with other expatriates from various countries, will continue to avail themselves of better opportunities that may exist in other countries, a process which globalisation and transnational mobility have encouraged through "the outflow of human capital and advancement in communication and access to travel" (2005:12). While Nworah's study identified a substantial percentage of Nigerian immigrants as highly skilled professionals, other

studies take note of both highly skilled and unskilled immigrants among the Nigerian diaspora (Hermione, 2006; Lampert, 2009).

Nigeria's Colonial History and the Early Stages of Migration

Elmsley (2003), writing about European identities, argued that "Europe was an invention of the Europeans to set themselves apart from others, and Africans and Asians did not know their identities as 'Africans' and 'Asians' until Europeans created the terms, identified the continents and informed their peoples" (2003: 146). Nigeria, as it is known today, has been popularly referred to as a colonial creation, and is linked to colonial administration that has made Britain one of the major destinations for Nigerian emigrants, next to the United States of America. The notion of a constructed Nigeria, an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) consisting of various "nations" within one territorial space, was propounded by Nigeria's first Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who stated that "God did not create Nigeria, the British did," (quoted in Onwubiko, 1973: 256). This observation is supported by Crowder, (1973) who claimed that "Nigeria is a creation of European ambition and rivalries in West Africa" (p. 21).

The description of the nation as "imagined" seems to be a truism, as the possession of citizenship in Nigeria "allows and prompts the individual to imagine the boundaries of a nation, even though such boundaries may not physically exist" (Anderson, 1991: 224). However, there is still a general political dispute over whether the entity "Nigeria" actually exists and whether the conglomerate of ethnic groups and languages joined by British initiative can survive. The story of Nigeria as an "imagined community"(Anderson, 1991, 1983) is founded on the suggestion of Flora Shaw, a British reporter (who later married Sir Frederick Luggard, the British Governor General of Nigeria), that the collective regions which were known as British protectorates around the river Niger should be named "Nigeria"[7] to reflect this new identity. "Nigeria," therefore, in its current form is the result of this amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 overseen by Sir Fredrick Luggard. For the British

[7] The Times of London on 8 January 1897. Cited in http://www.snsbi.org.uk/pdf/SNSBI_2015_Norwich_Sat_1200_Odebode.pdf [Accessed 26/01/2016]

government, the motivation was to pool resources so that the "the rich territories of the southern protectorate could assist their poorer neighbours in the north under the overall control of the British" (Aina, 2007: 27; political bureau report). Thus, the culturally, linguistically, and religiously diverse ethnic groups which make up the nation are the design of British incursion and colonial ambition: "[Nigeria] is a colonial creation…as successive British Consuls at Lagos sought to advance British interests…" (Rubin, Neville, ed, undated)[8]

The "rich territories of the southern protectorate" were mainly inhabited by the Yoruba tribe, whose language is the most common Nigerian language heard abroad. It is for this reason that Ogundamisi (2009) referred to Peckham as the "Yoruba heartland". The reason for their prevalence abroad is perhaps because the Yoruba tribe was the first to be exposed to the Western lifestyle through education and religion. The people of Abeokuta, collectively known as the "Egbas" thereby became the first generation of Yoruba literates (Aina, 2007:29) and the first to seek education in the UK (Harris, 2006). The first newspaper in Nigeria, *Iwe Irohin,* was established in Abeokuta, the first Yoruba town to welcome European missionaries in the 1840s.

Three phases of migration emerged from this period onward. The first was the period between the 1950s and the 1970s, during which Nigerian elites and skilled Nigerians from various sectors in the country were encouraged to travel to England for short educational stays. Thereafter, they returned to fill positions that were left open by the British departure. This first group of short-term migrants would include the Yoruba students recorded in Harris' (2006) extensive ethnography in London; she claimed that there was an increase from one migrant in the 1940s to sixteen in 1964. The mid 1960s witnessed the second wave of this first phase, which comprised worker students who lacked the resources available to the earlier group of elite students. However, they shared similar aspirations for being equipped to play a role in developing their newly independent country, to which they invariably returned after their training.

[8] Government Publications Relating to Nigeria, 1862-1960
http://www.microform.co.uk/guides/R96937.pdf (Accessed 24/04/2015).

The second phase of Nigerian migrants to the UK occurred during the 1980s and was the result of economic downturn, which was popularly referred to as "oil doom" in contrast to the earlier "oil boom" in the 1970s following Nigerian's independence from the British administration. During this period, a massive movement of Nigerians as economic migrants commenced. In addition, the political tension caused by military dictatorship sent Nigerians to various parts of the world in droves as asylum seekers during this phase.

The third phase began in the 1990s and continues to date. It comprises the period of the largest migration of Nigerians across the globe, principally to Europe, the United States of America and to other parts of Africa (Nwajiuba, 2005). Arguably, migration during this period is a combination of the first two phases, with many of the earlier students returning with their children to settle in the UK. Corruption, poverty, military dictatorship and a general loss of faith with regard to social, economic and political situations in the country have led many to seek greener pastures abroad. Thus, Hernández-Coss and Bunn (2006), citing Gillian (2000), stated that the recent trend among Nigerian immigrants is "to remain in the UK and become professionals. After a period of stay, some Nigerians become eligible for British citizenship, and often their offspring are British citizens by birth" (p.3). Thus, the contemporary composition of the Nigerian diaspora includes the second and third generation offspring of all of the migrants from the three waves.

Nigeria lacked concise policies on migration until pressured to formulate them by European countries in their efforts to curtail human trafficking and undocumented migration. This is in contrast to the active state involvement in migration by such labour-exporting nations as the Philippines (Madianou and Miller, 2012) and India. In the early 1980s, the Nigerian government attempted to curtail the general perception of emigration as the road to status and success and to deal with the issue of "brain drain" by broadcasting a propaganda message entitled "Andrew" on national television to dissuade Nigerian youths from travelling abroad. However, these efforts only served to increase emigration.

From the early elite students to the colonial students in the 60s (Harris, 2006) and the contemporary economic migrants, migration to the UK and other parts of the world gradually became a mark of success and status. Some migrants return with lots of money to build houses for their extended family and flaunt their wealth in society, becoming local "heroes" and celebrities. Riccio observed (Riccio, 2001: 588) that many famous musicians see them as symbols of success and compose music in their honour. Thus, aspiration for such "exalted positions" (Ekekwe, 1986) is no doubt a reason for lingering attachment to what has been left behind. As Ayankojo observed, travelling out of the country is equated with social recognition and life accomplishment. Kahl (1957) held that this is the consequence of initial contact with the Western style of living, as a result of which the "Western symbol of material wealth" has become the measure of social class. This trend appears similar to what obtained among Filipino migrants in Hong Kong. McKay (2008) observed that photographs of these migrants sent to Hali-ap portrayed them as "bigger", "successful", and served as a way of managing the expectations of others (p.391). Adeyanju and Oriola (2012) discovered a perception that dwelling in the West was the "best that could happen to an African" (ibid: 953). Some of the emigrants of their study were motivated by economic necessity, but some had been lured by the attractions of the West as displayed through the media and by the opulent lifestyles of some who had gone and returned.

In recent times however, advocacy surrounding human trafficking and prostitution in Italy has led Nigerians to reconsider their esteem of migrants as local heroes and heroines. Where government propaganda of the 1980s failed to expose Nigerians to the negative side of migration, the production of a Nigerian film titled *Glamour Girls I & II: The Italian Connection* succeeded. This 1990s film was about a young woman who worked as a prostitute in Italy and sent money to her fiancé, who betrayed her by spending the money on marrying one of her friends (Nnebue, 1994 cited in Carling, 2004). Similarly, one of Nigeria's new generation *afrobeat* artists, Olu Maintain, has also sang about the Internet scam which Nigerians are notorious for in the song *Yahooze* (Adegoke, 2015). Thus, the initial pride associated with emigration from Nigeria, according to Carling, has "gradually been replaced by shame" (Carling, 2004:31).

Nevertheless, many youths in Nigeria still desire to emigrate either for educational or economic reasons (Adeyanju and Oriola, 2011), and the money they send home is an important source of income for many families. Nigeria received US$2.26 billion in remittances in 2004, 65% of the total of US$4.46 billion that went to developing countries in that year (Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006). According to Castles and Miller, some migrants cite political influence, trade, investment, or cultural ties from the colonial past as reasons for emigration (2009: 27), while others give economic push and pull reasons. Still others migrated due to personal relationships, family, household patterns, friendship, community ties and other informal networks between "migrants and non- migrants" (Boyd, 1989).

2.2. Peckham and the Nigerian Diasporic Population in the U.K.

Current estimates of the number of Nigerians residing in Britain vary widely. In terms of the total population, *BBC Born Abroad* counts 88,105 Nigerians in the United Kingdom. They are mostly to found in the capital, from Elephant and Castle, to Camberwell, Peckham, Deptford, Woolwich and all other parts of South East London. As the tables below indicate, Peckham, the focus of this study, harbours one of the largest concentrations.

Table 2.2 Born Abroad Migration Numbers

Most popular areas		TOTAL NUMBERS			% OF ALL PEOPLE		
Area	Regions	1991	2001	+/- %	1991	2001	+/- %
Peckham	London	2,041	3,189	56.25	5.21	6.98	1.77
Southwark N	London	958	2,343	144.57	2.32	4.59	2.27
Hackney S	London	1,344	2,323	72.84	2.54	3.55	1.01
Camberwell Green	London	1,085	2,294	111.43	2.71	6.26	3.55
Deptford N	London	1,324	2,128	60.73	3.29	4.83	1.54
Vauxhall N	London	1,242	2,053	65.30	2.30	3.46	1.16
Shoreditch	London	986	1,885	91.18	2.67	4.58	1.91
Vauxhall S	London	1,310	1,799	37.33	2.71	3.30	0.59
Bermondsey	London	737	1,784	142.06	1.65	3.11	1.46
Canning Town	London	529	1,656	213.04	1.73	4.00	2.27

Source:http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/countries/html/nigeria.stm (Accessed 24/04/2015).

Outside London, there are concentrations of Nigerians in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool and Leeds. However, 70% are said to live in London (International Migration for Research in London, 2007).[9] Migration to the UK continues unabated, and the UK Census 2001 noted that one out of every ten African migrants to the UK is a Nigerian, and that an increase in Africans in the UK reflects an increase in the population of Nigerians (Cited in IOM, 2007:5). Despite the concerted efforts of the Nigerian government to engage with Nigerians in diaspora since 1999, and to ascertain the exact

[9] International Organisation for Migration, IOM, 2007

population of Nigerians residing outside the country, the figures obtained are still unreliable (CIAWorld Factbook, 2015; Akinrinmade and Ogen, 2011; Mberu and Pongou, 2010; de Haas, 2006; Hernandez-Cross et al, 2006 ; Carling,2004). The challenge of ascertaining accurate numbers, largely because of undocumented migration, has prompted the efforts of the Nigerian Government to create an accurate database of Nigerians in diaspora (see appendix 3).

In contrast to the census numbers given above, the Central Association for Nigerians in the United Kingdom has estimated that 1.5 million Nigerians reside in the UK, further cautioning that a realistic estimate is about 2 million. What is beyond doubt is the fact that the United Kingdom harbours one of the largest diasporic populations of Nigerians (Riley, 2010; Change Institute, 2009; BBC Born Abroad 2005; White, 2005). The members of this population fall into several categories: settled residents with rights of abode, Nigerians with British or other European Union nationalities, those with temporary status, such as students and visitors, irregular migrants, those who have overstayed their visas, (thereby becoming, undocumented migrants), and asylum seekers

Yoruba and Igbo constitute the dominant ethnic groups amongst Nigerian migrants in Britain, with a particularly notable Yoruba community, whose presence is reflected in the description of Peckham as “a Yoruba heartland” and “Little Lagos” (White, 2005). This refers to the southwestern city of Lagos, which was formerly the capital of Nigeria.

The former designation reflects the fact that the Yoruba language is the language of Lagos. This is a view supported by Ogundamisi (2009), a British Nigerian convener of the “Nigerian Liberty Forum,” a diasporic organisation based in London. According to him, in Peckham, “many of the shops are Yoruba owned; you can buy any Nigerian food you want, and it's fresh from a farm near Lagos. Nigerian churches and mosques flourish and compete for worshippers” (Ogundamisi, 2009 Blog Post). Further, this is substantiated by banners such *“Mo feran Peckham”* (I love Peckham in Yoruba, see figure 2.4) in front of Aylesham Centre on Rye Lane. However, other Nigerian ethnic groups are also present in Peckham in significant numbers and elsewhere in the UK.

The current composition of Nigerian immigrants includes various categories of professionals, doctors, lawyers, accountants, nurses, and those in menial jobs (Lampert, 2009; Nworah, 2005). Hernandez, Coss, et al. (2006), however, claim that there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that recent Nigerian migrants to continental Europe are less skilled than earlier ones. This is discernible when one considers how many Nigerians are trafficked as prostitutes to Europe and those who travel through North Africa only because they want to get to Europe in hope of a better life. Skilled migrants would arguably not take such a route. Regardless, the composition of immigrants from Nigeria is diverse and the highly skilled tend to be attracted to the USA and UK, to which the provision of the highly skilled entry visa has encouraged migration in the thousands.

In the UK, many work for the NHS. Nigerian nurses are the fifth in the categories of countries that have been issued permits to work in the UK, and the number increased progressively from 1998 to 2002. In general, Nigerians ranked fifth in the top ten of nationalities applying for new work permits in 2002. Similarly, in numbers of registered doctors, Nigerians are one of the largest groups from Africa (Dovlo, 2003:3). Sako (2002:26), citing United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP, 1993), reported that over 21,000 Nigerian doctors are practicing in the USA.

Figure 2.3 Photograph of a banner in Peckham written in Yoruba

Hall (2013), in her ethnographic study of a "Super-diverse Street," affirmed the presence of Nigerians amongst the economic and cultural diversity and hybridity of Rye Lane, Peckham, which differentiates this street from all others. These enterprises include assorted Nigerian restaurants, clubs, and Internet cafes, and grocery stores, as well as grassroots community organisations and associations, some of which are social while others are religious, political, cultural, professional or economic in nature.

According to the Communities and Local Government's London Change Institute, (2009:47), the Central Association of Nigerians in the United Kingdom (CANUK) represents the interests of forty-five different associations of the Nigerian diaspora, and it has eighteen affiliations with 28,000 associated members. The National Association of Nigerian Communities (NANC) also offers a support network to Nigerian community groups across the United Kingdom. Other diasporic associations of various ethnic groups in Nigeria recorded by Ben Lampert (2009) include Ayege National Progress Union, United Kingdom and Ireland (ANPU), Calabar Union, Ozubulu Women's Association

(OWA), Itsekiri Women's association (IWA), Urhobo community, and *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* amongst others.

Figure 2.4 Typical Street Scene in "Little Lagos"

'Super-diverse Street: Isecities: Afro –Supermarket _Peckham –Rye- Lane http://lsecities.net/objects/research-projects/ordinary-streets (Accessed 9/10/015)

There are also several Nigerian religious organizations. The International Organisation for Migration (2007) reports that religious activities in London replicate popular practices in Nigeria, where Muslims attend Jumaat (prayer) on Friday and Christians attend churches on Sunday. The Christian denominations present include Pentecostals, Cherubim and Seraphim, Celestial, Apostolic, Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Baptist. The exact ratio of Muslims to Christians is unknown. (See appendix for more examples of the Nigerian foods, material and cultural artefacts in circulation in "Little Lagos," Peckham.)

Whilst the emphasis in this chapter is on the voluntary emigration of Nigerians, it is acknowledged that, through the transatlantic slave trade over a period of five hundred years, Nigerians were among the millions of Africans that were forcibly transported to the Americas (Tölölyan 2012; Akinrinmade and Ogen, 2011; Dunn, 2008; Ter Haar,

2004). In recent times, many of their descendants have migrated to the UK, where they are usually conflated with those who have emigrated directly from Africa under the umbrella term "Blacks" or "Black African." However, it is argued that the Nigerian migratory experience is different from that of Afro Caribbeans (Ter Haar, 2004; Mercer et al., 2008). The descendants of slaves brought from Africa to the Caribbean and elsewhere in the Americas tend to be situated within the historical victim diaspora (Cohen, 1997), which distinguishes them from those who left their countries of origin voluntarily.

Whilst there is a difference between Nigerian diaspora and its connection to the African diaspora, it is important to note the experience of the 1960s colonial students, who were socially ascribed to the "Black" race, as reported by Harris (2006), which led to tension between the Afro Caribbean community and the elite Nigerian students. There is a similarity in terms of social categorization, which Harris (2006) refers to as an "ascribed identity," because of their colour. While, at some stage, the Nigerians tried to distance themselves from being lumped together with the "West Indians," the existence of the black/African diaspora has arguably formed the umbrella within which the categorization of immigrants with similar biological traits has been founded. Thus, as Ogunyemi explains, "both sets of diaspora share similar emotional expression of migration because both groups have experienced a similar sense of marginalization, alienation and racism in the mainstream media and society at large" (Ogunyemi, 2012:211-212). In contrast to the distancing of the older generation, the younger generation embraced and performed their earlier diasporic identities under the umbrella of 'Afro-Caribbenas' as Jamaicans, prior to the popularity of afrobeat, Nollywood and ankara textiles, discussed in chapter seven.

The Nigerian diaspora has attracted several studies, such as the one carried out by Botticello (2009) on the notion of material wellbeing among the Yoruba people in London and their definition of the good life in terms of *alaafia* (health), *owo* (wealth/money), and *omo* (children). The relationships among these three elements could be linked to the view, discussed above, of migrants as heroes, the association of success with migration and the large amount of money that is transferred from the

diaspora. Culturally, parents invest in children in order to take care of them in old age, particularly given the lack of a formal welfare plan (Hernández-Coss and Bunn, 2006), which is a reason for the value placed on having children.

Harris (2006) carried out ethnography of a Nigerian *Aladura* church over a period of thirty years (Botticello, 2009:30). In addition to the various studies on brain drain, discussed in 2.1, and its negative impact on national development, Nworah (2005), on a more positive note, looked at the contributions of Nigerian professionals in the diaspora to nation building through what she described as long distance nationalism (Anderson, 2001). Similarly, Lampert (2009), in a study of geographically focused ethnic associations among the Nigerians from the mid-western part of Nigeria (which appears to be a major source of members of the Nigerian diaspora in London), found that the associations are actively involved in long distance nationalism through various contributions to social, cultural development and participation in different projects in Nigeria. Thus, his employment of a popular adage in Nigeria, "a river never runs so far as to forget its source" (ibid: 162), indicates what he perceives as the attitude of Nigerians to the subject of 'home.'

Through the increasing use of the Internet, Nigerians in different locations in diaspora gather on various websites to discuss issues of culture, politics and community (Carling, 2004). This is affirmed in the finding of Adeniyi's (2008) study of the various online channels through which Nigerians in diaspora engage in long distance nationalism and transnationalism with the homeland. Through various websites such as those of the Association of Nigerians Abroad (ANA), the a defunct *Radio Kudirat* and many others, Nigerians in diaspora were active in campaigning against military dictatorship and the annulment of the presidential election in the 1990s and violations of human rights in Nigeria whilst agitating for the continuation of democracy (Carling, 2004).

However, whilst the collective consciousness that characterises diaspora (Safran, 1991) may tend towards the nation state, the majority of members of the Nigerian diaspora still maintain boundaries carried over from the homeland, such as ethnic ones between Igbo and Yoruba. Even among the Igbo, there still exist the boundaries of Anambra and

Imo as different regional zones within the one ethnic group. Although the Yoruba language seems to unify the Yoruba, there are still tribal differences between the "Ijebus," "Yewa" and "Egbas," who all occupy the same geopolitical state, Ogun, in the mid-western region of the federation. Adeniyi (2008) found a number of websites through which specific ethnic groups - Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, as well as their internal subdivisions - express commitment to their culture, traditions and Nigeria. This, he explains, is an "element of nationalism that aligns with desire for progress of the nation" or simply serves to minimize longing through virtual interaction with others from similar origins (p.170-171).

Ethnic and religious boundaries are part of the cultural baggage that has been carried to the new location. Hall (1996) described this as a collective of a true self-hiding inside many others that are "more superficially or artificially imposed 'selves'" reflecting common historical experiences (p.69). However, he cautioned that there are differences within this shared experience, which indicates the processual nature of identity as always in the present, a "becoming" rather than a taken for granted "being." Nigerians in diaspora forge the same 'home' that they left through social and symbolic practices that they continue, such as parties, *aso ebi* clothing (Boticello, 2009:143), food, music, media, religious practices, and various other activities that are linked to their essential identity.

Peckham is central in its position as a diasporic space for enacting diasporic experiences, such as religious, commercial, cultural, social and economic activities, between the first and second generations. It is these that make this location a "significant third space of globalised diasporic connections" (Sreberny, 2000:180) which has indeed become a Nigerian tourist attraction where "the living meet the dead" (Ogunjemlusi, 2012; White, 2005). That is to say, that friends and family members who have lost contact for years are likely to bump into each other on the street in Peckham.

2.3. The Nigerian Diaspora's Mediascapes

Central to the focus of this study is the idea that mass media not only permeate everyday lives but that media and communication technologies have become the staple which

nourishes the identity of migrants in this era of globalization. According to Tsagarousianou (2004), they are crucial to the reproduction and transformation of diasporic identities and to diaspora in general. Communication media and new technologies now go beyond the normative role of linking the centre to the periphery to the extent that the periphery has now been brought to the centre, as attested to by Sinclair and Cunningham (2000). The implication for the Nigerian diaspora is that they can remain connected to the global diaspora, unlike the unequal access experienced in the 'homeland.' Moreover, for those left at 'home', it is a welcome development compared to what was available in the past.

Through the presence of social media and country-specific, media from the 'homeland' made possible by new communication technologies, the opportunity to be a part of a global media landscape has been thrown open even if it is somewhat "disjunctive," as Appadurai (1996) posited. The ruptured link hitherto associated with migration has been bridged; Nigeria is gradually finding its place in the global media landscape, albeit at a slower pace as it is a developing nation. However, as the CIA World Factbook (2015) reports, Nigeria has 70 federal government-controlled national and regional television stations, several private TV stations, cable and satellite TV subscription services, a network of national, regional and state radio stations, about 40 state government owned radio stations, and the availability of a range of transmissions of international broadcasters. Consequently, the road ahead is promising not only for the diaspora but also for those at 'home.'

For the former, an avenue is available to connect with the Nigerians at 'home' and also the far-flung Nigerian diaspora through a world system in which time and space have been "disembedded" (Giddens, 1990). The geographical distance that requires six hours of air travel has become insignificant as intimate relationships and new forms of identity are sustained in virtual space through the Internet in a way that was impossible in the past. All of these stations mentioned above broadcast in English, which is the official language of Nigeria, although they also have a few programmes in local languages, and they have online streams. These channels also target the diaspora by offering them online access to various forms and genres of programmes that meet their need for

information and entertainment. Online versions of both newspapers and magazines from the 'homeland' are now available for the various configurations of Nigerian diaspora all over the world. There are also various diasporic websites and other facilities available on the Internet, and on satellite TV to complement the telephones and videos and all other traditional radio and television channels (Karim, 2003).

Corresponding to the availability of these various media platforms is the increasing transformation of Nigerians' media and communication habits (Okafor & Malizu, 2014) in this respect. Scholarly reports and Gallup Studies on contemporary media use in Nigeria (Udoka, 2015; Broadcasting Board of Governors 2014; OAfrica (2014); Okafor & Malizu, 2014) have shown that although radio and television are still popular means of accessing news, the use of digital media is also growing and increasingly news is accessed through mobile platforms. Statics have shown that there is a spread across all forms of media with mobile phone ownership (87.0%) now surpassing ownership rates for both radios (83.4%) and television (74.6%) at household levels respectively. Furthermore, it is believed that "more than half of Nigerians aged 34 or younger receive news via SMS. Nigerians are also the group that most likely to get news through the Internet, social networking websites, and mobile apps, but these sources are less commonly used for news overall" (BBG- Broadcasting Board of Governors 2014:1-2).

The various lifestyle magazines that have been short-lived on newsstands in diaspora (Adeniyi, 2008) now have a compelling presence online. *Genevieve* is Nigeria's leading lifestyle magazine, and *WOW* is a magazine focused on celebrity lifestyles and entertainment. *Nigerians Abroad* is a current affairs magazine about Nigeria and Nigerians based in Toronto, Canada. Others include *Tell,* independent news weekly published by TELL Communications Limited, *TW,* a glamorous lifestyle magazine*, Ovation*. Together, they cover fashion, style, beauty, showbiz news, entertainment, sports, health, property, transport, interviews, education, travel, and more. There are also personal websites and blogs by individuals as well as forums such as *Nairaland* and *Bellanaija*. YouTube also serves as a means of reaching Nigerians both at 'home' and in diaspora. There are no newspapers in any indigenous Nigerian language in the UK, however, although many read local Nigerian newspapers online. *Nigerian Watch*, a free

monthly magazine, was launched on 19 March 2012. There are various Nigerian-related websites and blogs on the Internet, offering access to Nollywood, Nigerian music, food, clothing and to various social, cultural, government and non-governmental associations and economic-oriented topics. Despite the existence of such arrays of media, there are neither extant readership figures nor empirical validation of how many Nigerian immigrants use these media. Gaps exist in studying the readership and circulations figures of these mediascapes for empirical validation. *Ovation* has a programme every Sunday evening on *BEN TV.* Even then, a gap exists to study BEN *TV* itself.

Ayankojo (2010), in his study about the Nigerian diaspora in Toronto found that his subjects, aside from using the Internet to keep the longing for the 'homeland' alive and for expressing their cultural identity in their present country of settlement, also relied on it "for transnational business ventures purposes." This too is an important part of how "Nigerianness" is expressed among Nigerians in Toronto.

According to a BRIU (Business Day Research and Intelligence Unit) report, written in partnership with Terragon Insights, on the state of digital media in Nigeria, Internet penetration stands at 30%, with over 50 million Internet users (cited in AfricaPractice.com, 2014). An analysis in 2011 of the economic impact of wireless broadband in Nigeria found that 70% of users in 2009 visited social networking sites, 65% used emails, and 54% used the Internet for entertainment. These are discussed further in Chapter Six. In addition to all these avenues, African academics also find a medium for disseminating information about their research on migration in *Ìrìnkèrindò.*[10] A dedicated online journal for academic publication, *Ìrìnkèrindò* claims in its profile to be a peer-reviewed journal devoted to the study of African migration and immigration to other parts of the world.

Film entertainment is provided through channels on Sky dedicated to Nollywood[11] films from Nigeria, and more recently through Virgin media, *Plus TV*, and more than ten

[10] Ìrìnkèrindò is Yorùbá for 'incessant wanderings or travels.' The word Ìrìnkèrind captures the essence of past, contemporary, and future migrations and immigration of Africans around the continent, and from the continent to other lands. (http://www.africamigration.com/- accessed 30/4/2015).

[11] Nollywood is the name of the Nigerian film industry.

streams on YouTube. In addition, many Nollywood films can be purchased at various shops in parts of London where significant numbers of Nigerians reside. Mediated communication continues to play a significant role in the social, political and cultural everyday life of Nigerians in diaspora, and of those in the 'homeland.' The physical distance between the two groups has become insignificant and new forms of identity are sustained in virtual space.

Apart from the country-specific media, including the films and Nigerian online newspapers and websites, members of the Nigerian diaspora are exposed to the whole variety of British newspapers, both tabloid and broadsheets as well as British television stations and satellite channels, all of which complement their media repertoires.

In all of these ways, the diaspora is able to keep in step with 'home' events. A wide variety of questions arises as a result. Revisiting the quote by the British Broadcaster, White, cited at the beginning of the chapter, the Nigerian diaspora would seem to be in "limbo" (Sreberny, 2000). They have a diasporic consciousness that is similar to Sreberny's exilic Iranian subjects in London, as they live their lives between London, in this specific instance, Peckham, and their homeland. The question is, are they likely to challenge the theoretical assertion that the desire for the 'homeland' is not truly a desire for a return one day, but rather is a myth and an imagination that is ingrained in the diasporic consciousness (Brah, 1996)? To what extent does the range of the various media available to the diaspora permit a "gazing back toward the old home, in toward the new home, and around about the world of new diasporas" (Sreberny, 2006:445)? How are their media and media-related practices affected by their conflicting and negotiable imagined attachments (Tölölyan, 2012)? All of these questions are examined in the chapters that follow.

Conclusion

This study looks closely at the interconnectedness of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham, which has been facilitated by communication and advanced media technologies whereby anyone, anywhere in the world is reachable, in the context of articulating identity and mediating 'home.' Through Internet and satellite television, social relations

have been “lifted out” of their local context of interaction and have been restructured across space and time, which are indefinite (Giddens, 1990:21).

This chapter has provided a brief background to the formation of the Nigerian nation state and outlined the cultural legacy of colonialism as the initial cause of migration. It has shown how scholars have traced the motivation for the mass emigration of Nigerians to colonial discourses, inequality, economic imbalances between the West and Africa, and the political and economic problems that arose after independence. Apart from the colonial relationship that once bound Nigeria and the United Kingdom together, one other area of strong affinity has been the pattern of the migratory flow between the Africa’s most populous country and the leading recipient nation of Nigerians in Europe. The chapter argues that notwithstanding the lack of a precise figure, what is indisputable is the fact that the United Kingdom harbours one of the largest Nigerian diasporic populations (Riley, 2010; Change Institute, 2009; BBC Born Abroad 2005; White, 2005).

The chapter has also highlighted that the relationship between Nigeria, Africa’s most populous country, and the United Kingdom, a former colonial administrator, is beyond the political realm. The identification of three distinct periods for the migratory flows of Nigerians to Britain has shown that Britain served as, and continues to account for, being a major recipient country of Nigerian immigrants. The first migratory period was the 1950s; the second began shortly after Nigeria‘s post-independence, and the third is contemporary, whereby many of the previous home-returnees, (i.e. Nigerian parents and their children born in Britain) began a new wave of reversed migration driven, essentially, by political, economic and social conditions back home in Nigeria. Although the exact census of Nigerian immigrants in Britain was difficult to ascertain, the Nigerian diaspora was said to constitute a major group in the country. One of their convergence points was Peckham. They were a substantial community in this part of the London Borough.

The discussion of contemporary Nigeria’s media environment makes it possible for Nigerians in diaspora and those at home to interact with a contemporary Nigeria that is

part of a global culture in which media, information and communication technologies aid "novel modes of societal organization, unique forms of cultures and everyday life, and innovative types of contestation" (Best & Kellner, 2001:213).

The chapter has thus set the premise for exploring how first and second generation Nigerians mediate 'home' and laid out a proposition for the conceptual framework, which is explored further in the next chapter, the literature review.

Chapter 3 Theorizing Diasporic Media

"So long as the question 'where you're from' prevails over 'where you're at' in dominant culture, the compulsion to explain, the inevitable positioning of yourself as deviant vis a vis the normal, remains… the relation between 'where you're from' and 'where you're at' is a problematic one… it is this very problem which is constitutive to the idea of diaspora, and for which the idea of diaspora attempts to be a solution." (Ien Ang, 2005:30).

Introduction

The aim of the research is to understand how first and second generation Nigerian immigrants mediate 'home,' and in the process, negotiate "identity" through their media and media related practices within the context of their everyday practices and lives in Peckham. It argues that the constant need to connect the present with the past even as they settle in their new location keeps the dialogue of binaries ongoing.

In order to facilitate the research process, a theoretical framework was adopted which draws primarily on diaspora, its relationship with 'home' and identity, and the role of diasporic media in sustaining these relationships. This chapter deals with the key concepts and debates that are relevant to the study by providing the necessary theoretical framework. This framework then informed the methodological approach, which is outlined in Chapter 4. The theoretical framework was constructed through explicating the roles of diasporic media compared to mainstream media, and their alternative and particularistic roles in shaping identity (Karim, 1998; Dayan, 1999; Georgiou, 2006). It is argued that their particularity in focus and content propels them towards banal nationalism (Billig, 1996) despite the challenge that diaspora as a concept poses to the nation-state (Karim, 2003:7; Kalra et al., 2005).

This chapter further contends that the continuous invocation of nostalgic memories (Karim, 2003:3) for the 'homeland' by members of diaspora necessitates a negotiation of identities and belonging in their current location of settlement. It is this memory of a faraway 'homeland' that has created the demand for cultural products, including media organizations themselves.

The chapter provides an overview of the literature on the complexities associated with the opportunities these media offer in enabling the maintenance of cultural and ethnic identities and cohesion. It also reviews relevant studies on the integration of migrants into the larger society of their country of settlement and in maintaining continuous links with the home country. The three sections address three major areas relevant to this study: diaspora, diasporic media, and identity.

3.1. The Shifting Boundaries of Diaspora

Etymologically, *diaspora*, from its Greek origin *diaspeirein*, describes a process of scattering that is associated with the sowing of seeds (Braziel and Mannur, 2003; Vertovec, 2000). Thus the term refers to the dispersion of people who are ethnically related by virtue of having a common origin, but who have been forced out of their 'homeland' or have voluntarily migrated to another land, yet still have multiple attachments to that real or imagined 'homeland.' At the same time, they are attempting to integrate into another society in which they constitute a minority. This meaning is derived from the term's classical origins in the early Jewish dispersals (Cohen, 1997, 2008; Safran, 1991), though it has since been used to describe many postcolonial groups of migrants. The earlier categorization of diaspora connoted a historic specificity as victims with regard to Africans and Armenians, labour for the Indian diaspora, trade for Chinese and Lebanese, imperial for British, and cultural for the Afro Caribbean (Cohen, 1997). These characterisations have led to a series of criticisms basically revolving around the impact of shaping a sense of diasporic identity of such groups around a fixed and essentialised past, while disregarding internal differences within the group. Such criticism has tended to focus on the "politics of national, postcolonial and/or minority identities leading to fresh sets of specificity and rigidity in thinking about diaspora" (Ramnarine, 2007:2).

There is a tendency to lump together all forms and types of migrants, immigrants, expatriates, refugees, ethnic or racial minorities, guest workers, travellers, exiles and international students in this age of globalisation. Safran (1991) identified a number of features that distinguish diasporas. They have dispersed from an original 'homeland,' share a collective memory and myth of that 'homeland' and the process of dispersal;

they idealize the "imagined" ancestral 'home,' and have a collective commitment to its maintenance. Also, there is normally a return movement, a strong ethnic group consciousness, a troubled relationship with host societies suggesting a lack of acceptance, a sense of empathy with other members of the ethnic group, and the possibility of a distinctive yet creative and enriching life in the host countries (1991:83-84).

This characterisation of diaspora as a group has been criticized for the tendency to essentialise identity. This is because of the failure to appreciate the internal divisions of class, gender, sexual orientation, age, migratory trajectories, generation, religion, language and other factors that point to the heterogeneity of groups. These sociological categories have been subsumed under the collective descriptions of African, Caribbean, Indian, Greek, Turkish and many other such diasporic groupings (Kalra et al., 2005; Ang, 2003; Hall, 1996; Gillespie, 1995). Moreover, in the above description of diaspora, the nation is taken for granted even when diaspora as a term conveys the multiplicity of hybrid identifications, in contrast to the static and fixed notion of immigrant (Kalra et al., 2005).

What is of interest to this study is the degree of diaspora's emphasis on individual and collective identity, as well as the re-creation or replication of identity through the maintenance of ties with the country of origin, as the group negotiates new meanings in the country of settlement. This emphasis provides the study with the analytical tool that enables identity to be studied despite dispersal. This emphasis brings in the dimension of hybridity, which can be studied in the context of everyday diasporic negotiation between the country of origin and that of settlement. Of further significance is the notion of time and *longue duree* (Faist, 2010) crucial to diasporic social formation. This means that for a group to qualify as a diaspora, social formation must have transformed across generational divides. This time dimension is of special interest to this study because it includes two generations from the same group for analysis.

That the diasporic site is both one of struggle and creativity is important to this study, especially given its focus on the second generation in terms of recognizing the tension

that may be associated with negotiating the boundaries between cultures and spaces of the 'homeland,' the host land, and the transnational. The second generation is fraught with the tension of belonging and negotiating a 'home' with "contested cultural and political terrains where individual and collective memories collide, reassemble and reconfigure" (Brah, 1996:193). Their experience tends to be one in which "feeling at home and staking claim to a place as one's own" can be frustrated by the "experience of social exclusions [which] may inhibit public proclamations of the place as home" (Brah, 1979; Bhavanani, 1991; Cohen, 1992; Tizzard and Phoenix, 1993, cited in Brah, 1996:193). These experiences may be stronger for the second-generation migrants than their first generation parents. For instance, Sreberny (2000) found that diaspora heightened integration of ethnicity and identity among Iranians in "a way rarely developed at 'home' in Iran… as the national signifier "Iranian" binds the ILIL together because religion and language are so strongly striated within them" (p.60-61). She found that in the "liminality" of exile and a generally hostile environment, their sense of "Iranian-ness" consolidated into a "nationality from distance" without regard for the initial internal differences that existed prior to diasporic experience.

In the Nigerian context, as discussed in the previous chapter, the argument is linked to the racial conflation with the 'the black Atlantic' and the slavery route across the Atlantic to the Americas (Gilroy, 1987). Earlier Nigerian colonial students contended with this conflation through distancing themselves from their Afro-Caribbean counterparts, given the racial tension of the early 1970s in Britain (Harris, 2006). The colonial students during this period had to negotiate a racial sameness with the collective 'Black' race who were categorised as proletariat under-class and their constructed 'difference' from these contemporary others as elite students. Their reason for being in England was to acquire an education that would situate them within the middle class category when they returned to Nigeria, unlike the Afro-Caribbeans who had settled in the UK permanently. Thus, in response to the disparity between how they saw themselves and how they are seen by others (Harris, 2006; Hall, 1990), they had to negotiate both the majority white culture and their conflated status as "black immigrants" (Harris, 2006:36-37). The contrast is discussed in chapter 7, where the second generation claimed to have performed their identities as children as Jamaicans because Nigeria had nothing on the

table (Adegoke, 2015). It was therefore not cool to claim their Nigerian affiliation until now.

The claim by Gilroy (1991) that music is at the "forefront of diasporic cultural production" affirms the creativity that is associated with diasporic site. He found that through music, black youths forged a relationship "between expressions of resistance and expressive form... whereby music becomes the vehicle that brings Africa, America, Europe and Caribbean seamlessly together" (p.15, cited in Kalra et al., 2005:37). Music is produced in Britain as a diasporic site by the offspring of Caribbean and African immigrants. Gillespie (1995) observed that, prior to her study of Punjabi youth, black expressive culture was already in circulation in Britain, with reggae being popular with "white and black audiences in London" (Harris, 2006:37). At the time, Nigerian *juju* and *high life* were only available in a few stores on Warren Street. A combination of this Nigerian-styled music is now popularly embraced by the younger generation as *afrobeat* (see chapter seven). The fact that they take the raw material from Kingston, one of the links in the diasporic chain in the experience of the Afro Caribbean diaspora, is what makes it special. Through this music, and the associated clothing and fashions, a symbolic community is not only created, but '"newness' through creativity is also formed as part of the diasporic consciousness that deals with the tension of living with the 'double consciousness'" (Gilroy, 1993) of being both "inside" and "outside," which is the core of diasporic experience. Diasporic Nigerian youth bands such as the *Naija Boyz* resort to YouTube to disseminate their unique combination of hip-hop lyrics, which they use to question and satirize the differences between cultural practices related to disciplining children and eating in Britain and Nigeria, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Due to the multiple positioning and attachments of the diaspora within the dynamic social and cultural contexts of home and host countries, and the social exclusion in the host which they have to navigate, diasporic audiences have been said to operate within a "third space" (Appadurai, 1990). This third space is one of ongoing social, cultural, political and economic negotiation that spans the country of settlement and the 'homeland' (Bailey et al., 2007). Thus, within media consumption and the creative tension of living with difference, the diaspora continue to live within a "third space" that

is neither "here nor there" and yet is both "here" and "there." They are forced to negotiate the liminality of identities that are forged between two national spaces.

The notion of *longue durée* as a core feature of diaspora is closely related to the divergence between the generations. Aside from its association with boundary maintenance, it is also influential as an analytical framework for the concept of 'homeland.' Dominant theories claim an orientation towards the 'homeland' as an essential feature of diasporic identity, as already stated above. With 'homeland' orientation, it is usually taken for granted that the offspring naturally have some allegiance to their parents' 'homeland' as well, and will assume an identity that is lived between two nation states. Naujoks (2010), however, sees this sense of diasporic identity as ever changing. It is created in individuals who are generally minorities with a link to a re-created or "imagined" 'homeland' (Anderson, 2001). A sense of common origin and experience is central to this identity, through which the first generation immigrants reproduce and re-create ties to the 'homeland,' which are transferred to subsequent generations. This sense of attachment is stronger for the first generation, and the possibility of maintaining it as such is limited to two or three generations. Thereafter, "later generations are left with little knowledge of their ancestral origin, except a symbolic ethnicity which is usually reflected in nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation" (Naujoks, 2010: 9, cited in Strübel, 2012). This sense of diasporic identity, Strudel notes, is a constructed form of "collective identity that is associated with a country" (p.36) which many of the second generation might never have visited.

Although this connection to the ancestral 'homeland' has always been assumed on the platform of generational continuity, Kelly (2015) stresses that the role of the ancestral 'homeland' in the lives of the second generation "must be understood in relation to emotion and identity" (p.5) while that of the first generation is based on previous ties. That is, on familiarity with the geographical location and social networks in which they had been immersed as part of their lives, for the second generation, the ancestral 'homeland' is only a significant source of hyphenated identity formation. It forms part of a process of "ethnification" through which identity is developed relationally in the

context of a host society in which they are a minority (Haller and Landolt, 2005 cited in Kelly, 2015:5). It is an emotional connection that requires empirical confirmation in that this aspect of the second generation's identification and attachment with the parents' 'homeland' as ancestral 'home' has always been a taken for granted notion by researchers. This is subsequently an inherited position over which they have no power. It is an imagined attachment to a nation, which Tölölyan (2012) notes, continues to feature in the everyday experience of the second generation, but it is conflicting and negotiable. The Jewish, Armenian, and Korean students of his study showed flexibility in constructing their personal diasporic identities. Choosing from the various options that are available to them:

> They can configure as needed - they want to select from each and all those elements, which they can be proud of, and whose claims and obligations they are prepared to honour. They are at home in America, while retaining their feeling for the 'homeland' of their ancestors and the more tightly defined and homeland–oriented diaspora of their elders. They have already abandoned exilic nationalism for diasporic transnationalism. (ibid: 55).

While most of them acknowledged the ancestral 'homeland' of their parents and their ethno-diasporic identity, they refused to "acknowledge fully a diasporic identity that is conceived in relation and subordination to national and moral authority attributed to the 'homeland' because such consent will confine them and prescribe their behaviour" (p.10). He further observes that "immediately after admitting to any form of 'homeland' bound diasporic identity, they seek distance from its possible claims, pointing out that they have many identities - gender, race, class, sexual orientation, along with ethno-diasporic identity"(p.10).

As part of the biological or racial essence of this connection to the "Black Atlantic"(Gilroy,1991), a power dynamic was observed between the Yoruba diaspora of Harris's (2006) study and Blacks of African–Caribbean origin in Britain during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although Gilroy (1987, 1993a, 1993b) wrote that they both recognize a shared culture and history, there is also a sense of the deep divergences and differences in the cultures encompassed under the term 'black'. Racial discourses

conflated the Yoruba, whose self-constructed identity was one of the educated elite, with other black immigrants of lower classes, that is, the "black immigrant proletariat" (Harris, 2006:19), who have also been referred to as "West Indians". This ran contrary to the Yoruba students' expectations that Britain would automatically welcome them. The Yoruba distanced themselves from such identification, and this sowed distrust between the two groups. The shared 'sameness' was more a source of identification for the second generation than for the older generation, for whom it was a means of excluding themselves from the racial other. This affirms Georgiou's (2006) claim that certain diasporas are better integrated into the mainstream than others.

Irrespective of the sameness of identification and the inclusion of certain migrants in the British mainstream. Ong (2009) found that his Filipino subjects, even in their attempt to belong, or "to fit in" (p.177) to the British mainstream through the routine consumption of British news still found themselves excluded in cases when the news on immigration and terrorism reminds them and other migrants that they are different from the dominant White ethnicity (Ong, 2009:177).

Thus, the issue of where 'home' is becomes more problematic for subsequent generations of migrants. For the first generation, the 'homeland' that has recently been left behind forms the nexus of their memory and nostalgia in the current place of settlement. For the second generation, however, it is a conflict that is connected with the politics of belonging, a process that is "intrinsically linked with the way in which processes of exclusion or inclusion operate and are subjectively experienced in given circumstances" (Brah, 1996:192). These processes are experienced by the two generations because of the relationship to a multiplicity of locations through geographical and cultural boundaries (Fazal and Tsagarousianou, 2002; Tsagarousianou, 2004:57). However, the argument is that for the second generation it is more intense because they have not experienced geographical dislocation. Yet they have inherited the cultural boundary that is associated with immigration, a concept which Kalra et al. (2005) suggest is synonymous with "not belonging to a particular place" or "not of this place," or someone that "belongs somewhere else" (p.14). They are clearly "outsiders" to the mainstream majority of the country of settlement, who are considered the

"insiders." The empirical chapter that follows describes how the participants navigate this dichotomy in light of the coverage of the Woolwich killing (see chapter 6). Chapter Five further demonstrates how the second generation experiences a sense of being outsiders even as they celebrate their newfound contact and identification with their parents' country of origin through new media (chapter 7).

While this tension is typical, for the immigrants of Safran's (1991) study, maintaining strong links and identification with the 'homeland' is crucial. Hall (1993) held a contrary view regarding the possibility of returning to the past, but he did not discount the impact of the past on the present. To him, diaspora members bear upon them "traces of the particular cultures, traditions, languages and histories by which they were shaped" (p.310). However, the difference is that "they are not and will never be unified in the old sense, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, belonging at one and the same time to several 'homes'" (1990:310). Hall recognized the importance of the left-behind 'homeland' on the formation of the diasporic consciousness as neither "here" nor "there"; the diasporic experience shapes hybrid identities through the ceaseless negotiation of several 'homes.' However, he questioned the possibility of a return to a 'homeland', which would have been transformed in a similar fashion to the way the diasporic subject has been changed by the experience abroad.

Weighing in on the dispute between a strong link (Safran) and a minimal link (Hall) through cultural production and experience, Tsagarousianou (2004) affirms the impact of the flow of contemporary globalization on both those who are "back home" and those in diaspora in their "new transnational spaces of experiences" (Morley, 2000, cited in Tsagarousianou: 61). This is particularly significant given the new possibilities presented by the proliferation of diasporic media, which has transformed the diasporic experience from the earlier spatial separation into one of everyday connectivity and of diasporic imaginings.

The Internet, principally, has become an alternative space for negotiating a new sense of cultural identity in everyday diasporic experience. It makes possible a combination of

these forms of communication as a result of the amalgamation of all media platforms such as newspapers, motion pictures, radio, TV, fax, telephone, the post (Saunders, 2006) and enables the production, sending, and receiving of messages at the same time.

These new opportunities are the focus of the next section, which examines the literature on how diasporic media aid this process of negotiating identity among migrants. It discusses several of the opportunities afforded to them in the context of everyday diasporic experiences that span both 'home' and the country of settlement. Thus, media technologies and diasporic media have become crucial influences on the reproduction and transformation of diasporic identities (Tsagarousianou, 2004).

3.2. Diasporic Media: New Affordances or Complications?

In enacting their attachment to the homeland, migrants have devised various adaptive strategies in response to finding themselves in an environment they perceive as hostile or unreceptive (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). One of these is the use of media to negotiate identity. A development which has prompted researchers to examine the ways in which media enable diasporic communities to bridge the separation from their countries of origin and navigate the multiple terrains of their everyday lives (Madianou and Miller, 2012; Georgiou, 2006; Robins and Aksoy, 2005; Salih, 2003; Sreberny, 200b; Hargreaves and Mahjoub, 1997; Gillespie, 1995). For instance, Hargreaves and Mahjoub in their 1997 study on migrants in France found differences among the generations in their media consumption patterns, which reflect differences in their experiences of belonging and identity. Similarly, Gillespie's study showed how young Punjabis negotiate their British-Asian identity through the reception and appropriation of both transnational and diasporic television, which represent several cultures and offered them a range of choices with which they symbolically identified. In this process, they formed and transformed their diasporic identities around television reception, and television talk becomes "an important form of self-narration, and a major collective resource through which identities are negotiated" (p.25). Her study also showed the generational conflict that is associated with the maintenance of culture by the parents versus the subsequent generations' openness to change. Despite this openness, it is a challenge for their children to articulate an identity, such that the youths are likely to be trapped in the

binary thinking of “here” and “there,” especially in the face of challenging circumstances, such as the Gulf War in the case of her subjects.

Gillespie’s findings showed how identity continues to be problematic and requires negotiation “from context to context between various cultures and various positions within each” (Gillespie, 1995:207). This is possibly the reason for Baumann’s (1996, 1997) suggestion that research should focus on investigating the interaction between dominant discourses. On the one hand, identity and culture are reified, that is situated in its ‘given’ grounded on national and blood ties, on the other, demotic discourses are more fluid and situational definitions of identities, which often times challenge the former in the context of everyday diasporic experiences. The three empirical chapters that follow discuss how the diaspora subjects of this study navigate this tension.

This is the theoretical background of the study on the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham. It could be argued that the emphasis on the particularity of diasporic media, which was central to this examination of first and second-generation immigrants of Nigerian descent in Peckham, is a form of recreating the diaspora’s propensity towards cultural distinctiveness and innovation. This is because media have become a part of transnational movements that offer an avenue for diasporic creativity both in production and in consumption. This study looks at the latter in exploring how the two categories of participants mediate ‘home’ through the new possibility of virtually being in two places at once (Scannell, 1996:91).

The definition of alternative media continues to be problematic, but Atton (2002) sums it up as all forms of media that are produced outside the mainstream institutions and networks (cited in Ferron, 2012:137). Ferron, citing Downing (2001), explicates further that sometimes they are referred to as “radical media” because of a vision that differentiates them from the “hegemonic policies, priorities and perspectives” of the mainstream. Rauch (2015) advocates a meaning-based definition whereby scholars and producers define their category through the lens of how members of the active audiences engage with such media. Here, the term “diasporic media” is understood in the simplest definition of “media produced for and by migrants;” that is, they are

produced for particular ethnic communities of immigrants, who are racial or linguistic minorities in different countries. Such media outlets offer analytical purchase for this study as alternatives to mainstream media through the opportunities they offer migrants to articulate their identities and navigate the social and cultural terrain of belonging to two places at once.

In contrast to diasporic media, mainstream media are the media of the country of migration (Matsaganis et al., 2010:6), produced by and for the mainstream society there. Matsaganis et al. caution that this definition differs depending on the specific country and the "particular point in time" (p.10). Riggins (1992) has also established the relationship between minority and dominant groups as a binary that differentiates the diaspora from the majority in the host societies in which they are settled. Table 3.1 below shows the categorization of mainstream media, diasporic new media, and diasporic old media. Together these are the entire spectrum of the Nigerian diaspora's media ecology, and it is around such that identities are performed, media representation is contested, and the inclusion of local artefacts within the global mainstream is celebrated.

Table 3.1 The Categorization of Diasporic Media

"Big" Media (Dayan, 1999)	**"Small" Media (Kellner, 1994:1)**	**Diasporic /Alternative (Bozdag, 2012:97)**
(Both in the mainstream and ethnic media) Radio, TV, newspapers and film in the traditional sense. *Also with a presence online:* Press, local, national and satellite television, and the Internet	Exchanges of letters, videos, mobile phone texts and images, albums, cassettes, CDs, DVDs, films, theatrical plays, video cassette rental, TV shows	Digital media: websites, social media Online newspapers, blogs, live streaming of radio and television broadcasts, diasporic video and music platforms, platforms on YouTube, ethnic and transnational television channels on satellite and cable; specialized TV channels, radio stations, magazines and newspapers, diasporic musical platforms, web portals.

Mainstream media become ideological as they reproduce a constructed and preferred view of "reality" (Bailey et al., 2008:16). This "reality" continues to portray the migrants as "outsiders" through the representation of them; thus, diasporic media in their various genres serve as alternative media through which minority voices are presented. Bailey and Harindranath (2005) allege that the British mainstream media have aided the reinforcement of "an 'us versus them' dichotomy," through their coverage of the alleged threats posed by immigrants to the British way of life. This in turn may reinforce old negative stereotypes of immigrants which might help to shape the audience's perceptions of foreigners and their inclusion or exclusion in the new country" (cited in Bailey et al., 2008:17).

While the mainstream media of the host country serve the function of presenting the diaspora to the majority, diasporic media cannot present the diaspora to the mainstream because the majority does not access it. Herein lies the particularistic function of diasporic media in targeting the diaspora and not mainstream audiences, and scholars like Christophe, and Lay and Thomas (2012), have noted the need for

synergy between both mainstream and diasporic media to work together in a symbiotic relationship. This relationship is further discussed in the following section.

Thus, diasporic media have become the centre of daily diaspora networking in terms of negotiating identities and belonging (Bozdag et al., 2012:97), and this informed the analysis of both FGPs and SGPs of this study in terms of their engagement with the range of media indicated in the table below (Table 3.2):

Table 3.2 Media that are explored in this study

Host	Home
Mainstream television news on BBC and ITV; Newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*; Radio stations such as BBC. Other digital portals on line such as the Internet, social media, Facebook, live streaming radio and television, and various satellite channels on Sky	*Nollywood* *Afrobeat* *Radio Naija FM, Nollywood* *BEN TV, Afrobeat* on YouTube and various web portals Small Media such as Church songs, drums, theatrical plays at rites of passage, music, dancing

As set forth in chapter one, the definition of alternative media is based on Karim (2012) as referring to those diasporic media that cater to the information needs of marginalized minorities as well as facilitate their participation in the mainstream society. The categories of media in the 'home' column are used in this study as alternatives to the mainstream. However, together with those under 'host', all form the diasporic media repertoire of the subjects under study. These are graphically presented in Figure 3.1 below on page 72.

These media are explored from the general consensus of the role of media technologies in everyday life, which is based on the assumption of a dialectical role between media and society. Madianou (2012, 2002) argued that the paradigms of powerful media and weak identities on the one hand, and strong identities and weak media on the other, have the tendency to continue to essentialise identity and culture. The audience

reception studies that emerged in the 1980s moved this binary towards studying identity as lived and performed. In contrast to the earlier traditions that focused on the power of the text, they emphasized the social shaping of technologies whereby media audiences are seen as sophisticated consumers who appropriate or tailor technologies to their own needs and cultures (Madianou, 2002:79). Because media goods are both material and symbolic (Madianou, 2012; Livingstone, 2007, 2003; Ang 1996), investigating audiences' role is not limited to technology. Thus, as earlier stated, the adoption of a practice approach allowed the freedom to explore all aspects of the participants' context-based use of media, whether as texts, technologies or objects, in everyday life.

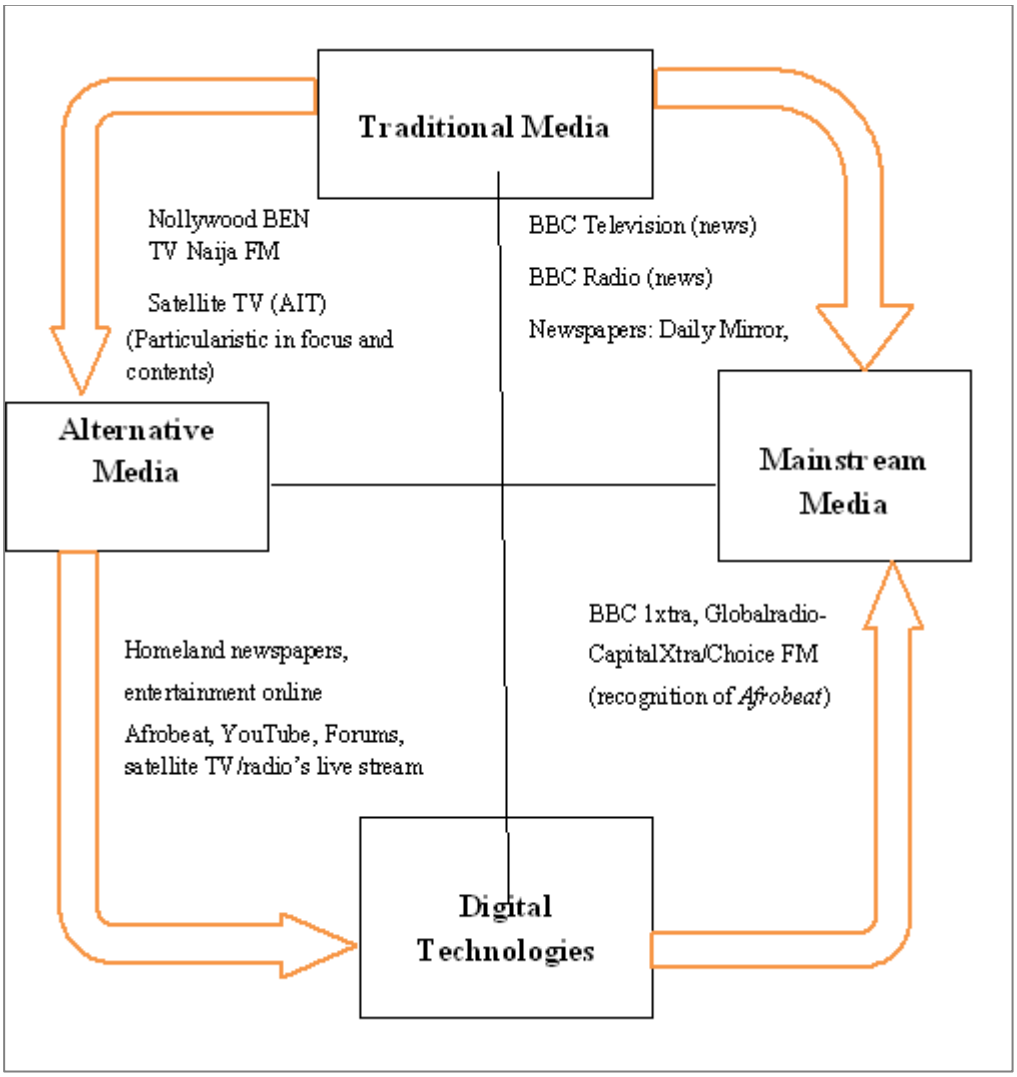
This is particularly significant in an era when media seems to play arguably an important role in shaping identities and cultures in everyday practices (Madianou, 2012; Gillespie, 1995), especially given what has been described as the "conspicuous omnipresence of the technical" (Bausinger, 1984; Silverstone, 1999). Thus, research on the consumption of media as technologies, it is argued, must begin with the observation of media as an integral part of everyday life. The conspicuous presence of the media tools within the household shapes and transforms the domestic space in which they are appropriated. Media technologies themselves have taken centre stage in media reception studies and have become a parallel strand within media audience studies (Madianou, 2002:79). Thus, media ethnography has become crucial to contextual studies of such domains of media consumption. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

Diasporic media comprise traditional channels of broadcasting such as radio, television and cinema, as well as ethnic and alternative media that have been made possible through new technology. Satellite TV, the Internet, and small media such as mails, fax, telephone, film, audio and video tapes, are all included in the diasporic media ensembles (Karim, 2003; Dayan, 1999; Kellner, 1994). Diasporic television has been divided into three categories by Naficy (2003), each one with its nuanced distinguishing features. Between ethnic media and transnational media are the diasporic media, which Naficy used interchangeably with exilic television. The basic difference is that ethnic media and indeed television are produced in the host country by a long established minority, (e.g.

Black Entertainment Television, *BET*) while the transnational are imported media and programmes from 'home' countries and or are produced by multinational or transnational media from the homelands. They could also originate from the mainstream's attempt to reach diasporic subjects. Diaspora television/ media are those, which are produced from the host land and have the issue of identity, integration and social cohesion as a main focus. In the Nigerian context African Independent Television, (*AIT*) falls within the category of transnational while *BEN TV, OHTV, OBE* mentioned earlier chapters could be categorized as ethnic, and also as diasporic media. *BEN TV* shares the characteristics of transnational, ethnic and diasporic media because some of its programmes are imported from Nigeria in addition to others that are produced in diaspora as the analysis in chapters five and six showed.

What is of particular interest here is that diasporic media have become the centre of daily diaspora networking in terms of negotiating identities and belonging (Bozdag et al., 2012:97; Mitra, 2001), providing the symbolic spaces(Madianou, 2012) through which diasporas could both articulate their identities as well as navigate the multiple attachments at the centre of diasporic experiences. Thus, McKay (2008) found that even the technology of photography was instrumental in shaping the diasporic experience of Filipino migrants in Hong Kong. In a similar way, the use of Facebook, and content posted online generally, is transforming the everyday relationships, identities, personhood, and belongings of the Filipinos users (McKay, 2010). Through postings of photographs of family gatherings, life course events, socializing and holidays, users perform multiple identities that are fluid and dynamic (p.483). The posting of historical photographs online enhances the sense of belonging to national imaginaries within the global Filipino diaspora and helps to counter the broader negative media narratives about the Philippines and Filipino identities (p.493). In this way, Facebook, as a technology, acts as an alternative medium to mainstream media.

Figure 3.1 Showing the framework of the media explored in this study



In figure 3.1 above, the media on the left side of the diagram are those that are home oriented. It is argued throughout the thesis that they are particularistic in focus and content as well as alternative to the mainstream media on the right side, which are host-country oriented. Both the traditional media and their alternatives in digital form combine to forming the diasporic media repertoires of these specific groups, although the preceding analysis shows generational differences in the use of these media. With the availability of digital forms, both orient them towards the host and the home in their everyday diasporic experiences in Peckham.

As a result of the conspicuousness of media within households in diaspora, media scholars such as Silverstone and Haddon (1996) have examined the process of how

communication technologies have been domesticated into the daily routine of the households. They have stressed the importance of investigating both the meaning of media as "texts and objects" (p.60) and how such have become a part of the "private cultural space" of the household. They assert that "we learn how and what to consume and in the process display who and what we are" (p.65). Herein lies the distinctive role of media and information technologies, most especially television, in everyday life, as both "social object" and "cultural medium." In this process, appropriation of media technologies has become a pattern of the routines and everyday structure of media consumer's life as well as the means through which they have control of that structure, (Thrall, 1982).

It is in this context that the adoption of Couldry's (2013) approach by this study was appropriate because it favours neither technologies nor texts. Rather, it offers an open, holistic procedure for a contextual and empirically grounded investigation of both technologies and texts as well as of audiences' interactions. The main focus here is on the people, significantly in the context of the contemporary centrality of media. It has been proposed that the term "audience" should, in fact, be discarded in favour of "users" and "consumers" to acknowledge new media's more interactive nature (Silverstone, 1996).

Studying media consumption in relation to identity now must take into consideration the integration of media in everyday life as well as the proliferation of media resources. The focus in this study is therefore on the "whole ensembles with which people engage" (Bausinger 1984: 349) given the availability of numerous media technologies for diasporic groups whose everyday lives require negotiating multiple identifications with both the 'homeland' and the diasporic site. Both the FGPs and the SGPs of this study have access to a wide variety of media genres as indicated in Table 3.2 where they are analysed in their various categories of host, 'home,' while those under the home column are discussed as alternative to the mainstream media. Table 3.1 analyses the various inter-related features of diasporic media alongside those of mainstream media that form the participants' repertoire.

Buttressing the suggestion that media technologies are crucial to reproducing and transforming diasporic identities in their current location, Sreberny (2000) identified a diasporic "gaze" which "invites a looking around, not only in and back but also a scoping all–around gaze, multi directional" (p.182) among her Iranian participants in London. She looked at "how contemporary media forms of diasporic communities both bind transnational communities, maintain minority ethnic identities and lineages of affect to old 'homes' as well as creating new ties to new homes" (ibid). She found that although the media environment available to her subjects in London is one of the richest in diaspora, comparable only to that of Los Angeles, yet they play a contradictory role in terms of both "reinforcing and complicating the dynamics of looking in, looking back and looking around" (p.186). She goes on to observe:

> The diasporic space is constructed through a variety of cultural activities and media channels, still mainly 'looking back' as well as 'looking around.' It was the women in the main who complained about the lack of realism of Iranian media and cultural activities, which still did not take seriously the rootedness in the new place-London- of their 'Iranian' lives. It was the women who most vigorously asked for local media that offered legal advice, talked about how to negotiate the British social security and health systems, that staged discussions precisely about the dilemmas of life in diaspora and the complex pulls of longing and belonging that all experienced" (ibid: p.189).

These women expressed a need for media as technologies and objects with content that would be useful to them in their everyday lives (Silverstone, 1996). Sreberny's study stands as an example of ethnographic work that is "not on discrete audience groups, but on media consumption as an integral part of popular cultural practices" (Ang, 1996, p.137). This is the case for the Nigerian diaspora of Peckham as well.

With regard to Black minority media in the UK, Lay and Thomas (2012) attest to the online presence of almost all ethnic media. Likewise, Ogunyemi (2012), in his study of "what newspapers, films, and television Africans living in Britain see and read", lists the following as examples of African ethnic media. For press, he mentioned *The Voice, Africa Voice, Asian Times, New Africa magazine, Africa Today magazine, Q News magazine;* for radio, *Voice of Africa Radio (VOAR), Panjab Radio;* and for television, *BEN TV* and *OBE*

TV (Original Black Entertainment TV, targeted to Afro Caribbeans). These were all found to play a crucial role in reinforcing community cohesion and ethnic identity while helping people access the resources they need (p.82). Ogunyemi, however, separates the foregoing ethnic media from diasporic media by citing Zimbabwean SW *Radio Africa Broadcast* via the Internet as an example of diasporic media, as it caters to Zimbabweans. He categorizes diasporic media by function and medium into newspapers, magazines, television, radio and Internet and describes its function as one of meeting both the diasporic needs of Zimbabweans abroad as well as those in the homeland.

Scholars are unanimous in finding that media use among diaspora members is mixed. Diasporic media are rarely used exclusively, without any recourse to the mainstream media of the country of settlement (Bozdag et al., 2012; Bailey et al., 2007; Georgiou, 2006; Sreberny, 2006; Gillespie, 1995). However, because of the tension associated with the exclusion, misrepresentation, and under-or negative-representation of migrants as minorities in mainstream media, immigrants have had to rely on diasporic media to address issues relating to their communities that are not covered by mainstream media.

The Complementarity of Mainstream and Diasporic Media

It has been asserted that media shape the prevalent view of the world (Kellner, 1994), more so in this contemporary age of globalization. Distance and time have been shortened, and mediation tends to be the currency of social life. Media and communication technologies, as well as their institutions and actors, have "symbolic power" (Ong, 2011:39). This power has been attributed to the media's ability to "'filter' and 'frame' everyday realities and circulate 'words to speak' and 'ideas to utter'" (Silverstone, 1999:6, cited in Ong, 2011). Lippmann (1922) describes their ability to shape the "picture in our heads." Through the media, stories and images, therefore, as well as resources, symbols and myths, are provided which serve as the basis upon which the collective culture of many individuals in the contemporary world is constituted (Kellner, 1994). Adeyanju and Oriola (2012) claim that media narratives are glamorized in such a way that they serve as the motivation behind many youths' desire to emigrate.

The net effect is a demonstration of the impact of media on the lives of individuals and on contemporary shared cultures.

Mainstream media have been criticized for either emphasizing only the negative in coverage of ethnic minority groups, or for failing to represent or mention them in positive media content, a process which many scholars have called “othering” of such identities (Karim, 2012; Lay and Thomas, 2012; Christophe, 2012; Cottle, 2000; Sinclair and Cunningham, 2000). Christophe argues further that in most cases immigrants are collectively categorized as ethnic groups rather than individuals, which would usually constitutes a negative image of the group in the context of the host society (p.97). On the other hand, the development of diasporic media for and by the diasporas themselves is celebrated as part of the answer to the problem of negative representation of ethnic minorities in mainstream media (Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005; Cottle, 2000; Dayan, 1999; Karim, 1998, 2012). It could, at the same time, constitute a form of “othering” (Georgiou, 2013) when too much emphasis is put on the specific interests of a particular ethnic group.

Lay and Thomas’s (2012) study of ethnic minority media in London, and Christophe’s study (2012) of the portrayal of migrants in mainstream German media are among many which have lauded the emergence of ethnic minority media. In particular, such outlets afford ethnic minorities the space to express themselves, thereby overcoming the limitations of mainstream mass media. They have become the stage on which minority identities are mobilized and shaped and where new social networks are developed, both among their own groups and with other diasporic groups. As Madianou’s (2005, 2002) studies have shown, these media texts have a tendency towards essentialist identity discourses, especially within the contrast between mainstream and minority media.

Diasporic media scholars unanimously acknowledge the role of diasporic media as the “cement” binding community identity together by providing a platform through which voices other than the official, voices that are “constitutive of community sentiment,” can speak (Cunningham, 2001: 138). Hitherto marginalized migrants not only find voices, but also are able to correct negative images and representations of the group

(Ogunyemi, 2012; Lay and Thomas, 2012; Poole and Richardson, 2006). This is the case with British Muslims, for whom the establishment of such media offers a platform for the recognition of British "Muslimness" as a way of strengthening their identities and of building a stronger sense of community (Ahmed, 2006). Similarly, Georgiou (2005) cites the example of *New Vision*, the Independent Refugees News and Information Services, which affords Ethiopian refugees and the entire diaspora (and also the broader refugee community in the UK and the community of refugee rights activists), access to the latest information about refugee events and activities. Furthermore, it provides a platform to counter negative representations of refugees through its emphasis on positive representation, and supports both identity and community under the slogan of "the voice for the voiceless" (p.493).

This is in line with what Viccari (1995) postulated regarding the need for Canadian ethnic media to provide a means whereby "the newcomer can learn about Canadian culture, history, social services and a multitude of other things that can help him or her understand the privileges and the responsibilities inherent in Canadian citizenship," (p. 6). This statement highlights another function of diasporic media: helping members of the diaspora to adapt and integrate into the mainstream (Riggins, 1992:4). Thus, the role of diasporic media is two-fold. They offer the symbolic space for ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance within the group, as well as navigating the host's mainstream system.

The issue of language is of special significance to the role of diasporic media as an alternative for migrants. Furthermore, it is of crucial importance to generational continuity (Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005). The fact that these media are produced in the groups' native languages gives them special force as alternative media representing the interests of the particular groups. While the use of African languages, with code-mixing, switching and linguistic plays (Biersteker, 2009:157), has been praised in the forums and chat rooms of the Horn of Africa and Kenyan diaspora websites, Lay and Thomas (2012) predict that the English language will eventually become more common in Black and Minority Ethnic media (BME) products in London. This will spread the appeal of such media across a wider audience of immigrants and the second and third

generations. The issue of diasporic media consumption is reflected in the discussion of first generation Nigerians' engagement with *Naija FM* adverts in Chapter 5. The deployment of a combination of Pidgin English and code switching between English and Yoruba is part of the station's strategy to appeal to its diasporic audience.

Thus, in addition to informing the different types of consumption, these alternative media forms also serve as platforms for "staging difference" (Cunningham, 2001:138) in enabling the articulation of a reactionary form of protest against government control and perceived pressure to conform to mainstream ideologies. This is the case with the participants in Croucher et al.'s study (2009). They found that second generation French Muslim youths turn to ethnic media in resisting assimilation to French culture as preached through what they perceive to be the government-controlled French media, in favour of a Muslim identity that "fights back against the pressure to give up their religion, culture and identity" (p.52).

Arnold and Schneider (2007) carried out a study, which considered whether "ethnic media" and their journalists, as institutions of integration in Germany, actually set out to communicate separation. Thus, they observed three different patterns among the subjects of their study. According to their findings, "Turkish media provide a bond between Turks living in Germany and their culture of origin," while also preserving a sense of "ethnic traditions and foster[ing] a family sense of togetherness" (p. 133). They further observed that ethnic media play a crucial role in helping to provide emotional security. The German mainstream media, complementarily, "provide the necessary information on current affairs" which guide daily orientation.

The review of literature on the role of diasporic media as particularistic media is therefore premised on the definition of the latter as media that appear in print, broadcast and digital forms, are produced either locally or globally, yet are targeted for the consumption of designated populations (Barker, 1982:9). The following section attempts to crystallize the opportunities that diasporic media afford as alternative and particularistic in terms of filling the gap of inadequate representation in mainstream media and meeting the needs of the specific migrant groups they serve.

Diasporic Media and Particularity of Focus

The use of alternative media by dispersed groups living outside their countries of origin to provide a voice for their specific group's interests or needs is what defines the media as particularistic. The individual language used and the familiarity of the cultural content, with its emphasis on news related to the group, 'homeland' and diaspora, give these media a targeted appeal (Christophe, 2012).

Definitions of particularistic media range from Barker (1982) above, to Tsagarousianou's (2004) as media through which "diasporic narratives are constructed" (p. 61). The fact that they are tailored towards a specific diaspora's need for information and entertainment (Karim, 2003, 1998) risks essentialising it (Dhoest, 2015:3) because the media content is directed at a specific ethnic group with a shared origin. Dayan (1999) explains this as "conscious redemption or reflexive rephrasing of folk cultures" (p.22). This redemptive quality, it could be argued gives particularistic media their edge in facilitating diaspora members' "bittersweet nostalgia" (Ong, 2009, p.177). Thus, it makes members of diaspora feel at home for a moment while negotiating belonging in their country of settlements.

Another aspect of the diasporic consciousness is a shared worldview that is different from that of the mainstream host culture. As a result, for example, the "picture Latin Americans see of American society" through *Univision* and *Telemundo* is very different from that presented by mainstream US television networks like CNN and by global television news agencies" (Karim, 2003:12). Through the lens of these transnational television channels, Hispanic audiences are able to see Hispanic versions of national news stories, while, as Karim explicates further, the stations themselves "seek out Hispanic perspectives on national news stories and adhere to Latin American news values that favour greater analysis than that offered by mainstream American television" (ibid:12).

Particularistic media consequently serve the role of cementing or "binding," as Sreberny, (2000) proposed, or "holding together," according to Fazal and Tsagarousianou (2002:62), the whole fabric of diasporic groups (Dayan, 1999). This is

accomplished through the provision of information that fulfils their need to look backwards, around, and forward to increased integration in their countries of settlement.

The three metaphors of cementing, binding and holding together highlight the use of particularistic media in negotiating new cultural identities, and in facilitating integration, even though there are differences in impact, as Arnold and Schneider's (2007) study, discussed above, suggested. Husband (1994) articulated the need for "autonomous ethnic minority media which can speak for, and to, their own community ... which can generate a dialogue between ethnic minority communities and between these and dominant ethnic community audiences" (1994: 15). Riggins (1992:4) postulated the two contradictory purposes of contributing to ethnic cohesion and cultural maintenance as well as helping members of minorities to integrate into the larger society. These are not the focus per se in the context of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham, even though the methodological and analytic frameworks favour all aspects of media production, consumption, and reception. The focus is on how diaspora members, both first and second generation, mediate 'home' through such media. Thus, this study takes a closer look at the intergenerational differences which were observed in previous studies, such as Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), Sreberny (1999, 2001), and Gillespie (1995), as well as differences in class, age and migration trajectories.

This is particularly important because it is grossly inadequate to make assumptions about the social and cultural uses these media are put to unless studied in a specific context. In this case, and in line with Rauch (2015), irrespective of whatever definitions scholars may adopt in relation to these media, the perceptions of the audience, and the shared meanings they construct regarding such media, are what really count. For this reason, this study set out to examine, through a bottom up approach, the Nigerian diaspora in their heterogeneity and in the context of their everyday lived experiences in Peckham.

3.3. Weak or Strong Media and Hybrid Identities

The study of media and identity has been greatly influenced by Hall (1992). His position that identity is not fixed but rather is constantly in production tends to have informed the various studies that have been carried out in relation to migrants' media use. Initially, this study set out to challenge this position; however, empirical studies in the review of literature was cautionary in confirming that, within migrant contexts, identity is unconsciously formed through a process over time. This contrasts with the concept that it is innate, as essentialist theorists have tended to maintain, which was also noted by Madianou (2002). Thus, media and identity scholars have tended to concur with Hall's view that there is always something "imaginary or fantasized" (p.287) when identity is considered as a whole. In contrast to the taken-for-granted advocates of the unity of identity, Hall stresses that the diasporic identity always remains incomplete and is continually in the process of being formed. He therefore coined the phrase "identification," which denotes such an ongoing process, to affirm that "identity arises not much from fullness of identity which is already inside us as individuals, but from the lack of wholeness which is filled from outside us by ways we imagine ourselves to be seen by others" (p.287). This study attempts to investigate if this is true in the experiences of the two generations of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham.

Hall's position is particularly significant in the context of globalization, as the historical perspective has opened the way to cultural intermingling, which has resulted in fluidity in identity and cultural syncretism (Hall, 1996). It is therefore almost impossible to refer to a "unified wholeness." From this position, media consumption in the context of diaspora, when examined in an empirical, bottom up approach, has always emphasized the changing and dynamic nature of identity due to the multiple identifications of the diasporic experience (Madianou, 2002). Consequently, the concept of a hybrid identity has been formulated to shift the conceptualization of identity from the fixed, essentialist assumption to one that sees it as fluid and performative. As a result and as already discussed above, media scholars such as Madianou (2012, 2002) advocate an examination of the various discourses around identity rather than focusing on one dominant discourse (Baumann, 1996), which tends to essentialise and fix identity in biological or racial terms.

The role of media in the articulation of identity is examined through the lenses of two primary theoretical approaches. These are powerful media and weak identities, and powerful identities and weak media, which operate through a top-down or bottom-up research methodology, respectively.

Each of the binaries has operated not only on the basis of either a top down or bottom up methodological approach, but how powerful media technologies or texts are in shaping identity has also been debated. While the former explores identity from the structural research approach, whereby emphasis is on how media as technologies are powerful institutions in the shaping of cultural as well as identity discourses in a given context, the latter emphasizes the role of other processes within the society, such as national, ethnic or local cultures (Madianou, 2005:2). In both instances, the emphasis has been on power. On one end of the spectrum, the technological impact of media on mass audiences has been examined (McLuhan, 1964, Anderson, 1983), and on the other, the power of texts/content (Billig, 1995; Dayan and Katz, 1992) have been the focus of inquiry. They have been considered even when not grounded in empirical verification or the context of everyday media use (Madianou, 2012, 2005, 2002). In addition, researchers have tended to homogenize the group under scrutiny. Liebes and Katz (1993) provided a counterpoint to the latter binaries through the adoption of a bottom-up approach in examining the content of different media cultures among heterogeneous groups, based on the assumption that media mirror cultural and national values (Liebes and Katz, 1993). They found previous research to be limited by the emphasis on the nationalities and ethnicities of the participants while giving little attention to factors such as gender, age, class and the text itself (Madianou, 2002:80-81). Consequently, they exhibited a reification of culture and identity similar to their antecedent studies in claiming that their various subjects appropriated media content according to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds and experiences (Morley 1980).

These debates keep the discussion about the relationship between media and identity and the power of media technologies and texts ongoing. This shows that both theoretical and methodological approaches were still found limited in terms of exploring the internal differences among the various groups studied (Madianou, 2005, 2002).

However, the shift in focus of inquiry to exploring the global-local dialectic relationship between media and identity emerged as an answer to the binary between powerful media and weak identities, and weak media and powerful identities. (Madianou, 2002:39; Kraidy, 2002). A paradigm shift, which has facilitated academic investigation of how migrants and transnational audiences' use diasporic media in the context of their everyday practices, is in line with the purpose of this inquiry (Aksoy and Robins, 2001; Sreberny, Mohamedi and Mohamedi, 1994; Abu Lughod, 1993; Gillespie, 1995). The focus on the global-local dialectic approach enables looking at both media and identity without preference for either (Madianou, 2012:39).

In relation to media technologies and texts, findings such as Barbero (1993, 1988) and Anderson's (1983) have shown how radio and print were able to create collective identities on one hand. Those of Dayan and Katz (1992) and Billig (1995) have highlighted the role of content/ texts in building a national consciousness or in influencing identities in the respective nations' context. These theoretical positions continue to suggest the complexities of the relationship between not only media and identity. They further show that, the pitching of technological and textual determinism on opposite spectrums would continue to play a key role in how researchers approach the relationship between media and identity, and emphasis on media texts and technologies (Madianou, 2012; Livingstone, 1998).

What is important and of benefit to this current study is that media do provide symbolic communicative spaces through which identities are articulated (Madianou, 2012; Johnson and McKay, 2011; McKay, 2010; Ong, 2009). Hence, this will continue to necessitate a focus of inquiry on specific groups of media users, taking into consideration demographic factors such as gender, age, class, generation, ethnicity, religion and the text itself. The context of everyday engagements with media as technologies/objects and texts must be considered, as well as the social context, in order to empirically ground such work, as this current study intends.

In contrast, therefore, to the aforementioned binaries, which tended to essentialise identities, the current prevailing view of identity and culture is as fluid and performative.

This is particularly the case in the contemporary context of globalization in which cultural mixing, interactions, and interconnectedness have intensified the relationship between the global and local, now a characteristic of modern social life (Tomlinson, 1999; Thompson, 1995; McGrew, 1992; Giddens, 1991).

All of these previous researchers have seen media as powerful instruments in the determination of viewers' and readers' attitudes, beliefs and behaviour (Schramm and Porter 1982). In such a view, power is located in the hands of media producers, who see their audiences as passive, uncritical recipients of media content. This view has been criticized for homogenizing recipients of media messages, thereby disregarding differences such as age, gender, class and other social and cultural factors that may come into play (Kellner, 2007).

In contrast to the strong media perspective, the weak media and strong identities approach accommodates heterogeneity in terms of locating the power with the audience; however, it could be argued that the popular assumption that media reflect cultural and national values (Madianou, 2002:29) relocates identities within a national context, thereby again essentialising identity (Raffaeta, 2015; Anthias, 2012; Hall, 1991). Bailey et al. (2007) noted this tendency in the context of diasporic media. According to them, citing Robins and Aksoy (2005),

> [The] predominant theoretical framework of diasporic cultural and media studies, which informs the research on alternative media usages by diasporas, is based on categories of national culture and identity, and generally argues that diasporic media, particularly transnational media, offer a platform to create emotional connections, or bonding and belonging, with an 'imagined' transnational community (Bailey et al., 2007:65).

Apart from the emphasis of each paradigm in terms of where power is located, with either the media or the audience, there is also a difference in the respective methodological orientations. The powerful media model entails a top-down research methodology whereby any analysis of the effect of media is examined solely in terms of the content of the media. This is the reason the paradigm has been criticised for failing

to have an empirical grounding. The strong identities view, on the other hand, deploys a bottom-up approach that is qualitative in orientation (Madianou, 2012, 2002). According to Ang (1996), discussed in section 3.2 above, this facilitates the exploration of not only the "subjective" and the "objective" but also the "micro" and "macro" (Gillespie, 1995) processes of cultural practices that are related to media and identity in the context of specific diasporas. This is the reason, arguably, for the popularity of ethnography in media and migration studies whereby consumption is investigated in context and for which Gillespie's (1995) holistic approach is considered seminal (Madianou, 2012, 2005; Georgiou, 2006; Robins and Aksoy, 2001; Aksoy and Robins, 2000).

Madianou argues that in both paradigms described above, identities are "essentialised" and "taken for granted." Thus, neither of these perspectives is adequate, given the constructed nature of identities as "lived" and "performed" (Hall 1996). As a result, Madianou proposed a middle approach that explores the interaction between the media and the way people articulate their identities (Madianou, 2005:2). A bottom-up approach in which identities are examined as lived and performed therefore becomes imperative. Furthermore, although her findings do not entirely corroborate the powerful effect of media on identity formation, they do not negate it either. Instead, they indicate the necessity for contextual study of different groups' relationships with media and their identity formation. This is what is particularly important about this qualitative research, in which two generations of the Nigerian diaspora are studied in the context of their media consumption in order to situate them within the literature. This highlights the ways in which different diasporic communities make use of media in the maintenance and development of their distinctive cultures, and how diasporic media themselves attempt to satisfy their community's information and cultural needs (Karim, 1998; Sreberny, 2001).

The general consensus among scholars in media and migration is that regardless of the discussion of whether media is powerful or weak and whether identities are fluid or fixed, media do not determine identities but provide the "symbolic communicative spaces" upon which identities can be constructed (Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005;

Madianou, 2005; Schlesinger, 2000). These identities, many scholars have argued, are plural, and they cut across other categories such as age, generation, gender, and other social, cultural and economic factors. This is why advocates of the bottom-up approach, such as Madianou, deem it appropriate for the study of this plurality in the cultural contexts of a particular group. In this study, the focus of investigation is on the mediated everyday life experiences of the migrants instead of how media affect or influence their identities.

Nevertheless, the notion of identity as comprising a continuous affinity for the 'homeland' and the attempt to integrate into the host society, both of which are so crucial to the diasporic consciousness, continue to be problematic. This is especially so with today's acceleration in global communication. According to Hall (1992), there have been historical progressions in the fragmentation of identities whereby the postmodern subject is considered "decentred," and so, laying claim to a coherent, unified identity from birth to death, Hall argues, can only be a comforting story an individual has constructed about him/herself. In essence, the postmodern subject is defined by how he or she assumes different identities. This also contrasts with what he refers to as the male domination of identity discourses, which has been contested by feminists on the grounds that identities shift continuously in "relation to ways we are represented and addressed in the cultural systems which surround us" (Hall, 1989, cited in Hall, 1992:277).

This shifting of identities is comparable to what Brah (1996) experienced as having various identities that politically situate her between African, Asian, and feminist, among many other similar categories. This type of shifting amongst various identities not only attempts to equate cultural identity with national identity but also calls for a "(re) presentation of self for convenience's sake" (Ang, 2001:29-30).

A number of scholars (Barker, 2012; Gillespie, 1995; Hall, 1992; Giddens, 1990) have focused on the flexibility of identity in relation to postcolonial and postmodern migrants, and how they tend to be mediated through transnational communication and media networks, especially in this contemporary era in which the Internet has become the

diasporic medium of communication “par excellence” (Sreberny, 2001:156). It transcends the boundaries of nation states and thereby undermines local and national bases for identification.

Georgiou (2006) explains this as the result of an ongoing process of negotiation between the sphere of social interaction in the place of residence and the group’s country of origin through constant political, economic, social and cultural ties, exercised through multiple institutionalized spaces. This multiplicity of interaction affects identity formation, and this impact is further compounded by transnationalism. Due to the latter, the sphere of interaction of members of diasporas includes “elsewhere” as various technologies now facilitate communication throughout the world, making it possible to be, in a sense, in two places at once (Scannell, 1996). In fact, it is even possible to live simultaneously in several places because of the way new media “empty time and space” (Giddens, 1990) by enabling social relationships, which used to be confined to a single location, to be pursued at a distance.

This elasticity (Kraidy, 2002) in the formation and articulation of identity further complicates the notion because diasporic interactions “now cut across issues of ethnicity, nationality and nationhood, boundaries and identity” (Georgiou, 2006:3; Kalra et al., 2005). This could explain why Clifford (1994) argued that diaspora is “entirely a product of cultures and histories in collision and dialogue” (p.319). This is supported by Kalra et al. (2005), who argue that “diasporic subjects are carriers of a consciousness which provides an awareness of differences” (p.30). The differences vary from one diaspora to another, and this difference, arguably, may be more problematic for the offspring of the initial migrants than for their parents, as Kalra et al. emphasized in their example of Britons of Chinese Hong Kong heritage. These people, who were born and live in Britain, had to contend at an early age with the realization that the food they ate and the language they spoke at home were quite different from those of the other children they interacted with at school and in other social settings (ibid: 30). Such awareness may then necessitate the performance of separate identities at home, in school and elsewhere for such a child. Identity, therefore, becomes “free floating” (Butler, 1990) rather than rigidly defined in terms of nation and homeland; and it

becomes personal as well. This is examined in relation to the second-generation immigrants at Peckham in subsequent chapters.

In relation to media and identity, Georgiou found that amongst her participants, identities were shaped by cross-generational interpersonal relations and interactions, which was also Gillespie's (1995) finding. She observed the Punjabi youths in her study not only negotiating their identities around media, in this case "TV Talk," but also exercising agency in contesting various "social and cultural forms represented to them by their parents, by significant others present in their daily lives, and by significant others on the screen" (p.206). Through the collective reception and appropriation of various cultures represented in both the transnational and diasporic media, the youth had resources to opt for "symbolic identification" and were also able to redefine and construct new ethnic identities that enabled them to live with an awareness of their difference. In diaspora groups, cultural innovation and distinctiveness become a part of negotiating belonging and of enacting everyday diasporic experiences (Millet, 2012; Georgiou, 2006; Matar, 2005; Ahmed, 2003).

The emergent hybridized cultures that are produced through this tension have been commended by many as a positive strategy for the sustenance of the new identities and social relationships that must be constructed by migrants (Ang, 2001; Gilroy, 1997; Bhabba, 1994; Hall, 1992; Rushdie, 1991). Others have criticized them however, for failing to examine the power politics involved in the concept of hybridity.

Hybridity accurately describes the complexities of a multiple consciousness comprising "host and home," "here" and "there," past and present, and the creative tension between "where you're from" and "where you're going," the "roots and the route" - all of which are central to the diasporic consciousness. This is the "third space" of the cultural border between the country of origin and the country of residence, where cultural creativity becomes the new language of living with difference as discussed in 3.1 above. This is the theme of the third empirical chapter, which focuses on how the identification of the second-generation members of the Nigerian diaspora with popular culture from the 'homeland' where a new form of reclaiming an identity in their heritage

becomes a means of living through difference. Chapter Seven therefore discusses how this group of immigrants lives with 'difference' aided by the interaction of global media with local cultures. Georgiou (2006) has observed how different that may be for others, as political discourses situate some diasporas as "outsiders". Georgiou (2006) states that some groups have been recognized and assimilated within the majority, while other "diasporic minority groups still struggle for recognition and inclusion" (p. 3). For this reason, the subjects of this study have to contend with what Hall (1990) described as being "*from* one place but *of* another" (p.310, italics added) and, crucially, have to negotiate racial differences with the dominant cultural force, which challenges their self-identity.

In relation to identity and identity articulation, most contemporary studies of media consumption have focussed on the changing and dynamic nature of identity. Emphasis has shifted from identity per se to identity discourses in the context of everyday appropriation and consumption of the various available media. The multiple nature of migrants' identities, therefore, and the experience of hybridity, have also been acknowledged, as opposed to the static, essentialised assumptions about identity of past researchers; thus, identity has come to be seen as more fluid, contextual and situational. Yet scholars continue to debate on how identity could still be problematic due to the implications of the assumption that the hybrid has been formed from the interaction between two pristine cultures, especially given that diaspora studies tend to focus on the differences that distinguish one group from another. It is believed that essentialised identification still "enters through the back door" (Madianou, 2002:44).

Feminists (hooks, 1990) have criticised Black identities in terms of their nationalist absolutes, to which Black women do not have to subsume their critique of Black masculinity (ibid: 28-29). It is an extension of what is conceived as White assimilation, which has unconsciously stereotyped women in the process. As a result, anti-essentialist theorists view essentialism as social categories that are thought to reflect some quality/qualities which are essential to identity but which actually are constituted in and through various forms of representation (Barker, 2012:271). This means that race and ethnicity are taken as cornerstones of identity when they are actually forms of

representation that reveal the power and politics which communicate the kinds of representations that are constructed. This is perhaps the reason Kraidy (2002) recommended an inter-contextual study of hybridity which would illuminate the issues of context, process and representation that are central to intercultural and international communication (ibid: 335).

This objection aside, hybridity remains the example against which identity is measured. This is the vantage point of this study. However, whether it is possible to completely avoid essentialising identity is debatable, since national discourses about nation and nationhood still have the tendency to fix identity even if it is only observed as "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995), in terms of its often being taken for granted. This is similarly the theoretical argument that is put forward in relation to the role of diasporic media and the opportunities offered to imperilled or endangered communities and minority groups (Dayan, 1999) as they navigate life in diaspora.

Given this ambivalence, it is argued that negotiating identity continues to be a major feature of everyday diasporic experience, and this fact necessitates a bottom up approach for looking at how members of a particular diaspora group negotiate their multiple attachments and the attendant uncertainty of identity and belonging in the country of settlement.

As identity continues to require negotiation in relation to those the immigrants differentiate themselves from (Hall, 1992; Lattas, 1998), an awareness of differences grows even as they develop a "double consciousness" (Gilroy, 1993a; du Bois, 1986). This double consciousness, however, does not make a person immune to developing reactionary identities in the face of what they perceive as cultural racism and exclusion (Hall, 1992:308). Hall cites the example of second-generation Afro-Caribbean youths in Britain who adopts a symbolic identity with "Rastafarianism", thereby linking themselves to their African origin and heritage (Hall, 1992; Gillespie, 1995).

There is also the tendency of minorities to produce a new form of identity that is the result of a commonality based not on cultural, ethnic, physical or linguistic affinities but

rather on exclusion by the dominant culture. Hall cites the example of the "Black" identity that united Afro-Caribbean and Asian immigrants in Britain in the 1970s even as each community tried to navigate this new identity alongside a range of other cultural traditions and identities. "Black" continued to be political, positional and conjectural for specific times and places as well as showing the different ways "identity and difference are inextricably articulated or knitted together in different identities, the one never wholly obliterating the other" (p.309).

As identities continue to be more pluralized and diverse, scholars have observed a paradox whereby certain diasporas and transnational migrants return to either tradition or complete translation. Those who subscribe to cultural translation submit to the play of history, politics, representation and differences by acknowledging the impossibility of regaining the former purity that the traditionalists think could be recovered (Hall, 1992). However, the translated migrants embrace the idea of living with difference, which is characterized by living within "the third space" of cultural hybridity, whereby they have been "borne across" two or more cultures. These are contemporary migrants described by Rushdie (1991) as the "new diaspora" because they inhabit two or more identities and speak two or more languages, within which they translate as well as negotiate. It is for this reason they are no longer unified and can never be, because they are products of the "identities within which they had been shaped as well as the new identities they now inhabit" (Hall, 1992:310).

Even as identities vacillate between tradition and translation, (Hall, 1991) discourses continue to centre on the binary between identity as "given" and identity as constructed and performative. Identity is performative in the sense that it is experienced (Madianou, 2002) and therefore dependent on context and situation. Within this argument against the notion of a given, fixed identity situated in time and space, anti-essentialist arguments postulate that identities are neither "pure nor fixed but are formed at the intersections of age, class, gender, race, nation and many other social categories" (Barker, 2012: 267). Furthermore, it is frequently argued that the theory of identity as fixed only gained credibility on account of the social construction of race; therefore, according to this notion, identity is contingent upon specific groups of human beings

being racialised. A critique of essentialism thus exposes the radical contingency of identity categories (ibid: 271) and paves the way for the uncovering of a multi-layered process of identification, which demonstrates the fluidity involved in identity formation (Barker & Jane, 2016).

This review of the literature has delved into scholarly studies concerning issues of diaspora, diasporic media and identity and the complexities involved in diasporas' appropriation of media. It has resulted in shifting the initial research focus from challenging the findings of particular earlier studies to advancing and situating the study of Nigerian immigrants within the current debates on the roles of various media. Either they must make the 'homeland' homely through their appropriation of media and other media related practices, or conversely, the 'homeland' must remain a distant place to which a return one-day is a perpetual fantasy as posited by Brah (1996). To this end, the following research questions were posed for this study (see also Chapter 1) and are addressed in the three subsequent empirical chapters.

The first explores how first and second-generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham approximate to Brah's perception of home as the site of everyday diasporic experiences through their media use and media-related practices. This is followed by how both generations of Nigerian immigrnats in Peckham construct home and identity in their media practices and negotiate multiple attachments with contemporary Nigeria and the UK. Finally, to explain the different identities and attachments constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to their media engagement with exceptional events, such as those relating to terrorism.

Conclusion

Ang's and Morley's quotes at the beginning of the chapter sum up the complexities that continue to be a major feature of the diasporic experience which require a contextual analysis of coping strategies and of the use of communication both for negotiating and sustaining diasporic identities and belonging. According to Ang, "where you're from" and "where you're at" will continue to be the organising themes in the minds of migrants, a problem to which diaspora attempts to be the solution. Similarly, the

profound importance of communication technologies in the creation and sustenance of diasporic identities has been emphasised by Morley.

The literature review in this chapter has shown how media products, in their various forms, have changed the significance of time and space for social interaction for the diaspora as information now travels across great distances in such a way that social interactions are no longer shaped by physical presence and geographical location. It has contrasted studies that look at such consumption are grounded on empirical, bottom up approaches, with the top down approaches preferred by those that focus on either contents of media and/or media technologies in the lives of migrants. It has also looked at how all of these relate to the hybrid nature of diasporic identity.

The conceptual and theoretical framework was based on the debates about diaspora and discussions of how diasporic media facilitate the maintenance of ties, as well as the relationship between media and identity. These forms the basis for this study's analytical framework. This synthesis defined the research focus and informed the methodological choice of media ethnography, which situates the findings of the study in the everyday lived experience of the diaspora. The analysis of the dual role of diasporic media, that of both identity negotiation and integration into the country of settlement, coupled with mainstream media marginalization, require a methodology that privileges everyday lived experience. Hence, the analytical and methodological frameworks discussed in the next chapter emphasise the immigrants' perspectives on their everyday lives in Britain, with Nigeria as an idealized place in the imagination, yet with their lives unfolding in the context of "Little Lagos," in Peckham, London.

Chapter 4 Methodology: An Ethnographic Approach to Everyday Diasporic Experience

"This bottom-up exploration … may perhaps shift the emphasis of media as disembedding mechanisms… but as resources for reflexive reterritorialization - for bringing the distant near, bringing there to here, bringing the past to the present, bringing the symbolic to the material environment, bringing 'home' to 'host'— at the wherewithal of active audiences in everyday life." (Jonathan Ong, 2009:162).

Introduction

This chapter discusses the choice of ethnography for examining how 'home' is mediated by both first and second-generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham. The insights drawn from traditional anthropology and media ethnography that inform this decision are also highlighted.

Ethnography with its emphasis on everyday lived experience of the participants has widened the circle of human solidarity (Rorty, 1989 cited in Barker & Jane, 2016) to include first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham in ongoing debates about identity and media practices. Ethnography has been criticized for its strong commitment to searching for meaning and for the undue influence that the personality of the researcher has on the research process, making it somewhat subjective (Boyd & Barrett, 1995). This stands in contrast to purportedly "fact-based," and therefore ostensibly objective, quantitative audience approaches which are considered more scientific because of their replicable nature (Sweetnam, 1997; Hammersley, 1998; Bryman, 2008). This thesis contends that ethnography affords an inquiry into the details of local life, as well as facilitating a connection to wider social processes (Barker & Jane, 2016) that moves beyond a focus on media text to the everyday context of media consumption and identity construction. Such an ethnographic approach has aided the investigation of a combination of studies on "what people do with media across a whole range of situations and contexts" (Couldry, 2013:100-101). This is especially important in the context of this study whereby first and second-generation Nigerian diaspora in Peckham are studied as a part of "the exemplary communities of the transnational moment" (Tölölyan, 2012; Bauböck & Faist, 2010). Through it, they demonstrate how their social,

religious and cultural practices shape their engagements with different diasporic media platforms and their affordances, both in the particularity of their contents and as alternatives to mainstream media.

The chapter comprises four sections. The first section discusses the rationale for adopting media ethnography as the approach and demonstrates that the qualitative research undertaken in this thesis makes it the most suitable methodology. This is followed by the procedure of entering the field and a description of the data collection process. The third section considers issues of reflexivity and power relations, as required by ethnographic methodology. It presents an explanation of how I, as a researcher, negotiated the difficult tension of carrying out ethnography in familiar terrain while maintaining the distance (Brewer, 2008) required to discern "otherness" within the familiar (Marcus and Fischer, 1986:11-36). The fourth section discusses the approach to data analysis and ethical considerations.

4.1. An Ethnographic Approach to Media Practices in the Diaspora

Traditionally, ethnography is associated with anthropologists who immersed themselves in the everyday cultural practices of the people they set out to study. The emphasis is on participation in the every lives of the subjects for an extended period of time, involving watching what they did, listening and asking questions in order to gather contextual and comprehensive data about the group under study, which was then conveyed in "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Consequently, ethnography has gone beyond the notion of employing qualitative research methods; it has also been celebrated as a genre of writing which enables detailed description of the subject the ethnographer sets out to investigate. Media ethnography stems from this traditional approach but was adapted to facilitate the study of media consumption in the context of a group's every practices, in contrast to the earlier top down framework for media studies.

Media ethnography has been popular in media studies since the early 1980s with what is referred to as the "ethnography turn." It has been celebrated for facilitating researchers' focus on investigating and interpreting "how audiences make sense of both

texts and technologies in everyday life by giving voice to their everyday interpretations 'from below,'" while at the same time recognising the process as an interpretative activity (Moores, 2000:1). It not only facilitates the investigation of media consumption and reception in the context of the everyday practices of users, consumers or audiences, but also offers flexibility in exploring the dynamics and diversity of media reception and associated practices. Thus, it extends the inquiry from the use of traditional media such as radio, television, films, and computers, to "audiences' response to a range of social activities, artefacts and interpretations" (p.117) that are associated with the consumption and appropriation of media in the context of everyday practices. Consequently, ethnography has become the most appropriate methodology for investigating what Couldry (2013) describes as "what people are doing in relation to media in the contexts in which they act," (p.96).

Overall, ethnography is preferred for certain types of studies because of the opportunity it offers to enter the world of the research participants and record their daily experiences through their own lenses (Bryman, 2012; Hamersley and Atkinson, 2007). As the methodology employed is interactive, the emphasis is not on the texts, but on the analysis of the audiences' engagement with the media, and on how their meanings are produced in everyday life situations (Gray, 2002). This demands that the "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) produced in ethnographic writing must be both descriptive and interpretive. The descriptive aspect must be supported by ample quotes from the participants. The interpretive aspect is carried out by the researcher using the quotes to explain the meanings generated by the audience in the context of media consumption (Hermes, 2005; Machin, 2002).

This study does not focus on media content; rather, its concentration is on how the media appropriations of the participants shape their understanding of 'home' and identity as well as how engagements with different media facilitate the negotiation between the two terrains of "here" and "there," which everyday life in diaspora requires. Furthermore, the combination of Couldry's (2013) media practice perspective, with its emphasis on what people are doing with media, and an ethnographic, bottom up approach to media studies, facilitate the gathering of everyday contextual data.

These data cover the whole spectrum of what members of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham are doing with media as technologies, texts, and effects, without privileging any over the others.

The Rationale for Ethnography

The qualitative research methodology of ethnography has been criticised for its strong commitment to searching for meaning and for the influence of the personality of the researcher on the research process, making it subjective (Boyd & Barrett, 1995). This is in contrast to purportedly "fact-based," and therefore ostensibly objective, quantitative audience approaches that are considered more scientific because of their replicable nature (Sweetnam, 1997; Hammersley, 1998; Bryman, 2008). LeCompte and Schensul (1999) and Genzuk (2003) also noted a perceived limitation of participant observation in that it lacks the precision with which quantitative research seeks to measure phenomena. Hammersley (1990) observed, however, that participation in everyday contexts rather than in experimental conditions set up by the quantitative researcher is productive in recording the objective as well as the subjective meanings that participants attach to objects of study.

This is particularly important in the context of media, where there is a need for sensitivity to various moments in the chain of media production, reception and consumption, as these factors show how media texts and technologies are appropriated in specific social and cultural contexts (Ong, 2015; Madianou, 2009). As discussed in chapter three (3.3) and in line with Ong (2015), an ethnographic bottom up approach enables the examination of media consumption in the context of everyday interactions with media. This reveals the nuances that exist between media messages and people's responses to such messages as well as the social and cultural factors that shape such a response (p.178). The contextual study of interactions with media also broadens the remit of analysis to include the social processes and internal differences that are associated with such interactions (Ong, 2015; Madianou, 2005; Radway, 1989).

This is particularly important in the context of this study, which seeks to examine how the media use of two categories of Nigerian immigrants in Peckham reflects their

understanding of home and identity. Thus, it looks at how each category negotiates 'home' and host through their engagements with diasporic media texts and technologies in the context of their everyday diasporic experiences in Peckham.

Thus, the analyses of media reception that have been carried out since the early 1980s have relied on empirical investigations whereby context and the heterogeneity of media users/consumers/audiences are given due consideration. Examples of such studies are Morley's (1980) investigation of the Nationwide Audience, Bausinger's (1984) empirical study of the social meanings of TV technology in the domestic context. Likewise, Ang's (1985, 1991) inquiries into the type of pleasure Dutch women derived from watching the American programme *Dallas,* and Liebes and Katz's (1986) study of the same programme (*Dallas),* but in relation to Israeli audiences. All of these studies introduced, in various ways, new angles to the approach whereby emphasis is on the users or audiences as active in the generation of meaning in their everyday social contexts.

It is from this rich tradition that this study draws its inspiration for examining the intricacies of the micro and macro processes of media and media-related practices of the two generations of migrants, and how these affect their definition of 'home' and their identity. This is especially apt given the contemporary discourses criticising mainstream media for their tendency to stereotype and homogenize migrants rather than treat peoples and situations on their merits (Christophe, 2012), as discussed in Chapters One and Three. Thus, this approach offers the opportunity to explore the argument that the representation of immigrants in the mainstream media is always collective rather than as individuals.

In addition, ethnography facilitates the gathering of information about human behaviour in a manner that is not possible to obtain by quantitative methods. Its competitive advantage is in granting the researcher access to observe and interact with the participants in their real-life environment. The small size of an ethnographic sample compared to the large sample that is required to explore demographic data and summation in surveys (Sherblom, Sullwan and Sherblom 1993:58) also gives it an edge over quantitative research, as it provides the opportunity to assess feelings and opinions

(Babbie, 1995). Quantitative research, by contrast, only renders these in percentages (Watson, 1998), which would limit the spectrum of immense possibilities that qualitative research offers in its ability to unearth the subjective meanings that participants ascribe to the key concepts of 'home' and identity, and their impact on media selection and practices. The aim here is to identify if the two categories of participants' articulations and orientations are reflections of an essentialised and idealized 'homeland.'

Since the 1980s and 1990s, media study has borrowed from anthropology's immersion, empirical description and analysis of cultures based on intensive and extensive fieldwork in a specific local setting. This is based on the notion that an anthropological approach to media studies moves inquiry away from the reification of culture and identity to study media consumption in the context of everyday use (Madianou, 2012, 2005). The extended period spent in the field allows media researchers to gain an understanding of media users' everyday worlds and to illuminate the dynamic and diverse ways in which identities are performed (Ong, 2009, Madianou, 2005). It further facilitates combining the focus of media inquiry in unearthing how media audiences make sense of diverse practices and the meanings they bring to bear on the processes of media reception and consumption. This is all while acknowledging the context of everyday diasporic experience which requires migrants to navigate and negotiate multiple attachments and the complexities of identity construction that are expressed in the binaries of "roots/routes, home/host, home /away, and here and there" (Ong, 2009:163; McKay, 2010, 2008).

Drawing on media anthropology has enabled studies such as Madianou and Miller (2012) to track and compare how technologies are experienced between Filipino mothers and their left behind children across the spaces of London and the Philippines. Similarly, it has facilitated McKay's (2008) approach of following participants across national contexts in order to trace the significance of photography and its subjective meanings for Filipino migrants in Hong Kong and their Haliap in the Philippines. Because it is audience centred, the heart of the analysis reflects the voices of ordinary people who engage with TV and other media in their everyday lives. Thus, this approach has been able to show how social factors such as class, ethnicity, age, and generation shape

people's media consumption (Ong, 2015; McKay, 2010). For this reason, Peterson (2009) rightly asserts that the application of the anthropological perspective has broadened the understanding of human engagement with media. This is explained further by Ong (2015), that media anthropology is offering a space for a comparative, holistic approach to exploring the relationships between audiences and media artefacts, content and practices (Ong, 2015).

In the context of this study with its specificity of location in Peckham as the diasporic site for the two generations of participants, media ethnography was considered ideal. It is expected to provide a holistic perspective of what these groups individually and collectively do with media and other social practices that are related to home and identity.

This is particularly significant given the fact that ethnography is useful in helping the researcher to experience the world from the participants' point of view. It enables familiarity with their routines and consumption habits associated with their media selection; and this would have been impossible if it had relied on the classical mass communication use of questionnaires. Interestingly, many of the participants actually requested questionnaires because they thought it would take less of their time. While a survey does have its merits, unearthing the deeper meanings related to the key concepts would have been less likely. Furthermore, the interview setting enabled the dynamics of everyday identities to be taken into account.

For instance, the recording of the scenes of solemnity that pervaded the buses following the Woolwich killing, in which a British soldier was murdered by two-second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in May 2013, would not have been captured through a survey. In addition, ethnography offers the opportunity to adopt a bottom-up approach that "allows for the dynamic nature of people's identifications to come to light" (Madianou, 2010:434). Participants were individually asked for their perceptions without an intermediary or an organized body in order to hear their personal discourses and practices regarding 'home,' identity and media.

The following sections detail how I recruited my participants and the processes involved in the ethnographic fieldwork.

4.2. Entering the Field: Gaining Access and Relationships in the Field

Gaining access to a site is crucial in an ethnographic study, yet it is also the most difficult step (Bryman, 2012). It is generally accepted that it takes time to gain the confidence of members of the community under investigation. Whilst this is generally true, Sarby (1984) observed that the amount of time it takes varies with the situation and the type of location. In addition, some ethnographic researchers may "strike the right note in a relationship" (ibid: 96) by meeting good informants or by virtue of their personality, for others, it takes much time and effort. Likewise, Botticello (2009) and Harris (2006) in particular observed the difficulty of gaining access to the private domains of Nigerians. As earlier stated, my entrance into the field was facilitated by my decision to live at the site; and it was purposively designed through the mapping out of various Nigerian organisations and businesses in Peckham where participant observation was initiated.

Gaining access to relevant social settings could generally be described as relatively easy, but access to the second generation proved to be more problematic. The first reason for this is that many of them had moved out of Peckham, and the second is that they were suspicious of their parents' true intention in introducing me to them, as discussed below and at the end of chapter eight. However, I initially navigated access by going through gatekeepers in the churches, the Islamic centre, and businesses, where many allowed me to announce my research intention to their members or clients. Some shop owners also eased the way for me by introducing me to their customers and by allowing me to participate in their various activities. For instance, I assisted with serving customers during busy times at *Timograce Variety Store.* On a couple of occasions, I tended a local video store for the attendant for a few minutes. This is in line with previous ethnographers (Punch, 1998); and as rightly observed by Sarby (1984), strategies are necessarily different depending on the location. For example, at Saint Luke's Church, I was given the freedom to announce to the whole congregation from the pulpit, while at Saint Mary's Church and at the Nigerian established Redeemed Christian Church, I was only permitted to mingle with the members to recruit participants. Thereafter, many

pointed to others whom they thought might be interested in my research, and thus personal relationships served as the "primary vehicle for eliciting findings and insights" (Amit, 2000, cited in Binaisa, 2009).

Nigerians in Peckham were interested in my topic mainly because of personal interest and the assumption that my research would reach policy makers in the Nigerian government. A greater understanding of their situation would thus result, such that the government could make the nation more welcoming for their second-generation children who might desire to return to Nigeria as their country of heritage. The parents often expressed the fear that their children would never be fully integrated into the UK. Interestingly, most of the parents were hopeful that I might influence their children positively towards Nigeria.

Amongst some of the children, however, I detected suspicion of their parents' intentions in introducing me, and many of them were unwilling to get involved. Many did not participate in the research. They were constantly evasive when we met in social gatherings and church services. Despite this, I managed to have a sizeable number of key participants from among those who were appreciative of the research. The total number of second generation (19) in contrast to 67 from the first generation attests to this. Some of them invited me to their homes, where I spent time with their families, observed their domestic lifestyle, conducted interviews, ate with them, participated in birthday celebrations and attended wedding ceremonies, all the while carrying on informal conversations. During these periods, the boundary between conversation and interview is sometimes blurred, as described by Burgess (1984).

Access was gained through various organisations, mostly Christian and Islamic centres, and the composition of the participants did in fact reflect the diversity of the Nigerian diaspora. It was much easier to recruit participants among the Christians than among the Muslims. This was partly due to my own religious affiliation as a Christian. Despite my efforts to cover up with a hijab in Muslim environments, and in spite of the leaders' support in the form of presenting me to the members of their congregations, I was still considered an outsider. On one occasion at the Muslim centre, the children made good-

natured jest of me, saying that the way I had worn the hijab showed that I was unfamiliar with it. In addition, they spotted the difference when I tried to interact with them using the common Muslim social courtesies I had picked up. At the Islamic centre as well, it was easier to gain access to the first generation than to the second generation, as many of the latter were not often present except for special celebrations. In the case of the churches, however, most had members of both generations routinely present, although not in equal numbers.

Samples and Sampling

At the core of media ethnography is the consideration for the heterogeneous composition of specific diasporic groups. This reflects the importance of sociological categories in research that explores media practices (Ong, 2015, 2011, 2009). Thus, the recruitment of participants was carried out first in accordance with social class prior to migration, and second, after migration to the UK, according to gender, age, generation, and according to those participants that use Peckham, the locale of field work, for social, commercial, religious and residential purposes as shown in Table 4.1 below.

This project used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Initially, the study employed purposive sampling in approaching the Redeemed Christian Church (RCCG), Saint Luke's Anglican Church, Saint Mary's Church, *Obalende Suya, Lolak Afrique* restaurants, and *Timograce Variety Store* in Peckham. Further, another popular Nigerian store was approached, but the owner was uncooperative. The organisations above provided access to ninety percent of the participants, including three of the families (2, 3 and 4) in Table 4.4. Subsequently, a snowball approach was utilised in which the initial participants facilitated my introduction to other prospective participants. Family 5 was recruited through this method, as was about ten percent of the total involved in the sample, while Family 1 was recruited through a personal contact. All the other participants were recruited through interactions on the streets of Peckham. The first

generation participants indicated almost all of the SGPs[12] with the exception of Abid, whom I met *Lolak Afrique* restaurant in Peckham.

Although the study did not set ethnicity as a parameter for recruiting participants, there were more Yorubas among the participants than any other group. This reflects the research by Change Institute (2009), whose findings showed that "the majority of Nigerians in the UK are Yoruba, followed by Hausa and Ibo, citing Oyètádé (1993), together with some smaller groups" (p.6).

All of the FGPs had been in England for more than 25 years except for one economic migrant, and their second-generation offspring were all born here. However, there are complications because some of those who were born in the UK went back to Nigeria at an early age, only to return to England for university education. Some were born here but had never returned to Nigeria, some had visited Nigeria only once or twice, and some went back to live there for short periods of about a year or two.

According to Skeggs et al. (2008), and Skeggs and Wood (2011:3), class relationships have different national inflections. In the case of Nigeria, prior to the colonial era, some tribes had ruling houses, but they did not have a class structure comparable to that of the United Kingdom. This changed during the democratic process that was initiated by the British government in 1951, whereby political power became the determinant of the social class structure as well as individual class standing (Diamond, 1983). Subsequently, there was an erosion of traditional values as "Western education, administration, mass media and market relations" (Diamond, 1983: 461) came to define elite status, and emigration to the West, initially in pursuit of education, became more widespread. Migration then became a means to upward mobility.

A new BBC survey has identified seven categories of class in the UK at present, based on economic, social and cultural capital, namely, elite, established middle class, technical middle class, new affluent workers, traditional working class, emergent service workers

[12] SGPs are short form for Second Generation Participants while FGPs is used for the First Generation participants.

and *precariat* or precarious proletariat (BBC's Great British Class Survey, 3 April 2013). This study chooses instead to employ the more traditional class division of working, middle and upper (Skeggs, 2011; Skeggs and Wood, 2011), which are generally defined by occupation, wealth and education. This is because of the nature of the Nigerian sample. Prior to the introduction of a colonial class structure in Nigeria, the traditional elites who comprise the upper class (Ekekwe, 1986) attained their status by virtue of their heritage. Now, however, education has become a significant means of upward mobility, as demonstrated in the discussion of their migration trajectories to the UK since the 1960s in Chapter 2. For these reasons, I use profession, income, and cultural background as indicators of class.

Before immigrating to the UK, 32 of the FGPs were from the middle class while sixteen were from the lower class. Of the 18 who are middle class in the UK, two have moved up the ladder, perhaps as a result of changes in their profession. Downward mobility was more common in the past upon arrival in the UK, as exemplified by the student worker in Harris's (2006) study, mentioned in Chapter 2. Even though most of the shop owners have university degrees from Nigeria, they are considered working class in the UK; thus, one could argue that 16 people have experienced downward mobility among the FGPs (see tables 4.1 to 4.3 below, which map the categories of participants).

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, religion is a major social and cultural category and a significant aspect of the social, political and economic lives of Nigerians. The government is understandably cautious in handling issues relating to the relative proportion of Muslims to Christians in the nation (Ruby and Shah, 2007). While I acknowledged the primary division of Muslim and Christian as a basic feature of the Nigerian diaspora, I did not set out to make that a criterion in my sampling. It turned out that there were 41 Christians and 7 Muslims among the FGPs, and 16 Christians and 3 Muslims among the SGPs in my sample. This is a fair reflection of the relative proportion of Muslims in the Nigerian diaspora in the UK. This has been confirmed by communities and local government research (Change, 2009). According to their findings, "the Nigerian Muslim population is a minority within the Nigerian born population in the UK, representing nine per cent of the total Nigerian born population in the 2001 Census. In

contrast, “Christians are the dominant Nigerian faith community in England with only 9 per cent identifying itself as Muslim,” (p.26, 32-33). Not surprisingly then, Nigerian churches are more prevalent and visible in Peckham than mosques. At No 33 Copeland Street in Peckham, there are fourteen different denominations of Nigerian churches in one location, whereas participant observation and questioning revealed only two Mosques in the vicinity of Peckham, one on Choumet Road and a smaller one near the Peckham Bus Station. These are in addition to the Islamic Centres on Old Kent Road and in Camberwell.

The final classification has to do with the use, which each generation makes of Peckham as a diasporic space. The study revealed that at the time of research, only 16 out of the 48 FGPs are residents of Peckham. Twenty use it as a religious space, 45 for social activities and 18 for commercial purposes. It was interesting to observe that only 6 out of the 19 SGPs are resident in Peckham; 4 of these 6 use it for religious purposes as well, while 18 use it for social purposes and 2 for commercial activities. Those who use it for commercial activities are defined as those who have businesses and/or shops in Peckham, while social purposes involve visiting only to have meals in Nigerian restaurants, buy Nigerian food or attend social gatherings.

Altogether, 67 interviews were conducted. Out of these, there were 9 FGPs who were above 60 years old. There were 13 FGPs and 12 SGPs in the 36-60 age brackets, and 26 FGPs and 7 SGPs in the 18 -p 35 age brackets.

In terms of gender, there was also an unequal representation of males to females in both categories. This was not by design, but rather it was the result of the purposive and snowballing sampling techniques, which depend of course upon the willingness of prospective participants to take part in the research, and as recommended by other participants. Whilst there were 23 females and 25 males, amongst the FGPs, there were more females (11) than males (8) for the second. The tables below sum up the participants’ demographic data.

Table 4.1 Summary of Participants' Demographic Characteristics.

Demography	FGPs	SGPs	Total
	48	19	67
Age Range			
>60	9	0	9
36-60	13	12	25
18-35	26	7	33
Gender			
Female	23	11	34
Male	25	8	33
UK Class			
Middle	30	18	48
Upper	0	1	1
Lower	18	0	18
Pre-migration Class in Nigeria			
Middle	32	n/a	32
Lower	16	n/a	16
Religion			
Christian	41	16	57
Muslim	7	3	10
Use of Peckham			
Resident	16	6	22
Religion	20	4	24
Social	45	18	63
Commercial	18	2	20

Table 4.2 Class Breakdown and Demographic Characteristics of First Generation Participants.

Name	Age	Profession	Sex	Class UK	Years in UK	Use of Peckham			
						Resident	Religion	Social	Commerce
1. Adeke	66	Retired Nurse	F	Middle	22	X	X	X	-
2. Ados	>30	Banker	M	Middle	5	-	X	X	-
3. Alawo	46	Teacher	F	Middle	27	-	-	X	-
4. Alfred	30s	Cab driver	M	Lower	12	-	-	X	X
5. Bare	40s	Interpreter	M	Middle	15	-	X	X	-
6. Batola	>60	Retired	M	Lower	51	X	X	X	-
7. Bola	20s	Secretary	F	Lower	4	-	-	X	-
8. Bosun	>40	Principal	M	Middle	13	-	-	X	-
9. Cecilia	>50	Caregiver	F	Lower	18	X	-	X	-
10. Chi	>40	Shop owner	F	Lower	23	-	-	X	X
11. Doyin	>30	Restaurant staff	M	Lower	15	X	-	X	X
12. Emma	>50	Accountant	M	Middle	22	X	X	X	X
13. Festus	50	Council worker	M	Middle	24	-	-	X	-
14. Folu	>50	Nurse	F	Middle	26	X	X	X	-
15. Funke	20	Undergraduate	F	Middle	10	-	-	X	-
16. Funto	35	Hairdresser	F	Lower	10	-	-	-	X
17. Gani	57	Video shop	M	Lower	12	X	X	X	X
18. Gbola	>60	Accountant	M	Middle	25	-	-	X	X
19. Helen	36	Hairdresser	F	Lower	12	-	-	X	X
20. Jolade	22	Undergraduate	F	Middle	10	-	-	X	X
21. Kole	50s	Music/Evangelist	M	Middle	27	X	X	X	-
22. Lami	50s	Consultant	M	Middle	27	X	X	X	X
23. Malu	50s	Pastor	M	Lower	30	-	X	X	X
24. Mary	30s	Tailor	F	Lower	4	X	X	-	-

Name	Age	Profession	Sex	Class UK	Years in UK	Use of Peckham			
						Resident	Religion	Social	Commerce
25. Moyo	46	Com. Development	F	Middle	23	X	-	X	X
26. Nike	70	Nurse	F	Middle	50	X	X	X	-
27. Obi	40s	Council Worker	M	Middle	18	-	-	X	-
28. Ogami	30s	Student	M	Middle	10	-	X	X	-
29. Oko	50s	Academic	M	Middle	23	-	-	X	X
30. Ola	55	Midwife	F	Middle	20	-	-	X	-
31Olambo	50	Reverend	M	Middle	24	X	X	X	X
32. Olaolu	48	Teacher	M	Middle	18	-	-	X	-
33. Olu	59	Architect/ cabby	M	Lower	19	-	-	X	-
34. Oso	79	Nurse	F	Middle	40	-	X	X	-
35. Oto	50s	Volunteering	F	Lower	26	-	-	X	-
36. Saila	44	Social support	F	Lower	18	-	-	X	-
37. Sisi	62	Nurse	F	Middle	50	X	X	X	-
38. Sola	52	Business	F	Middle	22	X	X	X	X
39. Stella	30s	Employee video	F	Lower	4	-	-	X	X
40. Tayo	71	Laundry Owner	M	Middle	16	-	X	X	X
41. Talabi	>60	Management	M	Middle	40	-	X	X	X
42.Tibade	36	Council worker	M	Middle	15	-	-	X	-
43. Tina	46	Hairdresser	F	Lower	10	-	-	X	X
44. Toyo	30s	Tailor	F	Lower	6	X	-	X	-
45. Trob	30s	Council worker	M	Middle	15	-	-	X	-
46. Urobo	50s	Accountant	F	Middle	20	-	-	X	-
47. Yola	40s	Pastor	M	Middle	15	-	X	X	-
48. Yolo	50s	Shop owner	M	Lower	15	-	-	-	X

Table 4.3 Class Breakdown and Demographic Characteristics of Second Generation Participants.

Name	Age	Profession	Sex	Class/ UK	Use of Peckham			
					Resident	Religion	Social	Commerce
1. Abid	18	Undergraduate	F	Middle	X	X	X	X
2. Bisi	26	Lawyer	F	Middle			X	
3. Biyi	24	Account/Finance	M	Middle	X			X
4. Bolu	43	Consultant	M	Middle			X	
5. Folabi	33	Surgeon	M	Upper			X	
6. Keji	21	Recent Graduate	F	Middle	X			X
7. Kiki	>40	Accountant	M	Middle		X	X	
8. Lati	18	Student	F	Middle		X	X	
9. Mariana	>40	Midwife	F	Middle	X	X	X	X
10. Moni	36	Social Worker	F	Middle		X	X	X
11. Oja	47	Council Clerk	M	Middle			X	
12. Owotola	38	Credit Analyst	M	Middle		X	X	
13. Peter	26	Financial Analyst	M	Middle			X	X
14. Sope	24	Secretary	F	Middle			X	
15. Tobi	18	Student	M	Middle	X	X	X	
16. Tolani	22	Undergraduate	F	Middle	X	X	X	
17. Tolu	20	Undergraduate	F	Middle			X	X
18. Tono	46	Product Manager	F	Middle			X	
19. Ugoma	18	Undergraduate	F	Middle	X	X	X	X

Table 4.4 Families whose members participated individually.

Family	Relationship
Family 1 Tolu and Ola	Daughter, mother and father. (Minimal contact with father Olu)
Family 2 Kole, Folu and Tobi	Father, mother and son
Family 3 Owotola and Babatola	Son and father. (Minimal contact with mother)
Family 4 Peter and Gbola	Father and son. (Minimal contact with very busy mother)
Family 5 Sola, Biyi and Keji	Mother, son and daughter. (Keji's views agree with Biyi's)

Ethnography, which is qualitative by nature, generally favours smaller sizes of population samples, in contrast to the large sizes of quantitative survey research, given the depth of analysis that is required. Thus, in most cases a single setting or a group of only a few people is deemed sufficient in order to facilitate in-depth study (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2003:3). This is also important given the depth of analysis which media ethnography affords in recording the dynamism and diverse ways in which identities are articulated through the use of media in various social contexts, and how this reflects notions of home and belonging. In gathering data, I initially focussed on interacting with five families and 14 individuals from both the first and second generations.

The total sample comes to 24 individuals out of the total sample of 67. I decided to treat family members individually in the analysis rather than as a unit because of the difficulty encountered during the interviewing process. Interviews were conducted separately with each person, even though participant observation was carried out within the family domestic home. In most cases, the family members were never together at home.

As a result, I decided to base my analysis on the individuals from each generation presented in Table 4.5 below. This decision was based on the similarities of participants' responses to other data that were not used directly but were taken into consideration in the analysis and on the time spent with each during fieldwork. All of the participants' responses were considered and tabulated against the major themes that emerged from the data. However, the participants listed in the table were selected as overall representatives of both categories because of similar responses.

The 67 participants led to a large and expansive corpus of data, all of which I tabulated separately based on generation. The data were further categorised manually by theme in a self-designed form. All of the similarities and differences in responses were brought together, and these informed the final themes on which the analysis was based. I used extracts/quotations only from those 24 with whom I had prolonged and extensive interactions during fieldwork. Their pseudonyms are listed in Table 4.5 below and a vignette of a few of the key informants whose extracts are used in the empirical chapters from each generation is included in the appendix.

Table 4.5 Key Informants

FGP Individuals	Individual Family Members	SGP Individuals
Lami	Tolu and Ola	Abid
Oso	Kole and Folu	Bisi
Adeke	Owotola and Babatola	Oja
Adios	Peter and Gbola	Bolu
Cecilia	Sola and Biyi	
Sisi		
Nike		
Emma		
Tayo		

The people listed in Table 4.5 are the key informants, that is, the participants with whom I had prolonged interaction and contact throughout the duration of fieldwork, and whose comments have been cited extensively in the analysis. Often, the interaction with them comprised lengthy conversations after church services, at social gatherings, and when invited to their homes and or offices. Participants such as Nike and Tayo still call me from time to time; and I receive occasional emails from Lami and Gbola asking how the research is progressing. With the families, two members were chosen from each because with the exception of Tolu's family, most family members were never together with me at the same time. For instance, while I had prolonged exchanges with three members of family 4, in this case, the father (Gbola), mother and son (Peter), only the father and son agreed to participate in interviews, while the mother only assisted me in recruiting others and by chatting with me while selling her wares.

Engaging with the Participants

One of the major criticisms made by pioneers of the "ethnography turn" mentioned above is that earlier media studies neglected to spend prolonged time with audiences. This was resolved in the seminal works of Gillespie (1995) and Georgiou (2006), as well as by others after them, all of whom spent several years in their respective fields. Given the importance of interacting with the subjects in ethnographic studies, I resided for seven months in Peckham. Participant observation at that time was a major instrument of the study. However, the analysis relied primarily on interview content, which was then supported by knowledge derived from participant observations.

Semi Structured Interviews

One strength of ethnography lies in the opportunity it offers researchers to highlight the nuanced discrepancies between what people claim in interviews and what they actually practice. It is the combination of both that facilitates the grasping of the "natives' point of view" (Malinowski, 1922:25) on the one hand, and rendering it in "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) on the other, both of which are central to ethnographic interpretation.

Consequently, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants. These promote active and open-ended dialogue with the interviewees while allowing the interviewer to retain control of the terms of discussion, unlike in natural conversation, which fluctuates between participants. Thus, semi-structured interviews enable what Lindof (1995:164) referred to as conversation with a purpose. What interviews limit in terms of access to naturally occurring interactions, participant observation complemented by confirming what was said in the interview setting (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:19).

During the seven months of fieldwork, (February 12 to September 28, 2013), some 55 interviews were conducted and recorded involving 67 participants. Of these, 19 were between the ages of 18 and 49 for the second generation members of the diaspora, and 47 first generation members ranging from their 30s to 60s. The interviews lasted

anywhere from 30 minutes to over one hour; but with one FGP it lasted almost four hours (3hours and 56 minutes recorded on tape).

I went into the field with a nine-point interview guide based on the "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1954) that had been gleaned from the literature review and which informed the formulation of the research questions that the study set out to answer. These served as general references and guidelines through which the empirical data were gathered; that is, they were signposts in exploring the reality of participants' everyday engagement with media from their perspectives (Bryman, 2004; Miller and Brewer, 2003). This nine-point interview guide covered various themes, beginning with the general demographic characteristics of the participant, with an invitation to talk about themselves being the starting point. This was followed by categories of themes such as their ethnic affiliations, everyday general practices and media habits, which were sub-divided into television, radio, film, Internet, mobile phones and favourite programmes. There were also specific questions addressed to FGPs in terms of their migration trajectories and social relations in Britain. The SGPs were asked about issues of their orientations towards Britain and Nigeria with reference to their media use, in order to discern similarities and differences between the two generations. Other themes of the interviews were 'home' and belonging, discourses and identity practices around Peckham, and the likelihood of a return to Nigeria.

The interviews with the FGPs were conducted in a mix of English, Yoruba and pidgin, while English was exclusively used with members of the second generation, including some who understand but cannot speak Yoruba or Igbo. In total, the majority were conducted in Yoruba, which lends credence to the claim of many participants that Peckham is a "Yoruba heartland." The first challenge was the length of the interview guide, which attempted to cover a broad spectrum of the key concepts. After the first two interviews, I had to rework my strategy by reducing the number of questions and by giving allowance for the conversation to flow, such that the thoughts of the participants were recorded. The second challenge was for me to maintain control over the direction of the conversation without disrupting the flow. With practice, I was able

to guide the conversation to stay within the confines of the purposes of the study (Lindoff, 1995).

Participant Observation

Participant observation actually began with my decision to live in Peckham. For three months, I took up residence with Cecilia, one of the FGPs. Then, because I was not able to find a suitable place to rent in Peckham, I lived in various parts of southeast London, reporting to Peckham every day from about seven in the morning until late in the night. On most Sundays I attended one or two churches, alternating between St Luke's Anglican Church and Saint Mary Magdalene Church every other Sunday; afterwards, I went to RCCG[13]. Their services are usually shorter than the Nigerian RCCG church, which I attended every Sunday and during the week on Mondays for what they called the "Mercy Clinic Hour" (7-9 p.m.) and on Wednesdays for their "Digging Deep" Bible study – (7-9 p.m.). Once, I attended a night vigil, which takes place on the last Friday of the month from 10 p.m. until the next morning. On 26 May, following the murder of Lee Rigby in Woolwich (discussed in Chapter 6), I attended first the RCCG from 9:00 until 10:05 a.m., and then I went to St Luke's church from 10.20 to 12:40 in order to gather the responses of various Nigerians to the incident.

Participant observation proved productive in helping me identify the use of media in the churches, in rites of passage such as birthdays and marriage ceremonies, and in observing the nuances that are associated with the appropriation of alternative and/or particularistic media in the context of the multiple layers of negotiation of identity and 'home.' Thus, through the combination of participant observation and structured and semi structured interviews, I was able to highlight the nuanced differences and similarities between what people say and do (Madianou, 2010; Gillespie, 1995) in the context of media appropriation and everyday media related practices in diaspora. The re-locating in time and space, that is, the re-territorializing of Lagos, with social, cultural and symbolic practices such as celebrations, food, and religious observances, has brought the 'homeland' to London. Thus, "Little Lagos," Peckham, is seen as an

[13] The Redeemed Christian Church of God

extension of Lagos, Nigeria, and a place, which every Nigerian tourist must visit, one, which has also been celebrated in some Nigerian films that have been produced abroad. Peckham thus becomes a significant diasporic space where everyday practices make the discourses of twin 'homes' a continuum in their diasporic reality.

Many of the FGPs and their offspring moved to other locations within the southeast axis following the demolition of the notorious North Peckham estates (Hall, 2013), and in spite of the regeneration that led the media to describe Peckham as "a trendy and arty place" (Benson and Jackson, 2012:6). This is supported by one of Hall's (2013) subjects, who said that after setting up businesses, people "leave and live somewhere else; they'll keep their business in Peckham, but move out to somewhere quieter" (p.27).

Thus, I interacted with many members of the Nigerian diaspora in the context of the churches and in public places such as the video sellers' shops, *Timograce,* and *Lolak* restaurant, where Nigerian films, music and news are always beamed loudly to passers-by. In order to observe their media consumption, however, I had to follow many contacts to their homes. This is in line with Marcus's (1995) claim that "what goes on within a particular locale in which research is conducted is often calibrated with its implication for what goes on in another locale, or other locales, even though the other locales may not be within the frame of the research design or resulting ethnography" (p.110). Emphasis continued to be on the use of Peckham as a diasporic space for various activities.

Furthermore, even though the data reached saturation three months into fieldwork, I continued to attend gatherings after interviews, even when participants assumed it was over. It was through such interactions that I identified other demonstrations of Nigerian behaviours that supported my analysis. For instance, had I relied solely on interview data and exited the field immediately after conducting them, the richness of seeing SGP Mariana donning Nigerian attire at Easter time, and singing along with Nigerian thanksgiving music, would have been absent from the analysis.

While my study design employed the use of gatekeepers through various Nigerian organisations, this was only useful initially for collective introductions at the churches and the Islamic centre. I developed a rapport with individuals over time after they had seen me at their gatherings, and after they had become comfortable with my intentions. Intensive participant observation was carried out in the public space of a Nigerian grocery and boutique shop known as *Timograce Variety Store*, where many Nigerians do their shopping, also, at *Obalende Suya* and *Lolak Afrique,* local restaurants, which many Nigerians visit from all over London for typical Nigerian meals with family and friends. These were usually followed up with interviews and visits, which facilitated the observation of their media practices and consumption in the context of their homes. The most comprehensive media observation was carried out with the first family, Tolu and her mother in their home, where I was a guest. After the interviews, contact was maintained through phone calls to each participant and occasional visits to the venue of initial contact, which was mostly one of the churches discussed above. I visited Peckham, the site of fieldwork after formal exit from the field.

Data Collection and Recording

Following Burgess (1984) on note-taking in the field, I divided the recording of the field notes into the categories of analytic notes, methodology notes, first, and second generations' interviews. My field notes were handwritten in a diary comprising all of my daily activities, observations and interviews with participants. They were jotted down initially, and then developed at the end of the day. All of the interviews were recorded except one, because in that case, the tape recorder failed, and this was only realised at the end of the interview. The recorded interviews were all transcribed and, where necessary, translated into English. While the note-taking process was helpful, the recordings allowed for careful listening and repetition. Not all of the information recorded was relevant and the focus was on what was considered pertinent to the research questions, and which provided answers regarding what the participants themselves defined in relation to the key concepts. While the interview notes are not a direct transcript of what was said, they are consistent with the information gleaned from the participants' perspectives.

My translation of the Yoruba transcribed from the tape was checked by a native Yoruba speaker to ensure accuracy, and quotes separate the voice of the researcher from those of the research participants (Chase, 2005:664).

4.3. Researcher's Role and Reflexivity

Generally, the ethnographer's role is measured by the degree of involvement in the social world he or she is researching and by the level of participation in the life and core activities of the group in that social setting (Bryman, 2012). The common terminology for this phenomenon is "going native," a theoretical terminology that defines the role of the researcher either as a pure observer or as a pure participant. The issue here is whether the researcher takes on the role of a participant observer or an observer participant, to enable her get close enough to gain the participants' confidence and record their world from their perspective, without failing to acknowledge the presence of the researcher and its influence on the whole process.

A balance in this continuum is expected because of the danger of the ethnographer losing a sense of being a researcher and becoming enveloped in the world being researched. Such an occurrence would invariably affect the researcher's development of the essential scientific perspective on the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012:445). Epistemological assumptions in qualitative research safeguard against crossing that boundary. Thus, researchers interact with the participants of their study through observing them over a prolonged period of time (Creswell, 1998:76) while maintaining a "distance" or "objective separateness" (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:94), which is required in order to record the participants' own accounts of the phenomena under study.

Power Relations and Ethnographer's Reflexivity

Neither my class nor my gender presented any problem in the field in this research, although more of the FGPs were receptive than the younger generation, as discussed previously. The FGPs participants had no reservations about welcoming me into their homes and inviting me to different events, although the case is not the same with SGPs as earlier mentioned. Overall, I had a sizeable mix of both. I cannot rule out, however,

the influence of my family name (which is a well-known name in Nigeria) or my perceived status as a PhD researcher, along with the mere fact of my being a Yoruba like most of them. Furthermore, not long before research commenced, one Mrs Folorunsho Alakija, had been in the news as the "Richest Black Woman in the World."[14] Some of the participants apparently linked me with her (by virtue of our shared last name) and hoped I would give them an introduction.

Whilst my elite surname facilitated my access to some of the participants, especially among the first generation, others regarded me as the 'Nigerian police' - that is, I was seen to be assessing their 'Nigerianness' and their legal status in the UK. Regardless of my explanations about the purpose of my research, these people avoided me. There was a case of an informant who had shown an interest in my research during my preliminary visit to Peckham before fieldwork commenced. At that time, she gave me her telephone number, but when I took up residence in Peckham, and attempted to recruit her to participate, she avoided me with various excuses. On one occasion, she told me on the telephone that she was in Birmingham, but then I bumped into her a few minutes later on Rye Lane. I did not encounter her again after that throughout the seven months of fieldwork. Similar reactions occurred in other locations, especially in the Nigerian church.

As far as the advantages my surname conferred, I would argue that the elite positionality it afforded is as imagined, because my family name did grant me access to most of the first generation participants. The very impression that I was, in fact, part of the Nigerian elite, I would argue contains another example of generational difference. While the older generation remembered the popularity of my late father's uncle, Sir Adeyemo Alakija (prominent lawyer and politician during the periods leading to Nigeria's independence) the younger generation of immigrants, both first and second, saw the present popularity of Mrs Folorunsho Alakija (mentioned previously). An experience that is collectively received and shared with Nigerians at home and abroad through new

[14] Julee Wilson: Richest Black Woman In The World, Folorunsho Alakija, Was A Major Fashion Designer In Africa *The Huffington Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/05/folorunsho-alakija-richest-black-woman-fashion-designer_n_2245703.html (Accessed 12/01/2016)

media technological affordances that has become the hallmark of contemporary Nigeria's link to global influences and processes.

Prior acquaintance allowed me the most intimate contact with one family to observe their media practices. Even then, I was only permitted in the private domain of the bedroom a few days before the end of my fieldwork when the participant deliberately showed me around. Although the majority of my participants are from the same ethnic background, some of those who were initially approached were not willing to participate. It is possible that some of those who avoided me will have done so because of their immigration status, possibly as undocumented migrants. For others, however, there is an attitudinal disposition of keeping others at arm's length as a form of self-preservation that is common among Nigerians (Ayankojo, 2010) so as not to be involved in other people's problems. "I mind my own business" was a common remark among many of the participants when they were approached during fieldwork; however, it usually did not stop them from having lengthy discussions with me.

My role constantly shifted between being an insider, as a Nigerian from the Yoruba tribe, to an outsider with regard to the daily-lived experiences of the diaspora in my working relationship with the participants. My attention was on the importance of recording their "daily lived experiences" and on ascertaining their personal understanding of 'home' as well as the practices that manifest this understanding, through media and other material or symbolic customs and practices. This was done while taking into cognizance the fact that the researcher must be self-critical and reflective in order to guarantee credible data (Burgess, 1982, 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). The constructive findings of the study therefore stem from both the participants and the researcher, as well as from the interaction between both (Binaisa, 2009:29, citing Guba and Lincoln, 1998:206).

There were instances, however, when the role of researcher was challenged by my having to cross the boundary of an outsider looking inward to become an "insider," while at the same time bearing in mind my professional intentions. My role entailed looking into the lives of the participants as well as watching and listening to their narratives. For example, I was requested to contribute a salad to an engagement party

(3/8/2013), and another participant offered the use of her house for its preparation. This incident pushed the concept of the "outsider" to the limit since I became a full "insider" by participating in the cultural practices of the diaspora.

The scenario was repeated with my active involvement in the surprise twenty-first birthday party organised by a first generation immigrant couple for their daughter. My assigned task was to use my influence as a researcher to ask the girl in question for her friends' telephone numbers, purportedly to ask them for interviews, and thereby facilitate the surprise. In these instances, I had to take an active role as well as maintain my distance as a researcher without compromising the ethos of qualitative research. Also, I evidently did not always communicate successfully, as in the instance of the hairdresser with whom I had left my card. She mistook me for a shipping agent and gave my card to a lady who called me for further details! There were times during the interview process when my "insider" position as a Nigerian led to an assumption that I already knew what their understanding of 'home' should be, or the awkward moments when some assumed that I knew what they wanted to say.

Furthermore, it is impossible for me to ignore my personal interest in researching the concepts of 'home' and identity amongst this particular diasporic group. Although I exercised the researcher's prerogative to select topics, also the parts of the data that should be my focus in interpretation (Hermes, 2005), I did not allow this to force the data to fit into any preconceived concepts I might have had prior to fieldwork. I have therefore quoted extensively from the interview materials in order to give voice to my participants (Gray, 2002) and to articulate the crucial facets of their everyday media use that relate to identity and 'home.'

I was careful in playing the role of a professional stranger when carrying out ethnography inside the home (Hastrup, 1995; Agar, 1996). Despite my taking up residence and immersing (Adjetey, 2010) myself in Peckham, I was still a "professional stranger," watching the same TV programmes and Nollywood films the participants watched even though they were not programmes I would ordinarily watch. Also, I listened to discussions relating to their favourite programmes and how important these

programmes were to their sense of identity and 'home.' Maintaining my distance in this way required me to look for, and to record, the "otherness" in the familiar (Marcus and Fischer, 1986:11-36), even when my social and cultural capital and my interest in the topic all constituted prior knowledge of the Nigerian terrain which I brought into the new setting.

I therefore believe that the analysis and the extensive quotes used in my interpretation of the data in the empirical chapters reflect as closely as possible the participants' media use in relation to their diasporic identity. I have included in the appendixes a copy of the interview guide. I cannot claim, however, that this study is representative of the entire Peckham first and second generation diaspora community. The presentation reflects the view of the participants who agreed to be interviewed and on whose media consumption habits participant observation was carried out.

4.4. Data Analysis

In media and anthropological ethnography, it is in data analysis and interpretation that the ethnographer puts his own unique stamp on the project (Gray, 2002). Thus, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) described the qualitative researcher as a *"bricoleur,"* suggesting that he or she is open to the employment of a variety of strategies and methods in collecting and analysing assorted empirical materials. The researcher as an artiste therefore devises the most imaginative, artful, competent, and flexible means of presenting his or her subject, though methodological knowledge and intellectual competence are obviously required (Tesch, 1990). Likewise, Coffey and Atkinson (1996) posited that analysis is not about observing a set of right techniques or a correct approach, the researcher is however expected to be methodical and scholarly in the application of intellectual rigour (ibid: 10) when transforming and interpreting qualitative data. This is important in order to capture the complexities of the social world he or she is seeking to understand (ibid: 3).

My initial thematic analysis led to the identification of key concepts of 'home,' belonging, and identity, delineating between the first and second generations' understanding of each. Given the centrality of a continuous process of interpretation in

ethnography and qualitative research generally (Gray, 2002); the analyses of both field notes and the transcribed interviews were further examined individually with regard to these key concepts. No qualitative software package was used for the data analysis. All of the coding was done manually and in some cases with Microsoft Office software, in which the data were stored, retrieved and managed effectively. The coding of individual cases in the categories of first and second generation for the five selected families was carried out in order to identify relationships and patterns, which were then synthesised in line with the theoretical framework before I decided to treat family members as individuals, as explained above.

The analysis was carried out inductively even though theories were consulted and concepts were pre-defined prior to fieldwork. These served as "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer, 1954) through which the research questions were posed, and which provided a general sense of reference and guidelines through which the empirical data were gathered during fieldwork (Bryman, 2004). The concepts were refined but not reified, to reflect the complexity of everyday life regarding the media practices of the participants (Bryman, 2004). This is in light of the goals of the study to understand as well as interpret (Miller and Brewer 2003:68) the participants' own perceptions, ideas, and social meanings. Consequently, the analysis is data driven.

During fieldwork and while transcribing the interviews, themes such as the commodification of 'home,' reclamation of identity, and Peckham as a diasporic space for enacting the diasporic experience emerged. My analysis of the data continued through an exploration of Wolcott's (1994) data analysis methods of transformation, in which data is operationalised through three typologies: description, analysis and interpretation. A document was created in Microsoft word thematically for the two generations and for the families in order to cross-reference and explore emerging connections among participants' understandings of 'home,' identity, media and Peckham. Through this process of open coding, the initial research questions taken to the field were answered as I came up with a comprehensive write-up of my preliminary findings. This served as a subsequent guide to further coding and refinement of my research questions in order to identify key areas of media consumption.

Through the realignment of my research objectives and research questions, I was able to sharpen the focus on the media practices of the two categories of participants. I came up with an Excel coding, which was later transferred into Microsoft word, and is reflected in the tables presented above. I was then able to identify the media practices that reflect the participants' everyday rituals associated with their "Nigerianness," those that connect them to Britain, and those through which they contest social exclusion and media representation. Earlier analysis had shown that identity is basically "essentialised" even when it is performed through consumption of both 'host' and 'home' media. In the case of the second generation who claim the priority of their Nigerian heritage over their British identity, I questioned this strategic "essentialising" to confirm or negate it through an examination of similar studies, in order to find the similarities and points of divergence in their focus, approach, findings and methodological application. These findings are the themes informing the three empirical chapters that follow.

4.5. Ethical Considerations

Prior to fieldwork, I applied for and was granted ethical approval from the University of Leicester Ethnics Committee to conduct this research. The research was then undertaken in line with the University's ethics policy for research involving human participants. Consequently, oral consent was sought at the beginning of every interview, even in informal gatherings, and all of the interviewees were informed of their right to withdraw their consent at any point during the interview (Brewer, 1984a: 89). All of the data discussed in this thesis was obtained with the consent of the participants who provided it.

Given the caution with which researchers broach ethical issues in terms of interpretation (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), crisis of representation (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Richardson, 1998; and Neumann, 1996), and the representation particularly of those who have been promised anonymity, all standard ethical practices were observed throughout and during the analysis and write up. None of the participants in this study demanded anonymity. Nevertheless, sensitivity is taken in the use of proper names and attempts are made to edit names and places to avoid recognition through contextual

data (Binaisa, 2009:54). Also, sensitivity with of the migration trajectories of different people was maintained. However, names of some specific churches and shops, which are public places, remained unchanged.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that the use of the bottom up ethnographic approach remains the best to answer questions relating to the media consumption and practices of a group, such as immigrants with a diasporic orientation towards multiple attachments. It has been argued that ethnography, and its methods of participant observation and semi structured interviews, afforded the study the flexibility to deal with the complexities that such media appropriation may or may not generate in the context of the participants' everyday lived experiences. Furthermore, ethnography facilitates a situation in which the nuanced differences between what is claimed in interviews and what is practiced in real life can be verified through observation of the participants' everyday practices related to media use. This is particularly important given the focus of this study on unearthing the similarities and differences between two generations.

The chapter further explicated the processes through which data was collected and the analysis of media and media related practices of the first and second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham was carried out. It also provided demographic details of the participants involved as individuals and families who reflect the heterogeneous composition of Nigerians in Peckham, and detailed my immersion in their social, cultural and political life over a period of seven months.

The results of this examination of the participants in mediating 'home' and identity through mainstream and diasporic media, both "big" and "small," and various other alternative media, are discussed in subsequent chapters as a reflection of their definition of key diasporic concepts. The three empirical chapters will explore the findings of the study through three broad lenses of how both categories of participants celebrate their "Nigerianness."

Chapter 5 Media Consumption: The Site of Negotiating Everyday Diasporic Experience

"Media stories and images provide the symbols, myths, and resources which help constitute a common culture for the majority of individuals in many parts of the world today. Media culture provides the materials to create identities whereby individuals insert themselves into contemporary techno-capitalist societies and which is producing a new form of global culture." (Douglas Kellner, 1994:1).

Introduction

Drawing on participant observations and semi-structured interviews, this chapter analyses the everyday rituals of media consumption. It addresses the first research question, on how the experiences of first and second-generation Nigerian immigrants of Peckham approximate Brah's argument of 'home' as being the site of everyday diasporic experiences through their media and media-related practices. It aims to identify whether the engagement of each generation reflects the complexities of home and identity that diasporic groups have to navigate as part of their everyday diasporic experience. The analysis focuses on determining whether the diasporic experience of my participants confirm or challenge Brah (1996), and posits that 'home' is the site of the everyday lived experiences in a particular locality. This is gleaned from the data on each category of participants' engagement with diasporic media.

Considering both generations' engagement with *BEN TV* and *Naija FM* radio along with the mediation of social, religious and cultural programmes on these stations and the particularity of the location, Nigerians in Peckham seem not only to negotiate multiple attachments, but also to situate home in the here and now. As a result of the particularity of these media platforms and the relocation of identity in space and time in the specific space of Peckham, both generations reflect a type of "Nigerianness" in their engagements. This makes social, religious, economic and cultural practices from the 'homeland' and in the media resources for articulating diasporic identity. In the process, they "scoop all around in a multidirectional gaze" (Sreberny, 2000) whereby they navigate the diasporic consciousness of being both "here" and "now" as well as "there" in their diasporic imaginings.

In addition to providing the materials for both generations to construct their identities in the present, diasporic media also facilitate interaction with contemporary Nigeria. A Nigeria that is one of the "contemporary techno-capitalist societies" (Kellner, 1996, 1994) as set forth in Chapter 1.

The chapter further discusses how both generations reflect 'Nigerianess' through their consumption of the diasporic media of *Nollywood* and *Naija FM* radio as well as the particularistic entertainment of *BEN TV* programmes. It is argued that through these diasporic media, the two generations of immigrants connect to contemporary Nigeria in differing ways. Nevertheless, this sense of Nigerian-ness is a crucial component of the diasporic identity of both first and second-generation Nigerian immigrants in 'Little Lagos'. The chapter then explores how social media now provide both generations with the resources to engage with current issues in the homeland and with other Nigerians in diaspora. Finally, the chapter turns to the theme of celebrating Nigerian-ness through the use of small media, such as church music and dancing.

5.1. Availability and Access

The issues of availability and accessibility are crucial to media engagement and are particularly relevant to the negotiation of identity and 'home' amongst the two generations of the Nigerian diaspora in this study. New media technology has altered the nature of diaspora in terms of space and location. SGP Peter, a male financial analyst whose parents own the African/Caribbean grocery shop that was one of the sites of participant observation, vividly captured this. Although Peter and his parents have moved to another part of southeast London to live, the family business remains located in Peckham. According to him:

> You don't have to physically travel to Nigeria, you can get information through the Internet, get information through phone calls, and you know, so many other means of communication that you can use to access information, apart from having to physically

> travel to Nigeria... [It feels as if] I am both here and there. I have access to everything in the UK and in Nigeria. (08/07/2013).

His statement conveys the vibrancy of living simultaneously in two locales, which distinguishes contemporary from classical diasporic experiences. In the past, emigrants would experience a rupture between the country of origin and that of settlement. Now, however, diasporic everyday life can be lived in two or even more locations concurrently. Implied also in Peter's statement is an affirmation of what Brah (1996) posits as the dual nature of diasporic identity as both global and local. He also indicates that travelling is not necessarily a precondition for interaction across long distances in this modern age of mobility and freely flowing goods, capital and people (Appadurai, 1992). A similar claim was made by SGP Tolu, a female undergraduate, who said, "We live in a world where media is the staple of our lives that connects people all over the world."

In the participants' homes, large, flat screen, high definition televisions feature in most living rooms, while bedrooms and kitchens have smaller ones. All of the FGPs own multiple televisions sets, which resonates with theoretical claims that television remains a very popular medium (Georgiou, 2013; Lay and Thomas, 2012; Ong, 2009). There are also DVD players and stacks of *Nollywood* DVDs and VCD cassettes in the living room cabinets. In some cases, laptops are also present, along with radios and music players. Some of the older participants, age 60 and above, do not have cable TV subscriptions and are not computer literate; they rely on their VCD players to watch *Nollywood* films, but the lack of Internet access and competence circumscribe their engagement with diasporic media. The Internet serves as a platform through which national identifications and definitions of home are articulated (Johnson and McKay, 2011:182), and it is instrumental in bridging generational gaps (Arnold and Schneider, 2007; Gauntlett and Hill, 1999). Thus, the lack of computer literacy has a great effect on these older FGPs. The SGPs were observed to engage with media through their laptops and smart phones. This was affirmed by SGP Biyi, who works in Accounting/Finance:

> I engross myself in all forms of media. I don't watch TV channels in the conventional sense anymore. I watch TV shows - generally American and British, not Nigerian. I used to watch films a lot more

> than I do now... I use the Internet every day. On and off, I will say about five hours a day. I tweet; I use social media. I also do research… For me it's mostly through my phone, while research and TV shows are mostly through my laptop. ...tweeting about my general day, what happens, how it happened, my views on a range of issues... I follow Nigerian *Newswatch* [and] *NIDO*; and I generally keep abreast of what's actually happening in Nigeria. (26/3/013).

Despite their intense use of diasporic media, the second generation were also inclined to be critical of its content in terms of quality and delivery. This is similar to the Turkish subjects of Aksoy and Robin (2003). For instance, Biyi, who has lived in Peckham from birth, is aware of the whole range of diasporic media but he is not impressed by *BEN TV* and *Nollywood,* to which he referred dismissively as "stuff like that." He added, "Really, the quality could be better - content, delivery and execution - but I don't really watch them, to be honest" (26/3/013). This appears to be common among migrants, as Ong and Cabañes (2011) recorded a similar attitude among their Filipino participants with regard to the content and style of delivery of British news media versus those from the Philippines. They claimed that the British media and international news coverage were "superior" compared to the "simplistic, biased and incomplete" (p. 207-208) coverage of news and public affairs programmes in the Philippines. Ogunyemi (2012) similarly asserted that African diasporas are active audiences who have found their particularistic media to be lacking in programming and production quality.

However, some of this study's participants argued that it is unfair to apply Western standards in judging the quality and content of these media. These participants' opinions are in line with Ogunyemi's (2012) description of the economic constraints faced by producers of diasporic media, for which reason they felt it unfair to compare their product to those with far greater financial resources. In contrast, mainstream media have substantial advertising revenues at their disposal, yet do not offer the type of particularistic information of diasporic media. To these producers, especially the editor of the newspaper *African Voice,* users of their media should celebrate the role of ethnic media in bringing about social integration through the provision of information about rights as well as about the benefits and opportunities available to readers for advancement in the UK. Also, the editor highlighted the failure of these critics to apply

such Western cultural values, tastes and standards to themselves, as, he said, many members of diaspora do not purchase their own newspapers but rather rely on others to "pass on" the papers to them, thereby depriving the newspaper of revenue. This is a reading habit inherited from the 'homeland,' where "one copy of the paper is read by about ten to twelve people" (Ogunyemi, 2012:208). Similarly, I observed during fieldwork that *Nollywood* DVDs and VCDs were circulated among many family members.

Irrespective of this criticism, however, both generations acknowledged *Nollywood* as forming an important part of the "cement" (Cunningham, 2001) which binds the diasporic community together. It is a valued medium, through which diasporic identity is negotiated, produced and reproduced, and is one which transcends ethnic divides. Although Biyi complained about the quality and content of the medium, he did not dismiss its social and cultural utility in the daily lived experiences of second-generation immigrants like himself. According to him, without "stuff like *BEN TV* and *Nollywood*, a lot of second generation Nigerians would see themselves more whole-heartedly like British as opposed to Nigerian citizens." Implied in his statement is that irrespective of their limitations, these media are actually performing the valuable function of connecting the second generation to their heritage. Also, the awareness and consciousness of his "Nigerianness" is evidently a significant aspect of his identity.

This investigation confirmed the availability of various diasporic media, but accessibility to them was found to be restricted on the basis of cost for the FGPs. For the SGPs, this is not an issue as they have ready access to a wide range of media through their smart phones and laptops, which is included in the cost. Even where there is no satellite or cable facility, they are still able to access YouTube and other web outlets of diasporic media. For some of the first generation however, accessibility depends on whether they can afford to subscribe to cable television or not, and this is particularly the case for those who are over 60 and/or retired.

For instance, Oso and Adio, both retired nurses, said that they used to watch the *Bisi Latilo Show (*a programme that broadcasts Nigerian parties) for amusement, and *NTA* news, on both *BEN TV* and *AIT*. However, since the introduction of subscription fees,

their media selection has been reduced to whatever is available on terrestrial and other free-to-air television channels. The experiences of these FGPs resemble those of the Filipino migrants in Ong and Cabañes's (2011) study, who had to adjust their media habits as well as their media selection according to what was available to them in diaspora. This differed, however, in terms of motivation, which was monetary in the case of this study's FGPs but had more to do with a limited range of choices amongst Ong and Cabañes's Filipinos subjects. Their participants maintained the same interest in their homeland's political issues, but they had to find alternative sources of information through their laptops, such as social networking sites, online forums, and mailing lists (p.207).

In relation to computer literacy, the study's findings corroborate what is normally expected: a disparity in connection with age, as the FGPs aged 60 and above were usually not competent computer users. Consequently, many in this age group rely on their computer-savvy children when Internet use is necessary. A few among them claimed to have learned enough to be able to shop online. By contrast, most of the younger FGPs are as computer literate as their second-generation offspring and engage the whole range of social media. These participants displayed an aptitude showing that they are as media literate and computer-savvy as the second generation not only in using the Internet but also in terms of their ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create or produce texts (Livingstone, 2004:3) across the whole spectrum of media. This is possibly a result of their professional status, as many require professional competence in computer use in their jobs.

Retired nurse Oso reported that her current favourite programmes are "sports, and *Deal or No Deal* on Channel 4*."* In fact, during our interview, a local sports programme played on Channel 4 in the background. This shows the kind of mundane use Hermes (1995) observed in her study, in which she demonstrated that reading women's magazines and watching television are often seen as secondary activities that provide ways of filling "empty" time on the one hand, and on the other hand, how engagement with media is dependent on individual interests.

For three months, I lodged in the house of FGP Cecilia, a middle-aged working class caregiver. Her television diet included programmes such as tennis as well as English and Nigerian films. On account of her satellite subscription, she differed from other participants such as Oso and Adio, who watch only British television because of availability and cost. This is an indication of personal interest since she is willing to pay the extra expenditure, but she was sufficiently interested to prioritise the subscription in her budget. Thus, for some FGPs, subscription costs restrict what they watched, whereas for the second generation, there is no limit to accessibility through their smart phones and laptops, which connect them to the Internet at all times.

5.2. Reflecting "Nigerian-ness"

The analysis in this section is presented to strengthen the argument that amongst both the FGPs and SGPs, the perception of 'home' and identity play a role in their engagement with various forms of media. It focuses on how both generations re-live the "there" in the confines of the "here and now" through their consumption of *Nollywood,* diasporic radio advertisements and the various entertainment options on *BEN TV.* These various engagements revert to the assumption that media reflect cultural or national values, which is the premise for the weak media and strong identities (Madianou, 2005) paradigm discussed in Chapter 3.

Particularizing Entertainment: Negotiating Home and Away through the TV Show

Bright Entertainment Television, popularly known as *BEN TV,* is an infotainment channel that prides itself on being the first and the largest provider of entertainment targeted at Black minority audiences in the UK. All of the participants, both first and second generation members, contest the quality of the channel, but still engaged with it, for which they offered various reasons. Most of the FGPs incorporate the channel into their routine, as discussed below, while in the case of the SGPs, the appropriation of the channel is contextual as well as functional.

FGP Bunmi, during an informal interaction, explained how she and many of her first generation friends watch programmes that are tailor-made by various governments from the 'home' country to reach out to their diaspora groups. Her routine includes

watching the Ogun State Governor's achievements programme, a Sunday bulletin that describes activities going on in her State of origin in Nigeria, at 19:00 on Sundays. This is in addition to watching *Events* at 17:00, a programme that broadcasts parties and celebrations from the 'homeland' to those in diaspora, and the *Bisi Olatilo Show* at 22:30, a talk show that also features parties and the glamour of celebrations in Nigeria. Implied in this routine is the presence of "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995), whereby everyday forms of "nationhood" and the nation are reproduced, disseminated and negotiated through these programmes (Madianou, 2005), from which they are then appropriated by the diasporic community and incorporated into their practices. FGP Folu is a nurse who has been in Peckham for twenty-seven years: "I want to watch what the trend is, what they are doing back home, because people back home know how to enjoy themselves." Her commitment to watching programmes that fulfil this need was jokingly affirmed by her husband when he said, "She watches every party they do back home; she wants to know what's happening there" (6/6/013).

Bisi, a lawyer, exemplifies how the SGPs regard *BEN TV*. Along with her family members, she found it expedient to watch *Events* and other party-themed programmes on *BEN TV* during the preparation for her brother's wedding to an African American. For a number of weeks the family watched and discussed the party clothing and accessories displayed on *Bisi Olatilo*'s show on *BEN TV* in order to collect ideas. They also scrutinised the glamorous parties featured on the show and compared them with those on *Events,* which features similar Nigerian parties that take place in London. As a result of watching these programmes, the family hired caterers in the United States, made a series of family visits to Liverpool Street in London to purchase fabrics for Nigerian-style clothing, contacted tailors in Nigeria, and undertook much planning that linked "different segments of diasporic ensembles to each other" (Dayan, 1998:108).

Furthermore, a functional difference was observed between the consumption of BEN TV's programmes by the first and second-generation members of the diaspora. While the FGPs incorporate it into their weekly routine, their second-generation children only access it when the situation requires; for them, such programmes serve only an occasional, functional purpose.

Nollywood: Between Nostalgia and Identification

Although it was mainly the FGPs that regularly watch *Nollywood* films and productions, the impact on identity claims spread across both generations. Thus, its films have come to wield a strong influence on the diasporic consciousness and on how 'home' and abroad are negotiated and relived in everyday diasporic practice.

SGP Tolu's mother, Ola, a middle-aged nurse, is an avid fan of *Nollywood,* like many other first generation diaspora members, and she believes that "you learn one or two things which improve your perception of life" from *Nollywood* films. She was more specific about Christian films, using phrases such as: *"má sọ ìrètí nù; ìwòsàn; owó òjijì"* (an encouragement never to lose hope; [faith] healing; warnings against unearned, instant wealth), and she said that she retells these stories to counsel or encourage others (20/07/2013). Ola and most of the older generation see watching the films as a means of combating loneliness, and a way to "chill out*."* Moreover, the contents are reflections of an identity that is grounded in the social cultural practice of a past that is relived in the present, and often times, deployed in interpersonal relationships and discussions in diaspora, whereby others are warned of the consequences reflected in the films. Thus, the dominant meaning, which producers have encoded into the films, is taken not as a constructed representation of reality, but a reflection of reality that is to be applied to personal lives and relationships. In this way, as Kellner and Durham (2006: xxi) postulate, "culture is produced and consumed in social life."

Nollywood films are available to members of the diaspora through subscription on the 24-hour *Nollywood* channel on Sky, and also on DVD and VCD cassettes and on YouTube and free diasporic TV channels. Lami, a first generation business management consultant, explains:

> I do watch *Nollywood* films. I don't watch the *Nollywood* channel because you have to pay for it and I already paid for Sky so I don't see the reason why I should pay twice. I buy Nigerian videos, especially Yoruba. I love Yoruba cultural films... my children always

> love the ones that have English subtitles… It is showcasing our own cultural heritage. (23/4/013)

Apart from fulfilling the entertainment needs of both generations, the content is seen as representing reality. There is therefore no negotiated reading of the texts as they interact with the dominant/ preferred content encoded in the medium (Hall, 1980). Like any genre in this film category*, Nollywood* is also hyper-real, but as demonstrated with the difference between FGPs and SGPs, Ola, and most FGPs, but only Peter and Abid from the SGPs, see it as representing reality. Other SGPs interpret and critique the content of the films. SGP Owotola strongly contends that it is hyper-real (his aversion is further discussed below). In addition, the first generation immigrants are familiar with the travelling theatres at 'home', which evolved into *Nollywood*, and also with traditional Nigerian concepts of the supernatural; but the second generation are not. This explains the differences in their attitudes towards *Nollywood* films.

Both generations of participants relate to the content, the themes and the language of the films, which might be Yoruba or Igbo. They diverge, however, in terms of taste, interests, habits, and media competencies, which therefore have a direct impact on their media selection and consumption. According to Peter, "the storylines are interesting, and it gives you a better understanding of what happens in Nigeria." This perspective is also expressed by Abid, another SGP, and she does not hesitate to own up to her "addiction" to *Nollywood* films. She watches them on the TV channel as well as on DVD. Beyond merely watching, she has incorporated the films into her discourse of 'home' and identity. Sitting in a Nigerian *Buka*[15] in Peckham she gleefully declares:

> I'm addicted. My mum knows me; I'm addicted to Nigerian movies ... I'm an addict. It reminds you of home; it reminds you of Nigeria... People around me... when you have friends they speak Yoruba to you, your family speaks Yoruba, how can you ever forget? And I watch Yoruba movies ... the movies... that is why I can never forget my language. (16/4/013)

Abid not only attests to the cultural value of *Nollywood* films but also acclaims how watching the films assuages her nostalgic feeling for a 'homeland' to which she is linked

[15] "Buka" is the general name for local restaurants in Nigeria

only by heritage and imagination. Through identification with the content, the language and the themes of *Nollywood,* this SGP perceives the films as both entertaining and edifying in terms of their cultural efficacy in connecting the 'homeland' with the diaspora, without regarding them as real.

Thus, the two categories of participants are similar in their appreciation of the language, themes and content of *Nollywood*. As is usual in all things human, there are exceptions. Thirty-eight-year old SGP, Owotola, a Credit Analyst is one. He expressed his aversion to *BEN TV* and *Nollywood*. In contrast to all the FGPs and even other second generation counterparts, he has no emotional connection with *Nollywood* films, and consequently does not watch them nor relate to their content. He gives the genre's emphasis on *'juju'* (rituals and witchcraft) in its content as the reason for his dislike. This, however, is this same theme that is applauded by many of the participants as serving the purpose of linking them with the far away 'homeland' of their imagination.

This analysis demonstrates that generational differences inform the media experiences of both categories and their differential engagement with the medium. However, multiple positioning between the host and 'home' continue to inform the way both relate to the medium. Even for Owotola, there is a taken for granted assumption of a practice that is linked to an imaginary, far away 'home', on which his personal judgement of dislike is based. The participants' expressed views are in line with the general perception of some practitioners and scholars that "*Nollywood* is the lens through which worldview of the society is depicted that speaks to aspects of social life lived by many people" (Agba, 2014:157, 161). The content is an "explanation of things we do in the dark ... eloquent about the life we live, but we do not speak about such life in public" (Okome, 2008, cited in Agba: ibid). Also, in relating with the themes of the supernatural, witchcraft, folklore, incantations and verbal expressions rooted in the everyday culture of the Yoruba people (Detokunbo- Bello, 2010; Madichie, 2010). The participants see the medium as reflecting the rich cultural beliefs, religious practices and heritage which the Yoruba travelling theatre transformed from theatrical performances into films and which *Nollywood* is seen to reflect in its content. This affirms the

theoretical posit of weak media and strong identities paradigm, where media is assumed to reflect cultural and national values, discussed in Chapter 3.

The Terrain of Radio Adverts and the Diasporic Gaze

Literature has shown how the media forms of diasporas affect the dynamic process of "looking in, looking back, and looking around" (Sreberny, 2000:182). The diasporic space is therefore constructed through various cultural activities and media channels that help members of diasporas not only in looking back to the past but also in looking around in the present and as they look forward to the future. This multidirectional gaze is exemplified by FGP Cecilia's everyday practice of engaging with the diasporic radio *Naija FM.* She claims to have two homes, Peckham and Lagos, Nigeria. She lives in her home in "Little Lagos" and also has a home, geographically, in Lagos, where her children live and which is a city of which she dreams almost every hour as she sits in her living room in Peckham listening to the radio.

Engagement with the medium of radio falls generally along generational lines, although certainly there are individual preferences as well. For the FGPs, the radio, whether diasporic or mainstream, is a source of news, information and entertainment, whereas for the second generation, the radio serves almost only entertainment purposes, that is, as a medium to listen to music, and this is done primarily online. Only a few among the information-savvy participants tune into their radios to listen to the news, and this is only while driving to work. The popularity of Nigerian radio stations and its impact on identification that is associated with national pride are discussed in Chapter 7.

FGP Cecilia keeps two radio sets in her kitchen and both are permanently tuned to the diasporic radio stations *Naija FM* channel 101.1 and *Surprise* channel 96.4. Similarly, Ola, the FGP mother of SGP Tolu, although from a different class than Cecilia, has a television in her kitchen with a built-in DVD player, which she uses to play Nigerian music. In this way, even while performing the mundane activities of the kitchen, the 'homeland' is re-territorialized not only in the imagination but also in her physical space. This confers on its programmes a social significance in the same manner that the Filipino participants in Ong's study experienced. Through the creative use of karaoke and other symbols, they

temporarily feel like they are back in the 'homeland' (Ong, 2009:177). Thus, Cecilia affirms the sentiments of most diasporic groups regarding diasporic media's ability in figuratively transporting them to a distant 'homeland' (Brah, 1996), which Aksoy and Robin suggest is "about the maintenance of at-a-distance ties*."*

In addition, according to Cecilia, the radios "let you know what is going on around, especially in our community here, so that you won't be at risk*."* Five weeks before the interview, the programme had warned listeners about the danger of transacting business with a local money transfer outlet, which had been ("scamming") swindling undocumented members of the diaspora. She elaborated:

> I heard on radio about four/ five weeks ago - because normally we go to Peckham to change money to send back home - there is a particular shop there that has been named, that people should not go to change money... so that you won't lose your money… according to the information I heard on 101.1, they said the man… in Nigeria they call it "419."[16] So without this 101 *Naija FM*, I wouldn't be aware of it. (4/4/013)

This statement shows how such media bind the diasporic community together by helping to address problems that are unique to them. The integration of media technology into the confines of Cecilia's kitchen serves the dual purposes of negotiation between two social milieus and bringing about internal cohesion as well as integration within the host society. In this way, *Naija FM* performs the function of "binding" (Sreberny, 2000) and "holding together"' (Fazal and Tsagarousianou, 2002) the diasporic community, and through engagement with the medium, Cecilia is able to have a diasporic experience in which she is reminded about Nigeria's scammers, as indicated by her reference to '419.'

The radio serves the purpose of linking the whole diasporic fabric together through broadcasting programmes which, according to Cecilia's narration, discuss social issues,

[16] "419" refers to the well-known clause against corruption in the Nigerian Constitution and has been discussed as part of the historical context of Nigerian migration in chapter two.

warn of danger, and also serve as an avenue for raising support for diasporic members who are in need. She continued:

> I hear so many stories about people ... who are suffering, and people who are [able] contribute and help them in times of need. They come on the air and tell us their problem. Some people have even offered to donate their kidney to those in need of it. People donate and help the homeless, those that have nothing to eat, no clothing. (4/4/013)

This is corroborated by Ados, a young banker, when he asserted that diasporic television stations such as *BEN TV, OHTV* operate "target audience-driven programmes*."* He expounded further:

> [They are] driven by community, by Africans, [by the] people from Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda they represent. People identify with the channels. Family issue debates... celebrations they show on TV, church programmes, their events on the TV. Representatives from those countries also come on the Channel to talk to people for any development [project] and charities. It also helps for people to see that this is their root; this is where they are coming from. (1/1/013)

Communal solidarity is further enhanced through the use of indigenous Nigerian languages for religious and other cultural awareness programmes. For instance, the Nigerian church in Peckham where extensive fieldwork was carried out has a religious programme on *Naija FM* in English and Yoruba. *Naija FM* is also an avenue for keeping indigenous Nigerian languages alive in diasporic memory. The station has a programme called "*akọ'mọ l'édè"* (children's language teacher) in the Yoruba language every Wednesday. Also, among ethnic Igbo in diaspora, the second generation have an association known as the Igbo Cultural Support Network, or ICSN, which attempts to keep the myth of the Igbo culture alive in diaspora. One of the key areas of complaint among the SGPs I interacted with during participant observation is that they could not speak their parents' native language, although they could understand it. However, aside from the FGPs, none of them mentioned this programme nor were seen engaging with this channel for language learning during fieldwork.

In addition to the use of Nigerian languages, radio programmes are also valued amongst the participants for their sermons and advertisements. Ados, who is an economic migrant I met through this church, affirmed that community members listen to "church preaching and business adverts" on the radio. Although the intention of the religious adverts is contested below, it is nonetheless an avenue that is much valued, as many members of the first generation tune in for religious education.

The radio thus serves as an important part of alternative media and a source of gearing community consciousness towards the needs of others in social acts of philanthropy as well as a means of religious and moral education. In this function, the medium fulfils the particularistic roles of fostering internal cohesion while enabling integration within the larger mainstream society (Christophe, 2012; Lay and Thomas, 2012; Ogunyemi, 2012; Dayan, 1999, 1998). It also serves as an avenue through which diasporic narratives are constructed (Tsagarousianou, 2004).

The interdependence of culture and social life is reflected in the position religion occupies in everyday practices of Nigerians, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, social class, age, profession, gender or even religious leaning. This has been noted by scholars such as Hackett and Soares (2015), who have stressed that in Nigeria, "beliefs and practices are central to people's lives and are capable of evoking strong passions and emotions" (p.251). Thus, religion is a crucial aspect of the Nigerian identity. Besides the positive role of religion in providing guidance and strength, the negative side is that this panache for beliefs has led to the exploitation of undocumented migrants, which is discussed further on in this section. However, the establishment of churches and their popularity also have to do with the relief they have been known to provide during periods of economic recession.

The Religious Dimension

Several studies have made the point that in Nigeria, the broadcast media have become the means of reaching mass audiences who are looking for solutions to their problems (Ukah, 2014, 2008; Marshall, 2009; Ojo, 2006). This could either be through help in emigrating or the alleviation of the poverty that afflicts them; and the preaching of

miracles and prosperity has become the unique selling point of religious programming as well as church services (Ukah, 2015; Hackett, 2014, 2008, 1998). Many church pastors use television to advertise their power to miraculously heal the populace, and as a result, amongst Nigerians who are "too poor to afford drugs, these churches have replaced both doctor and chemist [pharmacy]" (Ukah, 2011:50). Ukah's claim is in line with FGP Tayo's observation and is confirmed by a radio advertisement discussed below. Many of these churches eventually followed Nigerian migrants as transnational organisations, with their practices transported abroad. The excerpt of the radio advertisement below attests to this re-territorialization of 'homeland' practice in diaspora.

Religious media programming and religiosity in Nigeria continue to focus on miracles, especially in the new Pentecostal movement whose pastors constantly emphasise the importance of miracles in sermons broadcast on national television channels. The popularization of miracles as everyday occurrences through the consumption of such programmes has become overwhelming, with disastrous consequences for the overall development of the nation, as Nigerian airwaves have been taken over by such religious propagation. This has led to the marginalisation of other voices as well as public and national interest programmes (Hackett and Soares, 2015; Ukah, 2015, 2014, 2011). As a result, the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC), the government regulatory broadcasting body, and the advertising regulatory body Advertising Practitioners' Council of Nigeria (APCON) had to place a ceiling on the percentage of religious programmes and religious advertisements in the weekly content of broadcast stations. They also stipulated that religious adverts must be non-exploitative and non–coercive, and that they must avoid exaggeration and promises of financial prosperity, among many other stringent requirements (see the Appendix 2). These practices have been transported to diaspora, as Pentecostal churches and other religious groups use the local media to continue, "to feast on the psychology of the masses who genuinely are desirous of relief from their sordid existential realities… [some pastors] pursue their pre-occupation as a commercial venture, and utilise any means to accumulate profits" (Ukah, 2011:50). Consequently, religious advertising has become the second greatest income generator in advertising and media revenue in Nigeria, superseded only by the

advertisement of alcohol and tobacco (Ukah, 2011, 2004; Esan, 2009). It is doubtful that the efforts of the regulatory bodies have significantly ameliorated this phenomenon nationally, and findings with regards to diasporic media show a similar trend in the UK. Thus, while religious programming and Christian *Nollywood* films are an inspiration to many Nigerians at 'home' and in diaspora, such as Ola, above, predatory religious advertising is a problem.

Many of these religious programmes and advertisements exploit the illegal status of some of the members of the diaspora group in Peckham. Tayo is an elderly middle class FGP who owns a utility store in a prominent location in Peckham. A retired Managing Director of a major company in Nigeria, he was one of the late 1960's students who had gone back 'home' to take part in the development of Nigeria after independence, as previously discussed in Chapter Two. He subsequently returned to the UK and opened his utility store, and all of his children were born in Peckham. He talks constantly about his desire for them to embrace Nigeria as their country of origin and interest.

Tayo acknowledges that ingrained in the Nigerian cultural consciousness is a respect for the divine and the esoteric, and a penchant for religion in general. According to Ogunyemi (2012), ethnic media producers give consideration to this predilection in their programming. For instance, Ogunyemi cites the statement of the Editor of the *African Voice* newspaper who emphatically declared that "religion is a strong identity of our people that newspapers cannot ignore. This distinguishes us from the mainstream media press which hardly features such stories… our new section ties in with culture and the religion of the people" (p.161).

The fact that diasporic consciousness often has an attachment to "religiosity" has been noted by McKay[17] among Filipinos in Hong Kong and London who according to her, live their lives as "borrowed from God" (p.1). Both the Filipino migrants of her study and the Nigerians in this context display a religious subjectivity through the proliferation of churches as a defining aspect of the "self,", and one, which shapes their everyday

[17] McKay, Deidre "Draft borrowed lives: faith and debt in Filipino migrants' networks," Hong Kong and London. (in press)

"experiences of sojourn and settlement" (p.2). There is a complementarity between McKay's findings and Tayo's statement that pastors are unscrupulous bunch who tend to enrich themselves at the expense of migrants by equating donation with abundance blessings "to be delivered by God" (p.7). Overall, this finding is in line with a joint study by McKay and other scholars, which showed that through the establishment of religious gatherings by immigrants in their new places of settlements, communities have been created away from 'home' (Johnson et al, 2010).

Apart from traditional food retailers, the most visible institutions in Peckham are the religious organizations. These religious institutions use media in a variety of ways, including advertising services, preaching, and issuing invitations for miraculous interventions and success. The latter are needed because of the stress and inner conflict many feel on account of living in a society and culture that is different from that of their origins yet crucial to the purposes for which they live in diaspora, such as the acquisition of wealth, social status and property 'back home.' This is a central pursuit which Botticello (2009) affirms is core to the Yoruba definition of wellbeing.

The pursuit of material wellbeing often serves as motivation for emigration to supposedly greener pastures in foreign lands (Adeyanju and Oriola, 2011). This was the basis of Nigerian migration from the outset, whether motivated by educational or economic pursuits. Added to this material pursuit is the addition of acquiring a British passport as means of attaining social status. This is the case with many of the participants, especially the first generation; and FGP Tayo opined that it is the reason for the illegal status of many Nigerians in Peckham. However, their lack of documentation makes them prone to exploitation by some unscrupulous churches and traditional medicine hawkers on *Naija FM*. Tayo too believes that most of the undocumented members of the diaspora listen to so-called religious messages which are actually advertisements for supernatural means of beating the system. Also, herbalists and soothsayers offer them alternative remedies because of their inability "to access the NHS due to their illegal status in the country." Arguably, the illegal status of many migrants boosts the multiplicity of Nigerian religions in Peckham. Tayo asserted that through the radio medium of *Naija FM,* many "herbalists promote their medicines

and drugs to those who cannot go on NHS and 40% of the religious adverts are directed at this group."

Below are excerpts[18] from some of the advertisements that are featured on *Naija FM* UK, to which Tayo refers:

> "You, woman that is [seeking] a husband
> Eight ways through which you can find a good husband ..."
>
> "Paradise has come into your home today
> Whatever home that is going through a storm today… Your storm will cease...
> [Resident] Permit... the Lord is ready to give it to you ..."
>
> "Your first pregnancy is here... Place your hand on your stomach...
> I give the command... You will be pregnant ..."
>
> "You who are jobless, begging for food ... You will find a job this week
> By Monday, you will receive a letter ..."
>
> "The storm of job [lessness], of family, of barrenness, homelessness, depression
> Call on the God of Storms... The storms of your life will end ..."
>
> "The storm of barrenness, lack of wife or husband, job, family, resident visa, enemies, friends' betrayal, health issues - all have come to an end today ...
> Storm, hear! Stop right now!" (24/12/013)

It is advertising content such as this, promising instant relief to people, that led Tayo to assert that many of these "churches are money making bags." He went on to explain why these adverts target mainly undocumented Nigerian migrants:

> "[They, are] uneducated, so anybody can exploit them. They are illegal residents with no papers, no access to health services, no homes, and so they go to these churches because they believe they will pray for them." (18/04/013)

Through these advertisements promising all-purpose magical remedies, 'homeland' practices are re-territorialized in diasporic space, as *Naija FM* brings them to the attention of its listeners. The traditional herbalist is regarded as possessing magical and psychic healing powers from cosmic agencies. This gives his patients confidence and the incentive to seek help from him (Ngwainmbi, 1995, cited in Aina, 2002:175). Through

[18] Translated from Yoruba

Naija FM, advertisers invite their listeners to participate in 'home'-related practices which have become a part of diasporic life.

In engaging with the particularity of its programmes, the Nigerian listeners are not only temporarily "lifted out" (Ong, 2009) of the reality of their existence in the UK to the 'homeland' in their imagination, they are also addressing the reality of the host country. This reality is that the legal requirements for residence visas and the problems associated with meeting those requirements affect their integration into the larger society, thereby threatening their personal wellbeing and their feeling of belonging. Tayo identified lower class and little education as factors mediating listeners' engagement with the adverts. It is worth noting that class is not only intimated in the contents but also through the type of language used. Code switching between English and Yoruba or Igbo, and the use of pidgin, the creolized mixture, in the advertisements, is also associated with the lower class. The availability of media programming in the language of the specific diaspora group is one of the core attractions of particularistic media, as indicated in literature reviewed in Chapter 3.

Celebrating "Nigerian-ness" on Special Occasions

> "Nigerians are very good at celebrating. It's a celebratory culture. We [really] like to celebrate… I wouldn't use the word "partying" because it makes us unserious [sic]; but you know, Nigerians like to celebrate and enjoy themselves and their achievements." (Biyi, 26/03/013)

This statement by a bright young participant links celebration to a taken-for-granted national identity. Festivals, dance, songs, storytelling, *ewi* poetry recitals, parades and carnivals are amongst the social and cultural practices (Mundy and Crompton 1985) that inform the contexts of everyday happenings in which identities are performed. It is through them that moral instructions, education, entertainment and social and cultural values are transmitted from one generation to another (Aina, 2002).

The social-cultural panache displayed in dance, traditional music, art and age-old oral literature (Eribo and Jong -Ebot, 1997) has been categorised as a genre which is referred to and studied as "oramedia/folk media" (Aina, 2002; Ugboajah, 1985). This is because

they are usually performed by actors and actresses in front of audiences, comprised of, for instance, guests in the context of a Nigerian marriage, as discussed below. Considered from the vantage point of theatrical acting, Kellner (1994) listed such displays as a genre of diasporic media. These celebrations occur in a variety of settings and situations, including religious settings, social gatherings, festivals, and in rites of passage, such as marriages, burials, or naming ceremonies. The spectators/guests are comparable to the audiences of exogenous media such as radio, television and cinema (Aina: 2002), and the performances are meant not only to entertain but also to educate and foster social cohesion in the community (Dayan & Katz, 1992). They have therefore been referred to as endogenous media, and scholars have advocated their deployment in the processes of national development in the African context (Osofisan, 2002; Aina, 2002; Ugboajah, 1985). In India, Kumar (2012) proposes that such performing traditions and arts serve as a medium for the preservation of cultural heritage as well as for passing on traditional wisdom to succeeding generations. Given their value in the Nigerian context, this study argues that such practices deserve to be categorised as "small" media through which identity and 'home' are mediated among the diasporas.

As noted in Chapter 2 in the discussion of the historical context of the Nigerian diaspora, the majority of the Nigerian population in Peckham belongs to the Yoruba ethnic group. Although other ethnic groups have their own celebrations, particularly extravagant and flamboyant practices distinguish Yoruba festivities. Indeed, they have become societal norm and practice that is questioned by many because of the high cost; yet, they continue to be widespread among the rich and the poor alike, although in different degrees. The importance of this practice to the Yoruba was noted by Guyer (1994), who submitted that partying is "a major institution" among the Yoruba people as "graduations of social importance, of occasions, of families, of individuals, are all given material meaning in the context of the party" (p.243, cited in Botticello, 2009:129).

During participant observation at a church celebration in Peckham, FGP Rufus, in an informal discussion, lamented that:

> "The Yorubas love *fàáji,* (pleasure), *k'á wọ asọ* (ostentatious dressing), "spraying" money, *awa la wà mbẹ* (showing off), *iko'mọ jáde* (lavish christenings)... *k'á da agbáda bo'lẹ* (displaying rich garments), *owàmbẹ* (all the happenings)*, àriya*, (merry-making), *ariwo* (noisy events), *ijo, ayẹye* (dance, flamboyance), *ináwo* (extravagant spending)... Halls in the estates during summer are taken over for parties. It is worse than Lagos." (12/5/013)

Implicit in this statement is a reference to celebration as part of a constructed Yoruba-Nigerian identity which is not only carried over from the 'homeland' but which has become amplified and has also led to a new niche in the market for halls catering to this lifestyle. A walk through Peckham reveals the full array of fanfare in clothing that is usually carnival-like in nature, and which, is always worn to such celebrations, although many members of the Nigerian diaspora wear it daily. The traditional outfits are ethnically specific, but common on the streets and usually consist of the Yoruba *bubá* (blouse), *ìró* (wrapper), *gèlè* (headgear) and *iborun* or *ipele* (sash) for women, and the *bubá* (top), *sòkòtò* (trousers), *agbádá* (the larger outer garment), and *filà* (cap) for men, among many other varieties. These outfits can be obtained from male and female tailoring shops in the district, and the food essential to these events is usually provided by one of the many Nigerian restaurants. The shops and restaurants in Peckham are frequented not only by Nigerians who live there but also by those from other parts of the UK.

I attended two rites of passage during fieldwork, upon which the description of celebrations in diaspora is based. Earlier in the chapter, it was mentioned that FGP Folu watches *BEN TV* in order to learn about current Nigerian trends in fashion and celebrations. On 3 August 2013, I attended the wedding that she and her husband Kole organised for their second-generation daughter. The TV programming evidently provided some inspiration for the elaborate ways in which the event was celebrated. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show some of the homeland clothing and practices on display at the event.

Figure 5.1 Folu and Kole dance with the bride, to the beat of an African talking drummer

Figure 5.2 The bride-to-be is assisted with tying her 'gele' at the engagement party

It was held in an Anglican Church hall in the heart of what was then known as North Peckham Estates. The second celebration was SGP Tolu's twenty-first birthday party, which was given for her by her first generation parents, Ola and Olu, on 23 September 2013. Both families are from the Yoruba ethnic group.

A traditional marriage ceremony among the Yoruba and Igbo in Nigeria resembles a theatre performance and is anchored by two key persons (usually women) who are representatives of the families of the bride and groom. In Yoruba, the representative of the bride's family is referred to as *Alaga Ijoko,* the Chairman of the Seated, and the one from the groom's family is called *Alaga Iduro*, the Chairman of the Standing, as the groom's family are regarded as guests to whom seats are yet to be offered. The representatives serve as intermediaries for the families, play-acting as negotiators of the marriage contract (which has already been fully agreed and usually, but not always, includes the payment of a dowry). Their eloquent verbal communication underpins the process, with each reporting back to their respective family. These two representatives are comparable to the anchor persons in a media presentation, around whom the activities revolve, with each taking his/her role in turn. This heightens the performative nature of the rite.

From beginning to end, the various activities as well as the actual physical arrangement of the space in which the event takes place are profoundly communicative (Rothenbuhler, 1998) and carry psychological and symbolic meanings (Boyce et al., 1983), which are the essence of ritual performances. The physical arrangement during the introduction is such that the bride's and the groom's families sit opposite each other, while the *Alagas* conduct the ceremony. In the case of Kole and Folu daughter's engagement on August 3rd, 2013, the *Alaga Ijoko* was a woman, while the *Alaga Iduro* was a Ugandan man.

Diasporic identity is embedded in the performative rituals that characterise these celebrations. They form what Geertz (1973) referred to as "the world as lived" and "the world as imagined," both of which are "fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms" (p.112). The two worlds, lived and imagined, when performed in diasporic context become the world of symbolic practices.

Celebrations like these are glamorized and written up lavishly in Nigerian magazines such as *Ovation International* (published in both English and French), *The Entertainer, High Life,* and *GEMS International,* which, according to Botticello (2009), are similar to

the UK's *Hello* magazine. However, the magazines are different because while *Hello* portrays only "the hosts looking glamorous in opulent surroundings," in the Nigerian versions, "great emphasis is placed on the plethora of persons attending, with double page spreads devoted to groupings of guests in their own finery" (p.129), in addition to attention to the hosts. This is not limited to publications; as mentioned earlier, television programmes on *BEN TV,* such as *Events* and *Bisi Olatilo,* showcase these ostentatious and opulent celebrations. Through the mediation of these celebrations, participants experience a connection to the wider community from seeing their own activities and those of people "like them" displayed in major print and broadcast media.

It was observed during fieldwork that some members of the second generation have actually adopted many of their parents' practices, although with a few modifications and refinements. Bisi's experiences show how cultural practices "travel" in the same way as people. The first generation parents, in recognition of the impact of the new environment on their children, give them space to express their identities, but insist on the observation of some cultural practices, especially, for example, the traditional engagement ceremony. Bisi surfed *BEN TV* and YouTube's various programmes on traditional Nigerian weddings and engagements in preparation for her own. This shows how the second generation can resort to such resources in planning their own traditional weddings, thus reflecting one of the values of new media.

Aina and Ugboajah's "oramedia/folk media" also operate as part of diasporic identity at church. A special feature of any Nigerian-styled church is the exuberant choir, and this is the case whether the services take place in a small hall or a large cinema theatre adapted for such purposes. In the case of the church where fieldwork took place in Peckham, it is a small hall. The musical instruments occupy a prominent position in comparison to traditional Anglican Churches, which normally make do with little besides an organ.

Figure 5.3 The Anglican Church drums

Figure 5.4 Similar drums at the RCCG Church

Traditional music is one of the distinguishing features of any Nigerian church. In recognition of this social practice, the Anglican Church in Peckham has made provision for African-style music and dancing but only on special occasions, such as thanksgiving, naming ceremonies and special celebrations. This was observed at the celebration of Easter in 2013, when fieldwork was being carried out. Usually, a projector displays the lyrics of the songs when music is being performed. It also displays the notices and special announcements to the congregation during services at The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG).

The dancing, singing and drumming are the reason the services last for many hours, which Lami, an FGP regarded as a waste of time. He felt that the maximum time spent in church should not be more than an hour, or one hour and thirty minutes on special occasions, whereas in Nigerian churches, the service usually starts at about nine in the morning and runs until three in afternoon on a normal Sunday. This cultural practice has been noted with approval by diasporic media, which include religious programmes in their schedule (Ogunyemi, 2012).

Through the combination of various media, both small and traditional, the church tries to meet the diasporic need of members of its congregation for integration within the host country as well as their nostalgia for the 'homeland.' Other media forms, such as flyers, newsletters, posters, text messages, DVD recordings of sermons and various other social activities, are also deployed by the Nigerian churches to reach out to members and to inform them about meetings and make other announcements. Radio programmes on *Naija FM* help members to integrate within the larger society. It is worth noting that most of the SGPs are members of Nigerian churches and many are leaders in some of them, including Biyi, who claims to be more British in outlook than his contemporaries.

The next section discusses how the Internet provides alternative platforms for the group to articulate new diasporic identifications for both generations. For the second generation in particular, the Internet and social media have opened up new ways of

interacting with the youths in their country of heritage and those in other parts of the global Nigerian diaspora.

5.3. 'New' Media: The Alternative Space of Performing Diasporic Identification

The importance of social media and new technologies has been reported by many scholars. In particular, their impact in sustaining and maintaining connections between migrants and their left-behind families has been described by studies such as Madianou (2011, 2012, 2013) and Madianou and Miller (2012). Through the alternative space of new technologies and social media, the 'homeland' is not only kept alive in emigrants' imaginations, it is also experienced in real time (Ayankojo, 2010). The proliferation of new technology facilitates the acquisition of new knowledge even for the older FGPs. This section discusses the conflict between the generations regarding the use of the Internet from the perspectives of two first generation grandmothers. This informal discussion took place on the 24 May 2013 in a Nigerian variety store in Peckham. The theme of the conversation could be summed up as the paradoxical impact of social media in provoking generational conflict and in providing space for new knowledge and innovation. The discussion concerned the difference between their outlook and that of their second-generation children who rely on the Internet for information about everything. One of the grandmothers had suggested the application of a homemade, traditional remedy to alleviate teething pain for her grandchild. This is a traditional practice that is a relic of the grandparents 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984), one which comes from the 'homeland' and is carried into diaspora. However, the second-generation daughter responded to the suggestion by saying that she would "Google it." The grandmothers objected to the idea of searching the Internet to ascertain the efficacy of this treatment before administering it to the child. From their discussion, it seems the grandmothers felt challenged that their daughters were scorning the practices with which they had been brought up. Both grandmothers reflected unhappily about the idea of "Googling" used by their children. The Internet facilitates the free flow and acquisition of new knowledge, new ideas, new experiences, and new orientations, which

necessarily has an impact on the development of new identifications and performative identities. Their debate, however, highlights the conflict over the role it plays in the diasporic group and the generational differences inherent in this role.

This discussion contrasts with a second situation in which a first generation mother recognized the computer literacy of her daughter and actually decided to search the Internet for a recipe for a traditional dish they were trying to cook, even though she first protested. She narrated:

> "My daughter is computer [literate], not me... All information you get on the Internet now. Whatever you want to know, you just click, click! You get everything on the Internet." (Oso, 1/4/2013)

Oso, an over 60 first generation immigrant, recognized the new negotiation that is required with children. Although the aggrieved parent in the discussion above did not overrule her daughter's decision, her irritation with the new generation was not merely insinuated but actually voiced:

> "They think they know better than us, after all, they were brought up using such home brewed remedies. Now they think they want to do it the *Oyinbo*[19] way. We will shut our mouths!" (24/5/013)

There was a note of resignation and helplessness, as if they had become outsiders in their own grandchildren's upbringing. Couldry (2013) noted this as the impact of media in transforming the smallest details of individual actions and the largest spaces in which they are involved, and how people in contemporary times search for their children's symptoms online to determine their illnesses through Google (p.1). Thus, for the first generation, diasporic transformation makes it imperative to cultivate a new set of everyday habits and orientations, such as verifying information online, which has become a part of their born-abroad children's new identity performances.

This reflects Georgiou's (2006) finding that the site of identity formation is fraught with struggle because the first and second generations in diaspora relate to the 'homeland'

[19] Yoruba for white people

in different ways. As a result, keeping the 'homeland' practices alive requires a process of continuous negotiation. However, in previous studies the born- and raised-abroad descendants of migrants have always been the ones who experience the conflict between the cultural practices of the adopted country and those from their parents' 'homeland.' In this case, the parents have to negotiate between their old practices and their children's new way of doing things, in particular, looking up everything online. They have to learn a new form of relating to the media, and so they extend their media literacy from engagement with traditional media to include the new media forms that have become alternative means of identity articulation for their second-generation offspring.

One situation in March 2015 attracted attention throughout the Nigerian diaspora. An official spokesman of the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) gave evasive answers on air during an interview on national television in Nigeria in March 2015. *"Oga at the top,"* his big boss, was the only person who could answer the questions, and so, according to him, he was only representing the big boss on air and could not be expected to answer such questions. *"Oga at the top"* was widely discussed all over the world in the Nigerian diaspora, thus representing a local event that acquired a transnational dimension.

In Peckham, SGP Bisi discusses the incident. She first narrates how diasporic media enable her to stay in contact with her cousins through Facebook and email, and how she reads Nigerian news sometimes, although not regularly. "I'm on twitter, so I subscribe to some Nigerian journalists. Keep me aware of some of the issues that Nigerians at home, Nigerians generally face. I continue to learn about my culture… Blogs, Facebook they bring me in contact with Nigerians, not necessarily the country but the people. We talk about news, this security issue about a website on 'Oga at the top'". According to her:

> "I first heard about this joke from a Nigerian friend of my mine. She sent me the link to the YouTube video on WhatsApp. At first, it humoured me. I think it was the image of a man who was a member of the Nigerian military, straitlaced and well presented in his

> uniform “the commandant of Lagos State”, speaking on security in the country on TV, could come across so ignorantly. He smiled as he spoke with apparent authority in response to a number of questions, then skirted and stuttered around a simple question “what is your website” and his response of an incomplete address. His demeanour in the video was pathetic and stupid for a man in his position. It was his failure to provide a complete website that evoked the most humour... Another example of how those who are supposed to be the leaders of the country are actually so ignorant and not fit for the roles they hold. I remember thinking, how did this guy get this job? Who thought it was a good idea for him to go on TV without a proper briefing? This joke is another reminder of how Nigeria is run by idiot illiterates. It is not a good idea for those who are ignorant of subjects to appear on TV and talk about those same subjects.” (20/4/2013)

The spread of the story from traditional media to new media that transcend the national boundaries of various nation states affirms what Ados (1/4/2013) referred to as information travelling at the speed of lightening. This shows how the notion of ‘home’ and identity have been transformed through the adoption of a media related practice whereby contents and commentaries are produced and transmitted across the spectrum of diasporas. It also demonstrates a type of long distance nationalism that questions a national practice by diasporic members, one that would otherwise have gone unnoticed had it not been for new media technologies that has shortened time and space. This sort of long distance politicking is discussed further in Chapter 6.

In addition, the use of mobile phones has moved beyond simply telephoning to what Couldry (2013) refers to as “putting something on the notice board” (p. 122). In this case, news commentaries and reactions to an official interview were “put on the notice board” as people produced their own commentaries about the “Oga at the top” interview, not only on the Internet, but also on their mobile phones, alerting Nigerians near and far to social ills in the ‘homeland.’ SMS/texting therefore has become a new medium for the mediation of ‘home’ across national boundaries. Through the smartphones, Twitter, blogs, WhatsApp, Facebook, and other new technologies and media, the inadequacies of a certain government official in representing the nation were disseminated and discussed. As FGP Adios stated:

> "There is nothing that you do and say but if it is taped people tend to put it on Facebook. Recently a Nigerian official was interviewed about a website, and it made 'oga at the top' become popular among Nigerians in diaspora…. Done in Nigeria and has circulated around the world and there was lots of discussion and opinions about it. This shows that 'we can make our opinion known in the environment' given, about Nigerians can make their opinion known around the world." (FGP Ados, 1/4/013)

Even the avowed British SGP Biyi, through his increased interactions with other Nigerians in diaspora through texting**,** tweeting and instant messaging, received the instant message about 'Oga at the top': "It was funny. It was good I was able to go and look at the background to find out what they were really talking about". For some, the different ways of doing things are being negotiated successfully, while for others, such as the grandmothers above, it is a torturous process. Tolu noted a positive change in this direction and affirmed:

> "I am in a way lucky to have the parents that I have as well because growing up, it was a bit of a struggle sometimes because it was always like, "No! When I say this, you do it!" To question things, you are too scared; but as I grew older... the relationship I had with my mum [has changed]. There were times I would literally have to sit her down and then just communicate with her… Because we are also growing up now, our parents are starting to give us much more responsibility… you know, constantly seeking my opinion." (3/6/013).

5.4. 'Home,' Belonging and Ontological Security

Ontological security is defined by Giddens (1991) as "a sense of continuity and order in events, including those not directly within the perceptual environment of the individual" (p.243). Even as the diasporic consciousness, which situates migrants within multiple locations, continues to require them to negotiate between the 'homeland' and current place of settlement, the sense of continuity offered by social media continues to be a source of grounding in their everyday experience in diaspora. This is the sense expressed by the participants as they acknowledged the pervasiveness of social media and also expressed a sense of security stemming from to its ability to link them to the 'homeland.' Through local and international news, websites, email, webcams, Skype, instant messaging, Facebook contacts, WhatsApp, and cheap phone calls, daily contacts are

maintained with the 'homeland' and a new form of identification has also been created. This enhances integration within the society of settlement, which subsequently eases the pain of estrangement from the 'homeland' that was associated with earlier diasporas.

This is affirmed by Ados's declaration that "social media is one of those things that make you settle down because it gives you information at the speed of lightning on your fingertips. Social media has gone viral." As she goes on to say, Facebook to her has become a space for enacting an identity that can no longer be hidden: "There is nothing that you do or say [that remains private]- if it is taped [i.e. recorded], people tend to put it on Facebook." She further explained that most economic migrants have their "kids, wives, family living in Nigeria; media and most especially social media, help them to maintain contact with them all" (01/04/013).

Ados statement is in line with what Silverstone (1994) has theorized as ontological security that is derived from the dual role of technologies within the household, a situation in which the incorporation of technologies into the infrastructure of the domestic space of users contributes to the continuity upon which everyday life is ordered as in this particular case. Social media provides the security of feeling at home "here" while maintain continuous connectivity with "there."

For Nigerians, personal identity is bound up with family togetherness: "You are, therefore I am." Social media facilitates this by offering a deeper sense of rapport which is absent in telephone conversations, because, as Ados claims, social media "help you to express yourself, to share your feelings, show updates of where you are at." Furthermore, sharing pictures creates a sense of co-presence and participation in ongoing events: "You can send your pictures; party pictures are sent to people who cannot travel over to come and party along with you... via YouTube or Facebook, you can communicate events - community events - to people, within seconds" (1/4/013).

In this way, the gap of separation is bridged, and posting pictures has become another way of dealing with nostalgia as well as keeping memories alive (Karim, 2010). According

to SGP Biyi, "social media have been very effective, as YouTube cuts across continents, and through Facebook, contacts are maintained with Nigeria and Nigerians. There is a useful, free flow of information and developments." Tolu sums up the impact of social media and new communications on her interactions and newfound identification with Nigeria thus:

> "Definitely social media has helped. For example, [subscribing to] things like *Nairaland Forum*,[20] because before that, I didn't really have much contact with Nigerians that are back in Nigeria, apart from family members, but this medium has heightened my cultural awareness about the country."

It was through participating on the *Nairaland forum* that she encountered the antipathy from 'home' based youth, which was quoted at the beginning of the thesis. The youths who challenged her as not being fully Nigerian because she lives abroad. Thus, as the Internet offers new opportunities for connection and identification with the parents' 'home' country, it is also the site of negotiating the boundaries of belonging, an insider in some ways but an outsider of the mainstream, even as in the host context. It confirms the findings that people like her have to negotiate even their newfound imaginary belonging, which then situates them "in the liminal position of hated abroad, unwanted at 'home'," which was the headline of an African newspaper by Ajani (2012) in *Venture Africa.* The article was an OpEd that called on Nigerians both at 'home' and abroad to discuss the dilemma of the diaspora and the negotiation of the complexities of multiple belongings that question a member of diaspora's integration into the two locations of abroad and 'home'.

Such problems notwithstanding, Internet forums such as *Nairaland*, through various threads on education, politics, entertainment, science and technology, business, culture, fashion, food and many others, have further enhanced the sense of togetherness of second generation Nigerians in diaspora with youth in the home country of their parents. The following are examples of issues discussed on the forum: *How to Spot a Fellow Nigerian Abroad* (10/1/2 013), *Nigerians in Diaspora - Is It Really Still Rosy*

[20] *Nairaland* is a Nigerian discussion forum that offers threads on culture, entertainment, technology and other general discussions on contemporary issues in Nigeria and in diaspora.

Out There? (Aug 7/8/012), *How Long Have You Lived In Diaspora & When Are You Returning Home?* (24/5/013), *Why Do Some Nigerians Abroad Have a Superiority Complex Over Those At Home?* (June 11 2013), *Why Are Nigerians in Diaspora so Bitter?* (5/10/2012)[21]; and *Three Major Problems Nigerians in Diaspora Face* (18 /8/015)[22] .

Conclusion

The preceding analysis has attempted to answer the first research question, which concerns the everyday lived experiences of first and second-generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham, and the complexities associated with home, identity, and belonging. It has shown that the particularity of Peckham as a diasporic site, and appropriation of the contents of the diasporic media is in line with Brah's argument that 'home' is the site of everyday diasporic experiences.

The analysis has shown how media makes diaspora feel at home. The chapter has also shown that in the context of media appropriation, identities are negotiated by both categories of participants. The 'home,' seen as both an "imagined homeland," and the current location, which is the site of everyday lived experiences (Brah, 1996), is implicated in the process. Contrary to my earlier assumption, this analysis has shown that in the diasporic space of Peckham, home is lived in the present, and this is facilitated by the mediation of social, cultural, religious and commercial practices, which are both distant and familiar at the same time. As a result, home is experienced as the site of the "lived experiences of a locality" (Brah, 1996) as well as practices which have their origin in a different, specific geographical location.

As in Gillespie's (1995) findings in her study of Punjabi youth in Southhall, the FGPs use media both to maintain ties and to navigate the twin terrains of 'home' and the place of settlement, while the SGPs are more open to global trends. For them, diasporic media, blogs, and Facebook bring them into contact with Nigerians all over the world, as well keep them abreast of events and issues in Nigeria.

[21] Nairaland forum www.nairaland.com, (accessed 4/06/2013)
[22] Ibid(accessed 30/9/ 2015)

In agreement with McKay (in press), the chapter demonstrates how religion is a key cultural activity enabling what Sreberny (2000:189) refers to as “looking back” as well as “looking around,” in the context of media use among Iranians in London. It has further demonstrated that through the mediation of and engagements with social, cultural and religious practices (Couldry, 2013; Johnson &McKay, 2011); for the first generation, ‘home’ is both the geographical and the psychological as emphasized by Brah. Although both generation relate with the variety of diasporic media platforms and their affordances in different ways, this analysis has shown that electronic mediation coupled with processes of migration has both impelled and compelled the work of the imagination as a collective social fact as posited by Appadurai, (1996). In the context of Peckham, the imagination of both generations of Nigerian diaspora - albeit in different ways - has become a collective social fact nurtured by the “mythic home” of Brah’s perception (see chapter 1).

The next chapter discusses migrants’ engagement with mainstream media in navigating the host country. This is done through an examination of how each generation negotiates identity, with specific reference to the news media’s representation of the second-generation immigrants involved in the Woolwich killing. The central focus of the analysis is on answering the second research question, how both first- and second-generation Nigerians in Peckham construct home and identity in their media practices and in the process negotiate connections with contemporary Nigeria, and the UK. The focus is on whether the participants’ media consumption reflects the ordinariness of media use or the problematics of identity, belonging and home.

Chapter 6 'News' Practices and the Reception of Terror: Nigerian Identity Discourses towards the Mediation of Woolwich Killing

"Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty."
(Mercer Kobena, 1994:43)

Introduction

Having explored, in the previous chapter, the first and second generation Nigerian immigrants' everyday media practices, this chapter discusses how the issues of identity and belonging are navigated in the host country through the participants' news consumption. While earlier chapters indicate that there is a difference between first and second generations' media engagements, the data presented in this chapter show that there is a similarity in both groups' collective response to the media representation of the identities of the Woolwich killers, who are of Nigerian descent. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the media ecology of each category of participant, presented as the premise for the participants' responses to the dominant discourse regarding the Woolwich murder (May 2013). The analysis highlights the way each generation responded to the incident with collective shame before showing how, as active audiences; they contested the dominant discourse in the media representation of the killers. The discussion draws on reception analysis as a supplement to the more ethnographic and consumption-focused everyday life approaches of the previous chapter through the exploration of a few voices on the Internet to complement the views expressed in the interviews and participant observations.

A discussion about the long-distance nationalism of the diaspora group in their engagement with national online newspapers from Nigeria follows. This goes on to consider its engagement with British media in order to ascertain whether these practices reflect the ordinariness of news or media consumption, or are shaped by the problematics of multiple attachments and identity that are usually associated with life in diaspora.

Based on the affordances offered by social media, such as YouTube and various other platforms, both generations contest even the media's tendency to emphasise or deemphasise any one particular aspect of the multiple, hybrid identities of migrants. The participants were especially critical of the perennial media representation of migrants as outsiders to the mainstream. Nevertheless, in the same context, the participants themselves did the same thing, that is, fixed the hybrid in its essentialised past. This chapter thus shows how the hybrid is couched in essentialising terms by both media and the study's participants alike.

6.1. Media Ecology: Non-Ordinariness within the Ordinary Everyday News Consumption

Couldry (2013) and Silverstone (1994), amongst others, have affirmed the ordinariness of media consumption. This term refers to the incorporation of technologies into the infrastructure of everyday life and routine, thereby making them crucial to the social ordering of the domestic home. This ordering, arguably, is often times taken for granted by the audiences, therefore has provoked academic inquiry. Similarly, in the diasporic context, Aksoy and Robins (2003) have shown that although migrants' media consumption is complex, it often reflects the banality of ordinary everyday life as opposed to deeper issues of identity and belonging. This section discusses the various media with which the participants engage, as part of their diasporic experience.

The previous chapter demonstrates that the everyday media use of members of both generations includes diasporic and mainstream media. It also describes how the availability and affordances of various media platforms have created new opportunities for both generations to connect to Nigeria and to other Nigerians in the Nigerian diaspora worldwide. Furthermore, it reveals generational differences in media consumption, and that age is a factor even within a single generation. In particular, the lack of computer literacy amongst the participants over 60 years old means that their everyday media use is determined by what is available on free view. By comparison, the participants of either generation who are below 60 are able to navigate the terrain of new media technologies.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the participants who were under 60 years old consumed a far wider range of media than those over 60. A good example is 20 year-old second generation undergraduate Tolu, who makes use of all types of media, including television, radio, social media such as Facebook, and various websites and forums on the Internet such as Nairaland. She does not have a Twitter account, but she goes onto this website to see what people are saying. She also watches videos and listens to music on YouTube. She does all of this on her smartphone and laptop, whereas most members of the first generation consume their media through the traditional mediums of television and radio. Tolu's first generation mother Ola is an avid Nollywood watcher, whereas Tolu's tastes are more diverse: she watches a variety of films, including documentaries, Hollywood productions, and sometimes Nollywood as well. Prior to university, she regarded Nollywood as rubbish, especially since her mother watched it constantly, but only watches BBC news for 5-30 minutes a day, as previously discussed in chapter 5. The chapter has discussed how watching Nollywood fills the emotional gap of missing her mother while at university.

Biyi, a 25 year-old male second generation participant, spends five hours a day tweeting and carrying out personal and work related research on social media. He uses his mobile phone for calling, texting, tweeting and for WhatsApp, which he uses to contact friends. His media use includes listening to music, watching films and all forms of television shows, but not Nigerian ones. He acknowledges the growth of Nollywood but does not watch it because of its quality and content delivery. He prefers American action films. However, he does read Nigerian *NewsWatch* online as well as the British *Evening Standard* and *Metro* on account of his interest in current affairs. Aside from YouTube, he also has a Facebook page through which he follows Nigerian NIDO (Nigerians in Diaspora Organization) to keep abreast of what is happening both within and outside Nigeria. He admits that "Social media have been very effective, as YouTube cuts across continents, and through Facebook, certain contacts are maintained with Nigeria and Nigerians. There is a useful, free flow of information and developments."

Both Tolu and Biyi, after hearing about the Woolwich killing on the British news, went to their online contacts with Nigeria and Nigerians for further information. Tolu looked

at Nairaland, while Biyi went to his NIDO connection online. The media habits of both Tolu and Biyi contrast with those of Peter, the 26 year-old male Yoruba descendant who was born in Peckham. He tweets, uses Facebook, emails and Instant Messenger to keep in touch with friends through his smartphone. He watches Nollywood, American and British films and listens to music online. However, he found out about the Woolwich killing through instant messages, and went online to verify, "it came up on the news- so we were at work, someone messaged my friend, and he messaged me, I went straight on the internet. I was fascinated by this Woolwich killing, and the discussion went on for a few weeks". This shows how new technology provided the initial news as well as shaped the interpersonal flow from then on, because after verifying online what had happened, Peter conducted further discussions about the event through personal interactions and informal channels, as well as in his various social and religious gatherings.

On the other hand, 38 year-old Owotola initially heard the news from his father via a telephone call. Owotola was also born in Peckham and uses social networks for general connection. However, he uses Facebook only to keep in touch with his friends, but without posting anything personal. He also has a Twitter account and is on LinkedIn, both of which he accesses through his smartphone. He does not read any Nigerian newspapers but keeps abreast of Nigerian news through his father. After hearing about any Nigerian news or event from his father or Sky TV, he visits Nigerian websites for in-depth articles, but he does not routinely read articles on Nigerian websites. He however watches the Nigerian AIT (African Independent Television) satellite news channel to "get a flavor of the usual, this one is corrupt that one is found guilty of but they escape punishment- the usual." He is never impressed by BEN TV because of the emphasis on "partying, they show us those clips of this party, they show this funeral you know, I just don't, a lot of this TV programme doesn't interest me".

His attitude contrasts with that of 27-year-old lawyer Bisi, who is referred to extensively in this chapter. Aside from blogging and using Facebook, through which she comes into "contact with Nigerians, not necessarily the country but the people", she tweets and subscribes to some Nigerian journalists to "keep me abreast of some of the

issues that Nigerians at home, Nigerians generally, face." She listens to the radio and music through her smartphone. She does not watch Nigerian television, but she sometimes watches Nollywood, at least once a month when she is particularly bored. Other things she does through the Internet. She socialises on various social media platforms and discusses news with her friends: "this security in website… oga at the top… Nigerian celebrities, Nigerian fashion, sometimes Nigerian music". She first heard about the Woolwich killing through the radio, which she had been listening to on her phone. Afterwards, she reacted to it through social media networks and personal meetings with her friends.

One of the major benefits Bisi sees in diasporic media, with its various platforms and affordances, is that she has access to Nigerians but not necessarily the physical or geographical place. Thus, while new media, information and communication technologies facilitate interaction with the global nexus of Nigerians both at home and in diaspora for the second generation, their first generation parents tend to rely on traditional media and personal contact. The smartphone, instant messaging, WhatsApp and the laptop are very instrumental in the second generation's exposure to the news, whereas most members of the first generation heard about the killing through reading *The Daily Mail* or from the BBC.

First generation participant Sola lives and has her business in Peckham. She accesses news on her laptop and on television. Lami, a first generation Yoruba male who lives, works, attends church, and is one of the Nigerian Community leaders in Peckham, watches Nollywood films, but not the channel because he would have to pay for it in addition to his paid Sky subscription, "so I don't see the reason why I should pay twice. I buy Nigerian videos, especially Yoruba. I love Yoruba cultural films. I buy them from Peckham." He reads Nigerian and British newspapers online as well as watches BBC news every day.

Lami and Emma seem to have similar media habits. Emma is a first generation Igbo male who lives, works and attends church in Peckham. He watches BEN TV, NTA (Nigerian Television Authority) and AIT for political news. He is not on Facebook, but

he reads and sends emails to many of his contacts in Nigeria, Britain and other parts of the world. Although the Nigerian *Punch* newspaper online is his favourite, he subscribes to and watches all the other major Nigerian newspapers through the Internet and also has all of the news channels, sports channels and other African Channels both on radio and television.

Both Lami and Emma are professionals in their 50s. They are computer savvy. After they heard the news about the Woolwich incident first through mainstream news and messages on WhatsApp from friends like Tayo, another first generation male participant, further discussion took place mainly during phone calls, in church and among friends and family. Tayo reads *The Times International*, watches Science programmes to keep abreast of innovations in his field, engineering, and he listens to religious programmes on Naija FM and Surprise. The latter is another diasporic station that was initially based in Peckham but moved to Brixton shortly before the commencement of my fieldwork.

Tayo watches Ben TV and AIT as well. According to him, "my wife likes watching them because she said we need to get acquainted with Nigeria, but when I watch and see the display of wealth…. always partying in a country where people cannot eat….." He claims that his everyday media use is "Nigeria and British 50/50. I read *Financial Times*, British *Guardian*. Nigerian newspapers, I read Nigerian papers online. *Tribune* is my favourite, *Osun Defender*, *Guardian*. Just to follow what is going on at home, the development, what is happening…"

In addition to this, Tayo receives news through his smartphone:

> "There are so many news about Nigeria coming on my phone, even 50 of them come every day from Nigerians in diaspora… not on Facebook, but on my email. Even from Nigeria. Special news, we phone each other to discuss it and receive messages from Nigeria and among the diaspora. Contacts are maintained through my

> phone with Nigeria almost every day and with my friends in Nigerians in the UK and Nigeria…"

Tayo's experience is similar to that of Adio, who is a younger first generation male in his 30s. Adio makes use of his smartphones to access news on social media as well as to communicate with friends about "what is happening within the environment." He sent me some pictures taken with his smartphone of activities in the church. According to him:

> "Social media is facilitating our identity and culture. Facebook is used more often among Nigerians, as well as diasporic media BEN TV, OHTV, Naija FM… I watch some Nigerian movies., read Nigerian diaspora newspapers as well as British newspapers… *PM news*, *Evening Standard*, and *Metro*… I read *Vanguard* via Facebook or the Internet.. to know about what is going on in Nigeria, ...I spend about four hours a day [online]**…** through the laptop… and smartphone."

Lami, Emma, Tayo and Adios are all first-generation males in various age categories between 30 to late 50s (see chapter 4). This fact brings in the issue of gender into the media repertoires of members of the first generation, and thereby into the analysis of their reactions to the media representation of the Woolwich event.

The first generation females Oso, Sisi, Nike, Cecilia and Adeke are in different age brackets, but they are similar in their dependence on traditional media, that is television, radio and newspapers, as their source of news. The media repertoire of Oso, who is just over 60, includes watching Nigerian Television Network news on BEN TV "to keep abreast of what is happening in Nigeria" because it is free, unlike AIT which requires a subscription. She buys *The Sun* newspaper because it is cheap and relies on her daughter for online news and activities, although she knows how to send text messages to Nigeria through her standard mobile phone. Sisi, who is the same age as Oso, listens to BBC radio for news. She has it positioned "by my bedside. I put on BBC

4 because it gives news but mainly after that news I might flick from one thing after another, but I mainly go to BEN news, OBE and KLEAR for movies; both Ghanaian and Nigerian, for lessons and knowledge." She reads *The Observer, Metro, Evening Standard* and watches the news on television. The positioning of the radio at Sisi's bedside and its incorporation in her early morning routine is similar to the positioning of diasporic radio in the kitchen and its incorporation into Cecilia's daily life, as explained in chapter 5. The difference is that Sisi listens to BBC radio, which is mainstream media, while Cecilia listens to diasporic radio.

Similarly, Nike**,** a 70 year-old retired nurse watches ITV and Nigerian television, including BEN TV. She only watches Nigerian movies when visiting friends who are watching them. Like Oso, she does not have a Sky TV subscription. Neither of the two are on Facebook, although Nike knows how to skype on her smartphone with her friends in "America, Canada and Nigeria. New technology has an impact on contact with my friends."

Although there is an age difference between Oso (79) and Adeke (66), their media repertoires are similar. Cecilia, in contrast to the aforementioned four females, is in her 50s. Her appropriation of Naija FM is discussed extensively in chapter 5. Regarding her source of news, she reports that she obtains it from "the news channel 'there'; English media and sometimes African ones like BEN. African channel. Nigeria radio Naija FM 96.4, 101.1, I listen to that one regularly. Just to hear the news about my home, my native land and then it's very informative." Cecilia also reads *Metro* on weekdays and *The Sunday Mirror* on Sundays "because of the magazine inside." She also reads *Naija Lifestyle* newspaper and would accept any invitation from a friend who "calls me to go and see what's happening back home in this and this and that."

The preceding clearly illustrates that there are generational as well as gender differences, in that all of the male participants had a wider media repertoire and a deeper interest in news consumption than the females. Most of the reactions described below were from first generation participants and were expressed through interpersonal channels after the initial reaction to the coverage of the Woolwich

incident in *The Daily Mirror*. Discussions were carried out in informal gatherings, such as churches, at parties, among friends after church services, at the laundrette and in market stalls in Peckham, and through telephone calls. For instance, Lami and Tayo called me to ask how the event would feed into my research, and at the end of church services on the following Sunday, more of the participants gathered to discuss the news with me, with others joining in.

With members of the second generation, however, most of the reactions were discussed online through social media, WhatsApp, Facebook, and on websites such as Nairaland and personal blogs such as that of Eddo Lodge and Obasaju, which are discussed further later in this chapter. They also referred to responses of Nigerian organisations, such as the All Progressive Alliance UK (APGA), the Central Association of Nigerians in the UK (CANUK), and Nigerian Women in Diaspora Leadership Forum, which were posted on Facebook or elsewhere online. Bisi initially heard the news on the radio, which she accesses through her smartphone, but then, had other interpersonal discussions with her friends. Biyi and Tolu also visited the websites, which they normally obtain news from, such as NIDO and Nairaland, as well as commenting on Facebook, WhatsApp and personal blogs.

The Muslim participants in the Islamic Centre maintained a silence throughout this period, with their single and only reply to the question of the Woolwich killing had been "الحمدلله"[23]. This initial silence was perceived to be out of shame, not fear. This is vividly captured by Bisi's "guilty by association" comment below in 6.3.

6.2. Multiple Terrains in News Practices: Between Nigeria and Britain

Previous studies reveal that despite the availability of various particularistic media and diasporic media catering to the communication needs of diasporic groups, the media consumption of such groups is varied in orientation (Bozdag et al., 2012; Ogunyemi, 2012; Johnson and McKay, 2011; Ong and Cabañes, 2011; Ong, 2009; Sreberny, 2005). Engagement with diasporic media is never exclusive; rather, they are usually consumed

[23] In Arabic, it means 'Praise be to God' in all situations irrespective of whether situation is good or bad.

alongside the mainstream media of the countries of settlement. This occurs despite the widespread perception of the latter as marginalising as well as misrepresenting diaspora/minority groups as outsiders. Thus, jointly, both genres of media provide diasporic groups with the opportunity to navigate a diasporic consciousness that spans multiple locations. As observed in the last chapter, the combination of both media has become the focal point of diasporic networking, of identity articulation, and of navigating the multiplicity of locations in which diaspora is experienced in such a way that Sreberny's multi-directional diasporic "gaze" (Sreberny, 2000:182) becomes a part of everyday living.

News consumption, according to Ong (2009), connects migrants to national imaginations that are directed at both 'homeland' and 'hostland,' as he found that his study participants "weave in and out of their loyalties to British and Filipino publics across the media of British news, Filipino news, as well as karaoke" (p.160). Similarly, the availability of media from the 'home' country online, satellite technologies, and new social media, have facilitated the ease with which both 'home' and host countries are navigated. Nigerians in diaspora are thus never lacking in news from either diasporic television channels or the BBC and Sky News. The participants' news consumption includes a combination of television, radio and online newspapers from the 'homeland' as well as British television and radio news.

The Virtual, Mythical 'Homeland' and Long Distance Politicking

"Long distance nationalism" is one of the features of diaspora, according to Safran (1991), Cohen (1997), and Vertovec (1999), and is based on the notion of collective memory and the myth of an idealized 'homeland' in the imagination of diasporic groups. Emotional attachment to it is part of the diasporic lived experience. Thus, through the collective commitment to its maintenance, either through discourse or through the actual mobilization of projects, long distance nationalism is enacted in the everyday experiences of diaspora members.

Making a clear-cut demarcation between those identifications that are geared towards the interests of diaspora members in the country of settlement and the active steps taken through social, cultural, economic and practical political projects that are directed towards the 'homeland' may be impossible, given the role of diasporic media, which link the diasporic group to both locations simultaneously. This is the view expressed by Anderson (2001), who linked the creation of "long distance nationalism" to the proliferation of electronic communication in combination with emigration in large numbers. Although he claimed that this new type of nationalism no longer depends on physical presence in the "home country" as it once did, it is one that is fostered by the combination of "the Internet, electronic banking, and cheap international travel" (p.42).

Long distance nationalism allows people to exert a powerful influence on the politics of their country of origin even when they do not intend to live there either through discourse or through actual participation in projects (Glick-Schiller, 2005:570). Although the homeland is relived in the imagination of the diaspora, most still engage in identity claims and practices that connect them to that location even as they live in a different geographical location. Thus, through the availability of various forms of diasporic media in its variations as small, alternative and particularistic, the diasporic subject whose reminiscence of the 'homeland' was previously limited to the dream of a return, is now able to maintain a nostalgic orientation to the *heimat* in their everyday diasporic contexts. Now, the "mediated imagery of the 'home' is always with them" within what Anderson (2008) refers to as the "twinkling of an electronic eye" (p.8).

For the Nigerian participants in this study, the concept of complete loyalty to Nigeria raises questions. Although they express a passion that suggests patriotism, when consideration is given to the reasons they do not wish to return, doubt is raised as to the quality of their long distance nationalist discourses. Many of the participants submit that they are only "here" because of the comforts Britain affords which are not available in Nigeria. This is the view expressed by one of the oldest participants, who has been in Britain since the 1960s and has all her children here:

> "Nigeria will always be home; but when I go to Nigeria [there is] no light, no this, no that! And no proper medical [facility] for anybody in that country. And when I'm there my children say, 'When are you coming home?' As far as they are concerned this is home for us; but I was born there and I feel a sense of belonging in Nigeria. Here I'm just a minority. To me - I'm not talking about any other person - this country is a very good country at least for any foreigner and it's a pity that a lot of people have abused their hospitality." (Oso, 2/4/2013)

This view is similar in one respect to that of Emma, a first generation Chartered Accountant in his late 50s, who said:

> "I feel more affiliation to the British because it gives you a lot of things. [If] I want to go and see my sister and the younger children in America, [or if] I have to go to Europe for holidays, you don't need a visa... you have opportunities in life without restrictions." (26/3/013)

Remarks about the lack of infrastructure, security, medical facilities and the like in Nigeria produce a conflicting feeling of simultaneous engagement and detachment amongst the second generation; sometimes, they also report a feeling of sympathy for what their parents must have gone through before coming to England. According to Peter, who visited Nigeria for the first time only after graduating from university in the UK:

> "Looking back now, I appreciate every day that I was there. Now, I'm Nigerian, even though I'm British, I'm still Nigerian. It's a hard concept to fathom. I love helping my mum and my dad. I appreciate the things they've done for me, and if I can offer some time to help them - why not? Going to Nigeria and coming back, I appreciate so much more what they've done. I just think that if I was brought up in Nigeria, maybe I wouldn't have the same opportunity now." (8/7/013)

With the newfound insight gleaned from his trip to Nigeria, this 26 year-old Nigerian descendant who was born and raised in Peckham declared that, "with the opportunity that I've been given now, I can't forget where I'm from, I feel like God took a whole

generation out of Nigeria, so that we can go back to Nigeria and help them." However, he also thinks that:

> "A lot of young people don't think like this, they don't feel that they have a sense of belonging to Nigeria. But, regardless of whether you believe it or not, we have an obligation to our 'home' country. And the reason why a lot of us won't stay there is because maybe it's not safe."

Peter is not the only member of the second generation who expressed a sense of wanting to contribute to the country of his heritage. Owotola, 38, similarly stated that, while his home is here "because my life is here, the structure is here… if that were replicated in Nigeria, then I would say Nigeria could be my home I would find it safe." He acknowledged that the next question is whether they would go back to Nigeria:

> "What should we do to improve Nigeria? That, I think, is the next question, because we can't do anything about where we're born. One of my sisters is trying to live in Nigeria, but if I were to go, it would be a case of, is there any opportunity in Nigeria for me to improve?" (28/04/013)

Owotola, like Peter, feels a sense of obligation to the country of his heritage, a sense of wanting to give back that resembles that of the elite migrants in Ong and Cabañes's (2011) study, who were expected to physically return to the 'homeland' to fulfil their responsibility to lead the nation (p.297). However, it differs in that it is only recently that the Nigerian government started exploring the developmental potential of the Nigerian diaspora through organisations such as NIDO and AFFORD in the UK (de Haas 2006:24). The project is still in its infancy. In any case, second generation immigrants such as Peter and Owotola feel a sense of obligation to their ancestral 'homeland' because:

> "[Having grown up] in a civilisation and a community that is structured and modernised, we can replicate that in Nigeria. We're going to be the only generation that can do so. The generation after us is going to be so diluted; they're not really going to have a sense of belonging. It's going to be more like... a diluted drink. We're the only generation that has direct exposure to a first generation [and] also direct exposure to a modernised British generation as well. So I feel it's an obligation to go back there and help. When I get into a

> position of prestige and of success in this country, I can't forget Nigeria. I'll go back there, and help that nation." (28/4/013).

Thus, some of the SGPs express the desire to contribute to the improvement of the parents' 'homeland' in terms of bringing the perceived structure and civilization they are experiencing in the UK to Nigeria, and this is one of the basic features of diaspora (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 2008,1997). Nonetheless, there is still a negotiation based on the availability of the "comforts" of the West, which makes it an attractive home in the present compared to Nigeria. This may be the reason for Adeniyi's (2008) conception of Nigerians abroad as either long distance nationalists or long distance critics in his study of online exchanges about the 'homeland' of their dreams. However, participants of this study, such as FGPs Lami, a community consultant, and Emma, a chartered accountant who has his own practice in Peckham, have coupled their discourse of long distance nationalism with actual practice (Glick-Schiller, 2005). Both of them support projects in their communities in Nigeria. According to Lami, "My old primary school, I built a wing for them which was launched officially in 2010 when I took the whole family there. I have a strong link with that private, primary school I went to in Nigeria." Similarly, Emma sends monthly remittances "to my mum and my sisters' and brothers' kids. As the eldest son, I have properties and I am being invited to start a business. And I support a local church."

Nevertheless, the 'homeland' of their dreams is one that has good infrastructure, health care services, constant electricity, a first rate educational system, and guaranteed security of human lives. A country that is free of corruption and corrupt politicians, as discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, these topics are the subject of many discussions in their various groups, after church services either on Sundays, or at various other informal gatherings and parties. In St Luke's Church, there is a male forum where ethnic boundaries are collapsed as men gather in a corner to share wine and discuss a variety of topics related to Nigeria. They discuss news, which they have read online or heard about during the week. Also, Lami said that he meets with his professional friends at "7 o'clock at our usual place and have a beer or two to reminisce over a lot of things: the week, the month and what is happening around… [and to] discuss politics and anything of interest" (23/4/013).

Nworah (2006) narrated the unfolding of a psychological separation, in addition to the physical distance, between Nigerians in diaspora and those in Nigeria. There seems to be mutual suspicion of others' attitude to the social, political and economic state of the nation. The former accuse of the latter of aversion to change while the latter accuse the former of attempting to impose Western values on what they refer to as "Nigerian problems" (p.1). Tayo related an illustrative experience that occurred when he participated in a radio phone-in program on Surprise FM 96.4, during which he was accused of being too westernised and was brusquely dismissed thus: "Go and sit down, Baba Ilu Oyinbo." This phrase can roughly be translated as "Shove off, Europeanised gentleman!" Lami also reported that his political views were perceived as Western. According to him, he was referred to by Nigerian officials as "a white Nigerian because I want us to do things in a different way. It is not because they don't believe people like me are capable or qualified, but because they want to keep things the same way and are not ready for change." Nworah's study, however, affirms the commonality between Nigerians in diaspora and Nigerians in the 'homeland' in terms of their commitment to the development of Nigeria. Although many are critical of politics and events in the nation, they are arguably patriotic in their reading of Nigerian newspapers online. Most of these men, unlike the women, read Nigerian newspapers such as *The Guardian*, *Punch*, and *Vanguard*. Also, they follow the Boko Haram terrorists' saga avidly.

Interactions on social media regarding events in the 'homeland' were found to transcend the dividing categories of ethnicity, religion, gender, class, and economic status. Nigerians in diaspora receive text messages and forward them to friends and family members both within the diaspora and outside (Cohen, 1997:180). One such post concerned the hazards of life and had a tragic but comic ring to it:

> "New safety tips on how to cross the roads in Nigeria: Look left and right for oncoming cars. Look up for falling planes. Look down for bombs, and then you are good to GO. Oops! Before I forget, look behind you for kidnappers... Please educate your loved ones." (Received via SMS on 3/06/013 from FGP Ola)

Another one focused on the lack of patriotism among affluent Nigerians:

> "Nigerians, when they loot money, they keep it in Switzerland. When sick, they go to Germany. When investing, they go to America. When buying mansions, they visit London. When shopping they go to Dubai. When on holidays, they visit Paris or the Bahamas. When educating their children, they select Europe. When praying, they go to Saudi Arabia or Jerusalem. BUT, when they DIE, they all want to be BURIED IN NIGERIA... Help me ask them, NIGERIA NACEMETRY[24]?" (Signed Lara, SMS received 3/6/013 from FGP Ola.)

The political class is not spared:

> "A child who was always stealing meat from his mother's pot of soup progressed to searching his father's pocket for loose coins despite some serious beating to correct him. Both parents being worried of his attitude called him and asked: 'If you carry on stealing do you know where you will end up?' [To their surprise] the boy replied, 'Yes I know... the Nigeria National Assembly!'" (Dated 20/06/2012 08:15:03, SMS received 3/6/013 from FGP Ola.)

Other subjects of discussion in such gatherings are the successes of those who have return to the 'homeland' and the failures of those who returned but, out of frustration, subsequently travelled back to England. Through all these discourses a script of "banal nationalism" as well as the desire for the improvement of the political terrain of the 'homeland' is enacted in various fragmented circles. This is similar to Ong and Cabañes's (2011) participants, whose long distance "political engagement involves only talk and mediated conversation with limited face to face collaboration with other migrants" (ibid.197).

Some of the FGPs can remember a time when the telephone was an expensive luxury reserved for emergency communication. Normal correspondence was conducted through letters, which took ages to arrive at their destination. When phone calls were made, they were usually transacted through affluent middlemen who could be a neighbour or a family member that had a landline at home. FGP Emma recalled his experience twenty-two years ago:

[24] "Is Nigeria a Cemetery?" in Pidgin English

> "Twenty-two years ago there were no mobile phones. We had phone booths so the communication wasn't that simple and it was expensive. So once in a while you take some coins, and go to the local phone booth and call home. You don't communicate often because of the cost. But now, it is so cheap... You can talk to people at home as long as you like." (26/3/013)

Today, even the rural areas in Nigeria, where many of the participants have family members, have not only been transformed, they have become performers in a new identity game through the availability of technology such as smart phones, WhatsApp and Skype. Stella, a female hairdresser, attests to the powerful link the mobile phones and new technologies are creating which brings them closer to their family members even in the rural parts of Nigeria. According to her, in the past, "it was only letters, but now your mum [is] on the farm and is talking to her child in America through the mobile phones" (Emma, 26/3/013).

Even among the diaspora, the telephone has an impact on manners, identity and the way relationships are played out. Traditionally, regular visits among siblings were mandatory. Now, however, SGP Owotola, cited above, claims that communication between him and his sisters, who live in the southeast of London, is effected more "via phone or social network" than face to face (28/4/013).

Even as relationships within diaspora groups and the homeland continue to be transformed through technologies, and diaspora members find themselves brought closer to the homeland in their everyday imaginary, they have to negotiate inclusion in the context of the host country. In most cases, it is the case that media representation and discourses portray migrants as minorities and outsiders to the mainstream society (Ong, 2009). This is the context in which both first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham contested the media representation of the national origin, and religious affiliations of the perpetrators of the Woolwich killing. This event interrupted everyday diasporic activities to show how a taken for granted assumption about identity can become an issue (Mercer, 1994) during a period of doubt and uncertainty and in times of conflict (Arendt, 1959).

6.3. News of Terror: The Woolwich Killing and Media Representation

In the literature about the social context of migration, identity and media, hybridity has been celebrated as the most appropriate concept for describing the diasporic consciousness of migrants in navigating the multiple terrains of "here" and "there" and the social processes that shape their diasporic everyday experiences in the countries of settlement, as literature reviewed in chapter three has shown. This section describes how hybridity is contested amongst this study's participants despite the performative nature of identity, and how media and migrants' discourses around identity continually stress it as fixed in national contexts and in its supposed biological and racial essence. This is done through a discussion of how the two generations contested a media representation that accentuated the traditional powerful media and weak identities perspective. In an empirical context, it demonstrates what Bhabba (1994) and Georgiou (2006) observed as the power dynamics that are often at play whereby certain diasporas are situated as "outsiders" in political discourse in the Western capitalist context, while others still live within the margin of exclusion.

This part of the study is based on an ethnographic surprise (Ong, 2011), whereby an unexpected incident during fieldwork came to form part of the main body of the study. Such an occurrence attests to the importance of bottom up ethnography as the best approach for studying media consumption in the everyday context of a diaspora. The incident was a horrific killing in Woolwich. On the following day, 23 May 2013, I overheard a woman talking to her husband on the telephone while I was travelling on a bus in Peckham. I had just got on Bus 36 from Queens Park near Peckham library going towards New Cross Bus Garage. I saw a young Nigerian lady sleeping, perhaps returning from a night shift at work. The ringing of her phone woke her up and I heard her side of the conversation, which ensued. Translated from Yoruba, it went thus:

"I am going home. I am on the bus. Where are you?"...

"A helicopter hovering over our house? ... Why?"

"No, no, not me... It is you the police are looking for, not me!"

This is the sort of contextual conversation that could only be captured in ethnography; a methodology that enables the exploration of not only media as texts but also the context of everyday media use. The hovering helicopter, as it turned out, had nothing to do with the anxious couple, who were presumably undocumented immigrants. It was part of the security response to the murder of a serving British military officer, Lee Rigby.

The Event: Deconstructing Hybridity

On 22 May 2013, a British soldier, Lee Rigby of the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, was brutally murdered by 27-year-old Michael Adebolajo and 22-year-old Michael Adebowale, two Britons of Nigerian heritage. Although their parents had raised them as Christians, both had converted to Islam. It was reported that the justification proffered by the killers was that "Muslims are dying daily by the hand of British soldiers" (*The Telegraph*, 22 May 2013).

The Nigerians in Peckham, like many people all over the country, responded to the incident with the disgust and horror that usually accompany such barbaric acts. What the study's participants vigorously contested, however, was the emphasis of some British media outlets on the Nigerian heritage of the perpetrators. As is discussed below, they regarded this as an exclusionary representation that raised questions about the boundaries of social belonging (Cottle, 2000) as well as that of identity. The contested phrase was "of Muslim appearance", which was attributed to Nick Robinson[25], the political editor of the BBC, on the 23 May 2013, shortly after the incident.

In this case, the question concerned which of the multiple identifications of the killers, Nigerian, British, Nigerian-British, Muslim, or Christian, is the most appropriate to emphasise in the context of migration, media and identity. This questioning is grounded on the basic assumptions that power is central to media representation and that representation is about conveying meaning through language and communication. Consequently, contestation of the coverage is not about what was said but about what is implied. The term "British Nigerian" contains both an identity claim as well as identity

[25] Nick Robinson (2013) http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-22637048

power, and as Hall (1997) rightly stated, there can be said to be an "identification tag linked to this claim" (p.16).

The responses of the participants brought to the fore the issues of "race," racism, ethnicity, media and minorities, discussed in the next sub section, which, according to Cottle (2000), have all been deeply and fundamentally contested. Whilst there has certainly been changes in British media representations of race since the 1980s and 1990s, due in large part to anti-racist campaigning. van Dijk (2000) noted that overt racism has been replaced by "a mental model whereby everyday discriminatory practices are socially sustained by shared representations through stereotypes, prejudices and ideologies, through media representations which convey images of 'us' and negative about 'them'" (ibid: 48). This is the sort of narrative that was discerned in the media coverage of the Woolwich killing by many of the participants in this study.

This observation was not limited to the participants. The coverage generated numerous discussions across the spectrum of Nigerians in diaspora and in Nigeria, who used the Internet as the forum for reacting to what they perceived as the unnecessary raising of boundaries of national belonging by the British media. Eddo Lodge, an independent writer in London and a social justice campaigner, was one of many who used the Internet as a medium for "voicing" what the participants perceived as "distancing" the perpetrators from the British aspect of their identities. In her personal blog, she asserted that "Woolwich media coverage reinforces the myth that brown people are somehow 'not British'"[26] (Eddo Lodge, 2013). She went on to maintain that the media's depiction of the incident turned "murdered soldier Lee Rigby into a symbol and pitted 'blackness' against 'Britishness'." Such representation, she said, "won't help tackle extremism. It will only guarantee a climate of division."

Implied in her statement is a call to respect cultural diversity as a social policy that is a cornerstone of British society, even though there is a tendency in events such as this to revert to polarization, when emphasis is on the "race" or ethnic origin of the

[26] Lodge, independent blog Headline, 2013http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-woolwich-media-coverage-reinforces-the-myth-that-brown-people-are-somehow-not-british-8634327.html accessed 04/03/2014

perpetrators of a crime as well as that of the victim. Such contrasts only promote distance between and discrimination among various groups. The validity of these concerns was strengthened by BBC Political Editor Nick Robinson's apology to the public (Halliday, 2013)[27] for linking the alleged murderers to Muslims before they were actually identified as such. The complaints arose over his reporting that they were "of Muslim appearance," which was said to have been based on prejudice. In apology, Robinson said:

> "That phrase "of Muslim appearance" clearly offended some who demanded to know what it could possibly mean. Others were concerned that it was a racist generalisation… Despite this and the fact that I was directly quoting a source I'm sorry for using a phrase that, on reflection, was both liable to be misinterpreted and to cause offence. Many Muslims were quick to condemn the attack and to distance themselves and their religion from the brutal savagery seen on the streets of Woolwich" (Robinson, 2013)[28].

Cottle (2006) observed that media representation has the tendency to influence viewers in terms of how they conduct their lives as well as how they construct a sense of "who we are, where we belong and where we want to be..."(p.1). This influence, he explains further, is "a position that is either positively or negatively imposed from outside or could be mobilised from within... it reveals a deep seated inequality in the pursuit of cultural differences and involves the drawing and redrawing of boundaries" (p.2). In all these, identity and social relations are at the centre of the various discourses, especially regarding migrants or diasporas living outside of their original countries and their relationships with the host nation.

This is perhaps the reason Madianou (2011) raises the point that majorities and minorities alike use essential categories to describe themselves. In her perspective, it is through interaction with the different "other" that boundaries are demarcated. In support of this view, she cites Barthes (1969), who cautioned that the focus risked becoming the "ethnic boundary that defines the group and not the cultural stuff that it

[27] Josh Halliday (2013 http://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-bbc-nick-robinson-muslim

[28] Nick Robinson (2013)http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-22637048

encloses" (Barthes, 1969, cited in Madianou, 2011: 15). This is particularly true in the British and European context, where cultural diversity is recognised as a national policy (Triandafyllidou et al., 2011; Vertovec& Wessendorf, 2009; Georgiou, 2005; Sreberny, 2005). Hence, diversity and minorities' cultures are acknowledged. They are granted the right to distinctiveness in a pluralistic, multicultural system whereby each group establishes its cultural niche within, and complimentary to, the dominant culture of the society.

Whilst this is the norm, there has, however, been general criticism of multiculturalism in that structural and systemic inequities are still prevalent, and essentialist ideas about race are still harboured (Cottle, 2000:216) and are drawn upon when incidences occur such as the one under scrutiny. For instance, Gilroy (1987) and Hall (1978) noted the racial discourses wherein the British media referred to migrants as "aliens" in the 1960s and '70s; and they were seen as a "threat" to the national culture of the land and its law. The portrayal of migrants in the media was then constructed as such through imagery that emphasised crime, civil disorder, doping, and street muggers.

Diasporic Power Dynamics: Reactions to Media Coverage in "Little Lagos"

While the focus in this chapter is on the readings and meanings participants attached to the media representation of this single incident and specifically, to the emphasis on the Nigerian background of the perpetrators; the discussion shows how multiculturalism, a political philosophy of how diverse ethnic identities are supposed to co-exist (Goldberg, 1994) still generates conflict in the public sphere.

The central argument in this chapter is that both the media and the participants exhibit "banal nationalism" (Billig 1995). A process in which boundaries are erected in everyday discourses on the subject of identity through the use of "a complex set of themes about 'us,' 'our homeland', 'our nation'; 'ours' and 'theirs'" (p: 4) by both the media and their audinces. Through this complex process of routinely flagging the nation, whether through consciously waving a flag or hanging it passively on a public building, a habit of thinking and of using nationalistic terms has become "embodied" in social life, whereby

participants are continuously reminded of “nationhood,” which consequently “shuts this national door to the outside world” (p.108).

This analysis draws on reception analysis as a supplement to the more ethnographic and consumption-focused everyday life approaches of the previous chapter. Specifically, voices from the Internet are explored to compliment the views expressed by both participants from both generations in interviews as well as during participant observations. This allows for a contextual rendition of the challenging tension between the myths of the ‘homeland,’ which is central to the diasporic consciousness. It also leads to the exclusion that the immigrants experience in the present due to the constant invocation of the “national ‘we’ that places ‘us’ within ‘our’ homeland” in political discourses and media in the West (Billig 1995:107), thereby rendering “them” as outsiders. These discourses serve as a constant reminder that the immigrants do not belong, irrespective of how hard they try to limit the attachment to another ‘homeland’ as they seek to settle in their present location.

Following the revelation of the identities of the killers, SGP Bisi, a 26-year-old female solicitor, expressed her thoughts in an interview:

> “When the radio announced that a young soldier had been killed in a particularly brutal way, I was listening with half an ear. Then I heard the two names of the alleged perpetrators – Michael Adebowale and Michael Adebolajo– Nigerians, no doubt. The radio had my full attention... all I felt was disappointment and all I could think about was how Nigerians are once again in the spotlight for doing something bad, terrible, evil. Over the next few days, the newspaper coverage was intense: I was really shocked with some of the information I read– information that the journalists had deemed relevant or sufficiently entertaining to publish. They were both reported as 'British of Nigerian descent', that was the phrase repeated over and over again in every article I read online and in print. I talked about it with my black friends. We all condemned what they did; we all felt a degree of guilt and shame by association. We all had it drummed into our heads at an early age that our race is judged from the actions of one person. Guilt by association was not

> a paranoid notion, it was what we had come to expect from society…" (25/05/2013).

What is striking about this statement is that a second generation member of the Nigerian diaspora identifies psychologically with an imagined Nigeria and experiences a sense of shame. This exemplifies a key issue in the diaspora experience established by Safran (1991) and other diaspora theorists: that of the collective consciousness of all diaspora of the putative 'homeland' and the concern for its reputation and improvement. The contention over the media coverage of the event concerned the essentialising of the identity of the two killers by emphasising their Nigerian origins. As an audience, Bisi is reading the message as a "window to the world" as well as a social construct (Morley, 1993). To most immigrants, such reference to national origin indicates being categorised as "not of this place."

Furthermore, her reflection on the repeated emphasis on the Nigerian origins of these British citizens produced an analytical link to prejudice. This is the negative attitude that has arguably been associated with labelling certain groups as "outsiders" to the British system that Eddo Lodge, referenced above, is trying to articulate, and which scholars such as Cottle (2006) and van Dijk (2000) have also linked to media representations of race and racism in the1980s and 1990s. Bisi expatiates further:

> "'British of Nigerian descent' – that was the phrase repeated over and over… while his family life was subject to rigorous public scrutiny… The media tries to hide the truth, manipulate the reality, and influence, usually for sinister reasons... our choices, opinions and beliefs. …All I know is that the soldier was killed by two men in the name of Islam. Nothing else is relevant... It was the same feeling I had when I heard on Boxing Day 2009 that a 24 year-old *Nigerian* Muslim extremist tried to blow up a North-Western airplane with explosives hidden in his underwear." (op. cit. 25/05/2013)

Bisi questions the motives of the media in providing certain information which she deems unnecessary, though not unrelated to the incident, forgetting that the coverage is not limited to what is apparently implied but also requires the journalists to "go to

work as watchdogs" (Liebes &Katz, 1998:95). Whilst she demonstrated an ability to engage in the critical reading of a media text in an analytical and informed way, the argument could be made that she was less objective (Livingstone and Lunt, 1994) with the claims that the "media tries to hide the truth, manipulate the reality and influence, usually for sinister reasons..." She was, however, interpretive (Newman, 1982) as well, in stepping back to relate this particular incident to herself, to others, and to the "broader issues of society" (Madianou, 2011:101).

Both the first and second-generation members of the Nigerian diaspora responded to the media coverage in a similar fashion. They expressed disgust at the violent crime committed by the two young men. On account of what they perceived as a racialized representation, however, they conveyed resentment at the stereotypical way in which the British media reported it. This is the reading offered by another SGP, Peter. According to the 26 year old, the ethnic origin of the perpetrators is immaterial. Irrespective of the identity, it is the act itself that is crucial. Of greater significance, in his view, was that the killers clearly stated that their action was informed by their religious beliefs:

> "I didn't like the fact that media was emphasising that, it had nothing to do with the fact he was Nigerian in my eyes, he could've been Jamaican, could've been Ghanaian. His … ethnic origin had nothing to do with his actions. More so, if anything, the emphasis should've been more on his religion…" (Peter, male financial analyst, SGP, 8/7/2013)

By referring to him as the "Nigerian boy from south London," the media insinuated that his affiliation motivated the act. That, *"*he was Nigerian, that's why the act happened," when in fact, in this participant's opinion, the Nigerian origin of the killers "had nothing to do with it*."* His reasoning was that, by stressing their heritage, the media invoked a stereotypical picture of and prejudice towards (Lippmann, 1922) black people as having some kind of propensity for violent and criminal acts, such as the one under scrutiny.

SGP Peter, cited above, acknowledged having the same heritage as the killers, but rejected the way political discourses use social descriptors such as “Black British” or “British Nigerian”:

> “I wouldn’t say he's a full blooded, fully fledged Nigerian citizen. At the same time, I wouldn’t say he's a full blooded fully-fledged British citizen; same as me, he is second generation, black British or British-Nigerian, *that’s [why] they call us British-Nigerian”* (emphasis added).

James (1984), an Afro-Caribbean intellectual in Britain, observed that “the black man or woman who is born here and grows up here has something special to contribute to Western civilization. He or she will participate in it, see it from birth, but will never be quite completely in it” (p. 63). This seems to be one of the major points of the narrative of “difference,” what the second generation member above identifies, and which James claimed “everyone including the parents of the new generation of black people who were born in Britain… educated and grew up in it, are aware of.” However, James further asserted that, irrespective of how “they are made to feel and themselves feeling that they are outside,” the most important thing is the unique insight into the society that this new generation has, who “will give a new vision, a deeper and stronger insight into both Western civilization and the black people in it” (ibid: 63). Consequently, this type of interaction with the system and the media will continue to be a part of daily-lived experiences in diaspora. It is perhaps the reason behind Fiske's (2010) submission that news messages are not to be treated as “transparent.” Rather, the structures and strategies of news reports should be examined in relation to the social context. This social context is one of “new racism” (Barker, 1981), which is not as overt as the old racism. It is one in which “minorities are not biologically inferior, but different” (ibid: 34). This is the difference observed in “the activities of journalists in news making, as well as, in the interpretations of the readers, in the multicultural societies of Western Europe and North America” (van Dijk, 2000:33).

Much of the reaction, therefore, related to the perceived bias of the media in emphasizing the Nigerian heritage of the murders, as noted above, especially considering the fact that they were both born and raised in the UK and neither one of

the two had ever visited their parents' country of origin. Some participants protested that when those of immigrant heritage were successful, and have made the nation proud, the media do not mention their ancestry, they are simply British. However, when criminality or other shameful behaviour is involved, the reverse is the case, with the media being swift to distance the British nation.

Middle-aged FGP musician, Kole, observed that being Nigerian is not considered relevant for positive achievements. "If we win gold [at the] Olympics or die fighting not for Nigeria but for Britain in the army ... until something like this happens ... [then there is] separation" (03/06/2013). It could be argued that this is akin to when the tennis champion, Andy Murray was asked in an interview whether he is British or Scottish. He responded that "it depends if I'm winning." (Murray, RedNose Day, 2011, YouTube) Kole further pointed out, however, that when "whites kill whites" they are not identified as Scottish, Welsh, or whatever. He then took note that there are similar issues in Nigeria itself: "there are boundaries just like that between the Yoruba community and Igbo... discrimination even where we come from… Egba: Owu, Ake, Itoko, Ijebu, Ogun, etc."[29]

Another participant, Ade, observed that Adebolajo himself made reference in his speech to "our land" as somewhere British soldiers were currently deployed, although "there are no British soldiers operating in Nigeria presently." This, according to him, would suggest that Adebolajo himself did not see Nigeria as "his" land, making the media's identification of him with that country all the more contestable.

FGP Sola reasoned through what she called the media's negative publicity about Nigeria without being entirely censorious. In her response to the representation, the middle-aged businesswoman shied away from trying to debunk the preferred or dominant reading, and instead declared that:

> "I don't blame the media for the negative publicity about Nigeria; they are saying what they see. The only thing is that when they do

[29] Different ethnic groups in Ogun State, in Nigeria

> good, they call them British, but when they do evil they are Nigerians." (Sola, Female businesswoman, 8/7/2013)

FGP Gbola, an accountant of the older generation, reacted from a parent's viewpoint. He evidently shared the sense of shame expressed by Bisi, saying he felt "very bad and not comfortable at all." However, he introduced a different dimension to the discussion:

> "The boys were born and bred here... it is a matter of nature and nurture... it shows the impact of the system on the children's orientation. Generally, media here has forgotten [the] principle that parents have not been given the opportunity to groom their children according to the way of God, parents' knowledge, orientation, and the future parents are expecting for their children. I feel very bad... not comfortable at all because it is true his parents came from Nigeria; [but] the boy was actually born here: this culture, this environment, system, media all combines to groom a child." (Gbola, 8/6/2013)

This opinion is in line with other commentators who acknowledged the men's ancestral lineage but distanced their 'homeland' and culture from the act by maintaining that the perpetrators' were not properly raised in the Nigerian way. This is the view that was as an example expressed online with considerable indignation by Anazodo, the Acting General Secretary of All Progressive Grand Alliance UK- APGA:

> "I can't believe that a blood-born Nigerian who came to United Kingdom can engage in this kind of atrocity... these guys were born here and raised here. Even if they were born by a Nigerian who resides in the UK, it means that their parents, for the fear of the Government and Law have not done enough bringing them up properly as Nigerians do. The way they behave and speak, they look more British than Nigerians. We don't behave like this. So for them to be identified as Nigerians is a detriment to our country's image which demands immediate public apology to the country of Nigeria and the people of Nigeria in the UK." (Jain, 2013)

The implication is that living in Britain means that certain legal constraints restrict the freedom of parents to discipline children the way they do "at home." Such an upbringing then creates its own conflicts for diaspora children. Caught between the orientation to an ancestral 'homeland' and the country of settlement, which is their place of birth, they

are forced to navigate an "in-between-ness" of the cultural codes and expectations of their parents and family on the one hand, and those of their peer groups and the wider society on the other. This is what Wolf (1997, 2002) found is common among immigrant children in American society.

Most of the SGPs reported experiencing this type of conflict. Many negotiated a situation where inside the domestic home is Africa and outside is the UK. Folu, a first generation Nigerian mother who raised all of her five children in the heart of what was then North Peckham estate and still lives in the newly revamped Peckham, proudly announced that her children knew this from a young age. She said:

> "Outside [the home] is England, inside is Africa! When they come in they are Africans, we can talk to them and they can't talk back. You know these children; they will tell their parents, 'Don't be stupid'! ...That is not our culture… When they leave school they should say good bye to Europe. When they come in, they will kneel down to greet you." (6/6/2013)

Her eighteen-year old second generation son Tobi, who is the only one still living at home, confirmed this. However, SGP Peter speaks for his entire generation when he narrates that when they were younger, they were not accepted as Nigerians, yet were forced to live as Nigerians while interacting with British society. According to him:

> "A lot of us second generation were lost, and we used to get into a lot of trouble and things like that. We were programmed into following… what our parents told us... and so it was confusing to go out into a world where we never knew how that would fit into everyday life. I think the big difference for us was it taught us crucial morals in life - like how to show people respect, how to treat your elders with respect, how to be proud about where you're from and have some sort of culture. So they were the positive things about the Nigerian culture, but some of the negatives were the fact that it was hard for you to realistically apply that to everyday life in the UK." (8/7/013)

Many in the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham appear to agree that the murderers were not raised right. In the Nigerian churches on Sunday 26 May, the pastor encouraged parents to train their children in the way of the Lord so as to equip them to make the right

choices. He concluded by declaring that they belong to Nigeria even though they were born in the UK.

All of these opinions and reactions go to show that nation, nationhood, and nationalism became unconsciously implicated in this context as well as in the everyday practices of the diaspora, as recorded in Chapter 5. Implicit in the media representation of members of the diaspora is a further emphasis not only on the routine words, which take the nation for granted, but also on the "hot" typology of nationalism. This is, however, not the same typology of nationalism that appears in celebrating a national day or "territorial autonomy" (Rogowski, 1985, cited in Billig, 1999:43) but rather it is psychological, as posited by Giddens (1985, 1987). According to him, it is psychological when "ordinary life is disrupted; when an ontological security is put in jeopardy by the disruption of routine" (Giddens, 1985:218 cited in Billig, 1999:44).

6.4. Emotion: Negotiating Diasporic Collective Sense of Shame

Emotions have always been implied in the studies of diasporic formation even though studies in this area have focussed on diasporas as social formations, modes of cultural production and even a type of consciousness (Vertovec, 1999), which arguably influence the physical, emotional and psychological aspects of navigating multiple spaces of attachments. Thus, one could argue that diasporic features such as memories, attachments, identity, nostalgia and 'home' are all emotionally and psychologically laden concepts. Nevertheless, scholars such as Vergara (2009) argue that emotion has generally been overlooked in studies of migration in favour of concentrating on connectivity, remittances, communications and travel in transnationalism studies (Kelly, 2015). The argument is that these emotionally laden concepts are the foundation of the diaspora members' orientation to multiple locations, and thus that they inform all aspects of everyday diasporic experiences, whether in media production or consumption or in response to the representation of them as minorities within the larger mainstream society.

Studies such as Madianou and Miller (2012) explored the ways in which transnational families maintain long distance relationships through new media and the impact of

separation on parents and children. In furthering the findings on polymedia, these scholars considered the social, emotional and moral consequences of choosing between media (Madianou and Miller, 2012). In relation to news, Madianou (2011) examined the role of news as "a looking glass" in understanding the symbolic power of media and the "ways in which processes of mediation can exert subtle forms of social control by heightening, or even possibly generating, negative emotions such as shame in conditions of unwanted mediated exposure" (p.14). Aside from this, there are other collective feelings of shame that are not media induced which diaspora groups' experience, such as the shame of identification with a nation whose conditions necessitate the mass emigration of its citizens. This is the type expressed by Ong and Cabañes's (2011) subjects with regards to the current economic situation of the Philippines as "the sick man of Asia" (p209) in contrast to its promising economy prior to the 1970s, a condition that had driven many of its citizens to various parts of the world as cheap labourers (Kelly, 2015).

A subject in Obasaju's (2014) study of the Nigerian second generation in Britain laments the conflict that results from having to negotiate both his "Nigerianness" and his "Britishness." The 29 year old male was born in Manchester, to Nigerian parents, like this study's participants Peter and Tobi. Their experiences are similar in that Obasaju's subject also described a duality in which the second generations are influenced by British culture daily outside their "Nigerian" home. In this family in Manchester, the children were constantly reminded that they were Nigerians and would forever be Nigerian regardless of where they were born. He explained that "this sentiment is not uncommon among Nigerian families, with blood being the defining factor of identity, not the country of birth" (Obasaju: ibid).

This man described having to perform his identities along many lines. He had to tailor his accent to different social contexts depending on whether he was interacting with white friends, non-Nigerian Blacks, Nigerian contemporaries or Nigerian elders; and the only place where he fully expressed his "Britishness" was at work. Whilst this similarity to the SGPs of this study is significant, it is the emphasis on the emotion felt following the Woolwich killing that is noteworthy here. In contrast to Bisi and her friends,

Obasaju's participant felt insulted. This buttresses the claim made previously, that it is impossible to have a uniform reading of an event or text (Hall, 1997; Morley, 1980).

However, Bisi's and her friends' expression of a collective sense of shame and that of Obasaju's subject, seem to be uniform in terms of identification with a national centre. The latter sees the scrutiny of the Nigerian origins of the murderers as insulting, claiming that they are "trying to show the practices of Nigeria when [the suspects] were raised here." (Obasaju, The Blog, 2014). Implicated in his sense of shame is a reminder of several years of humiliation through sensational media coverage of Nigerians and Nigeria as a country of mass emigration, financial fraud and Internet scams, prostitution, human trafficking, Islamic dissention, and corruption (Carling, 2004), as discussed in Chapter Two. Carling, in his report, observed that most Europeans are likely to have a negative impression of Nigeria, given the media's attention to all these factors (ibid, p.13).

Carling's observation is in line with the case of Filipino youths in Canada, where Kelly (2015) found the media culpable in one sense and the parents in another. Mainstream media outlets continually portrayed the Philippine 'homeland' as a nation of national disaster, poverty, corruption, crime, and consequent emigration; the Philippine cable channels in Canada also represented a valorisation of "whiteness" in such a way that elicited a sense of shame, inferiority or inadequacy in association with skin tone (p.15). Filipino youths have to navigate their parents' silence on these issues, which they interpreted as a lack of pride in their country of origin, and as a result, they develop "a sense that there is something to be ashamed of in the 'homeland' and the identity it provides" (p.13).

There is a similarity between this group of second generation Filipinos in Canada and the second generation Nigerians in Peckham. The latter have to endure stereotypes of criminality and the sense of shame it brings due to their affiliation by heritage to Nigeria and their belonging to the Nigerian diaspora. However, they differ in that there is always a constant reminder of pride in the nation in their everyday domestic as well as cultural practices. They have been socialised into the Nigerian food, religion, and various social

and cultural practices, both in the diasporic space of Peckham and in their interactions with families visiting from the 'homeland' and other Nigerian families in diaspora. This 'homeland' presence and the identity it provides has become the anchor for the sense of pride they feel in the popularity of *Afrobeat* music and *Nollywood*. Furthermore, the social and symbolic meaning of *ankara* offers them a way of articulating and reclaiming an identity that lives with difference. This is the focus of Chapter 7. The findings of this study thus resonate with the experience of Filipinos in Canada. Irresepctive of the sense of shame they felt because of negative media's portrayal of the Philippines and the silence of their parents in discussing issues relating to the homeland, they still expressed a sense of pride that is associated with the Filipino identity and culture of close family relationships, food, arts, and culture (Kelly, 2014).

As the feelings of shame and pride indicate, when boundaries are raised in relation to a different "other," feelings and emotions are a social factor in that, in order to be felt, they require the presence of another, the observer (Crozier, 1998, 2014). These feelings are emotional reactions to "what other people think based on a social valuation of the self by the other and a belief in the validity of that evaluation" (Kelly, 2014:6). As Madianou (2011) argues, shame and pride are both social emotions that involve an audience, whether real or imagined, whereby news becomes "a looking-glass through which viewers mirror themselves*."* This mirroring then heightens an awareness of the other's gaze and expectations in such a way that when people are exposed, and find themselves unwillingly in the news, they experience a feeling of shame irrespective of whether they were directly involved in the act or whether the representations are distorted. This is the explanation for the sense of collective shame that many Nigerians in diaspora have had to endure over years of media coverage, now expressed in the context of an ethnography study. Moreover, the accusation of mainstream media in addressing migrants collectively rather than as individuals (Christophe, 2012) is clearly accentuated in this context.

Closely related to the view of environmental influence discussed above, another first generation member of the diaspora and a community leader in Peckham attributed the Woolwich killing to the collapse of the communal way of life, which was central to the

Yoruba value system (Mbah & Igariwey, 2001). According to FGP Lami, a middle-aged Management Consultant:

> "Individuality has taken over cultural belief [such] that... it's [now considered] a disgrace if it 'takes a village to raise a child.' It is the failure of the British social system and there is no doubt that they are made in England. The only identification with Nigeria is in name, because they were born here, grew up here and have never been to Nigeria." (06/06/013)

In invoking the concept of "individuality," Lami is contrasting the British way with the traditional, organic relationship whereby the family, the neighbourhood and the community are the units of socialisation. Individuality is counter to the traditional African social structure and lifestyle, which was, for the most part, founded on a communalism in which "when an individual committed an offence, often his entire household, his kinsmen, and his extended family suffered with him, and sometimes for him. This was because such offenses were believed to bring shame not only upon the individual, but even more so upon his relatives" (Mbah and Igariwey, 2001). In this case, the participant above asserted that the interests of the individual have come to take precedence over that of the social group as a whole, as "nobody wants to be anybody's brother's keeper" anymore.

Normally, the emphasis in Nigeria is on blood relationships, a revisitation of primordial ties (Geertz, 1973), which understands identity as "an assumed given of social existence, immediate contiguity and kin – givens that stem from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, and dialect of a language" (p.257). Chapter Two discussed extensively how Nigeria and Nigerians are organised along ethnic, religious and regional lines within the 250 tribal groupings. The stress on bloodlines and paternal lineage has been alluded to by participants such as Gbola and the commentators cited above. Thus, to the average Nigerian, identity is biologically given and all other affiliations are organised along the natural given of ethnicity (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). Class, gender, age and other categorising social factors are secondary to ethnicity, which according to Osaghae and Suberu is regarded by Nigerians as the most basic and politically salient identity. Consequently, they define themselves

more in “terms of their ethnic affinities than any other identity” (p.8). In Peckham too, Nigerians are defined along these lines of affiliation. However, in the instance of Woolwich killing, there was a collapse of such affinities, all of which raised the banner of “banal nationalism” in this contestation, and this nationalism is both a language of blood myth as well as one of national belonging (Billig, 1995). Moreover, participants such as Gbola, Peter, and Babatola are Christians and so do not share the Islamic religion of the perpetrators.

Unlike the oppositional, interpretive and critical readings of the media text, some of the participants were notably silent during the interviews, especially the Muslims, in the same way a section of Morley’s (1980) audience was during his study of Nationwide. Although such silence has been referred to as a “critique of silence” (Hermes, 2005), it is unclear whether the Muslims' silence was one of critique or one of distancing because of how close to home the incident was to them, as both Muslims and Nigerians. This may possibly be the reason for their unwillingness to discuss the incident, even when asked shortly after it happened and throughout the period of intense debates about the media representation in the community. The curt response from both generations was that “they are not real Muslims; Islam is a religion of peace.” The unease they felt on the subject was quite apparent. They all, however, acknowledged the barbaric nature of the incident.

Hall (1997) theorized that the strength of media representation lies in the silence of exclusion; that is, what is omitted is as important as what is included. In his explanation, absence means something is significant because what is expected contrasts with what is represented; the subversion of expectations then leaves an empty and open field for interpretation of the representation. Thus, the omission of the British aspect of the perpetrators’ identities while their Nigerian and Muslim identifications were emphasised gave force to the contestation. A similar inference could be drawn in relation to the silence of the Muslim participants in that, what is not said is a reflection of the burden of bearing the double identifications of proximity to the incident as Muslim and Nigerian.

As part of the negotiated reading of the text, FGP Gbola first questions the media's identification of the perpetrators as Nigerians: “Media claims they are Nigerian born; but they are British born.” Then, he concedes that the media are not to blame, using a Yoruba proverb, “Isu eni lo towo eni bo epo.” (“It is the eating of one’s own yams that stains the hand with oil.”) This implies identification with the killers and guilt by association, with its attendant shame. Thus, Gbola recognises the communal nature of the Yoruba custom and its impact in terms of communal responsibility.

From these comments, and as rightly suggested by Mercer (1990), in the quote cited at the beginning of the chapter, identity becomes an issue in moments of crisis when something occurs to shake established assumptions. The Woolwich crisis and the assumption of fixed identities for parents who originated from Nigeria and their born-abroad sons and daughters brought the concept of distancing to the fore, first from comments made in the British media and then from the Nigerians in their responses. Arendt (1968) argued that the only viable strategy when an identity is under attack in times of defamation and persecution is to respond by embracing that identity (p.17). The Nigerians of this study embraced their Nigerian identity but refused to embrace the killers as part of their identity. Repeatedly, references were made to the differences between the British social system and the Nigerian cultural practices of parenting. Ade’s further comments based on his informed reading and interpretation of Adebolajo’s reference to “our land” cited above contends that, “I think the UK government should allow people of other origins to train their children/wards their own cultural way. I have a strong belief that if this had happened, these guys would not have dragged their family names into the mud” (Ade, 25/5/2013).

Conclusion

This chapter’s focus of analysis has been on how first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham construct home and identity in their media practices and in the process negotiate connections with contemporary Nigeria, and the UK. The preceding analysis showed that while the participants’ everyday use of media appeared to reflect the mundane (that is, the ordinariness of news consumption) it is nevertheless embedded with the issue of negotiating ‘home’, belonging, and identity construction. This occurs

through the information the participants obtain as well as the process involved of navigating multiple terrains for public connection to host, home and the global context of diasporic experience. The apparently everyday practice of news consumption illuminates the complexities of the power and politics of belonging that this diaspora group has to navigate as part of their everyday diasporic experience.

For the FGPs, news consumption serves the purpose of connecting them to two publics, that of the 'homeland' and the host country. Loyalty by some is demonstrated through involvement in social/cultural or political projects in the homeland, while for others it is through discourse whereby news content becomes the focal point of discussions at informal gatherings (Glick-Schiller, 2005:570-580). The chapter further described how important multiple attachments are to the diasporic experience and the attendant impact of negotiating home and belonging in the country of residence. It has demonstrated how even hybrid identities are not a seamless fusion, but rather dissolve and reconfigure within the processes of exclusion.

The chapter went on to discuss how the mainstream media were perceived as emphasising the Nigerian and downplaying the British aspects of the identities of the Woolwich killers. In doing so, they illustrated what Hall (1997) described as an "empty open field", whereby that which is not said is as significant as what is said. Nigerian first and second-generation immigrants in Peckham thus denounced the aforementioned omission. The resulting discussion about which of the multiple identities of the killers should have been emphasised in the media coverage, or how the media should have presented them, demonstrated how the question of home for members of the diaspora is always linked to processes of inclusion and exclusion, which are subjectively experienced under any given circumstances. These processes are, as Brah (1996) posited, both political and personal. Thus, asserting that a particular location is 'home', despite the multi-locality of the diasporic consciousness, is thus imbued with a political positioning that is always situational and contingent. This is demonstrated through the participants' responses to the Woolwich killing.

The chapter described how, across the spectrum of the Nigerian diaspora, irrespective of gender, generation, religious affiliation and age, both online and in interviews, all of the participants were critically active in their readings of the media coverage of the incident. Thereby they confirmed that "texts" can actually be given various meanings (Fiske, 1987) and that these meanings shift with historical settings and are always contextual (Hall, 1997:18). It was also argued that the mainstream media bring the flags of social belonging, nationality, and identity into the living rooms of most members of society, and it is through this glass that the majority get a glimpse of the minorities amongst them. Through media construction using ordinary, banal and routine words, the nation is not only taken for granted and inhabited (Billig, 1995), but a boundary of alienation is also raised, which prompts a reaction from the group that feels excluded.

Overall, the analysis shows that hybridity has enabled the recognition of how new identities and cultural forms are produced (Barker & Jane, 2016), and has served as an analytical tool for interrogating identity as being fixed in a geographical location. Nevertheless, it is not free from discourses about the fixity of any of its multiple aspects. This is reflected in the way the media referenced Nigeria as the country of origin of the parents of the killers as well as in references to the birthplace of the killers by both generations. This serves to localising identity not only within the primordial past but also in the geographical location.

The next chapter continues this discussion of how hybridity can disassemble and reconfigure at various times, depending on "political and personal struggles over the social regulation of 'belonging'" (Brah, 1996:192). The truth of this claim is reflected in the sense of national pride felt by second-generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in the popularity of *Afrobeat* music, the representation of Ankara clothing styles, and the global reach of *Nollywood*. The chapter discusses how these second generation Nigerians perform their diasporic identity around these cultural artefacts from the parental homeland. In the process, it answers the third research question by presenting the different identities and attachments that are constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to media engagement with exceptional media events, such as those relating to terrorism discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 7 Mediating Difference: Diasporic Media, Creative Practice and Cultural Pride

"The basic formulation is that making culture is easier when you are living through difference" (Kalra et al., 2005:37).

Introduction

The previous chapter described the collective sense of shame felt by both the first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham following the murder of a British soldier by two-second generation Nigerian descendants in Woolwich. In contrast, this chapter draws attention to patriotic pride in contemporary Nigeria, with which the diaspora maintains a connection through new media, information technologies, the Internet, YouTube, social media with its various affordances, blogging and forums. Through YouTube's constituting a global connection, American culture has had a fascinating influence on Nigerian culture. The inclusion of local artefacts from Nigeria within both the host and global mainstream gives Nigerian culture a sense of 'now', of being 'trendy', stylish, and future-oriented. The centrality of the media in shaping this 'trendy' identity has been facilitated by technological developments. This chapter, therefore, argues that new media, YouTube, and information technologies, which make it possible to connect across space and time, have aided the newfound identification of second generation Nigerians in Peckham with contemporary Nigeria.

The chapter places media reception within the larger context of cultural consumption and commodification, which have become central to contemporary identity articulation. This brings to bear the literature presented in Chapter 3 on the dialectic of interaction between local cultures and global media, which has been attributed to diasporic and transnational audiences (Madianou, 2002).

It also builds on the argument that *Nollywood* helps to bring the practices of 'home' to the diaspora, as described in Chapter 5. Here, cultural production and consumption becomes a site of creativity for a diasporic consciousness that lives with difference (Kalra et al., 2005). While everyday consumption of *Nollywood* in negotiating 'home' for both categories of participants was presented previously, the emphasis here is on how the SGPs perform their identities around its popularity in the global context.

The chapter begins with a description of how afrobeat, which participants listen to on YouTube or other Internet sites and the radio, provides a means of psychological identification with contemporary Nigeria. This is followed by a brief analysis of a*nkara,* a fabric that has gained currency among the SGPs to such an extent that it has a "profound influence" on their diasporic worldview. The third section focuses on the popularity of *Nollywood.*

The emphasis in this chapter is on the third research question posed by this study. This question concerns the different identities and attachments constructed in ordinary media consumption compared to media engagement with exceptional media events, such as those relating to terrorism. The chapter focuses particularly on the second generation participants and how they negotiate their British-Nigerian hybrid identities. The discussion draws extensively on extracts from the interviews from Biyi, Peter, Bisi and Tolu, who have also been central to the analysis in previous empirical chapters, as their responses are representative of the others.

7.1. Popular Culture to the Fore: Afrobeat Music

Music and dance are key features of most African cultures and musicians play important functional roles within communities. The Yoruba cultural milieu in which Fela Anikulpo-Kuti, the originator of afrobeat was raised (Grass, 1986), is a case in point. As one researcher puts it, "visual traditions that include mythology, oral literature, poetry, storytelling, proverbs, masquerades, rites of passages and other rituals are expressed through oracy, music, dance, drama, and the use of costume - social interplay and material symbols which accompany people from womb to tomb and much beyond" (Ugboajah, 1985:166). In this context "every activity has a particular rhythm, a particular song, a particular dance" (Grass: ibid: 131).

This is especially important for this study because diasporas have been known to perform identity around artefacts and objects (Woodward, 2007; Nowicka, 2007, 2006), and music has been at the forefront of diasporic cultural production (Gilroy, 1993, 1991). This is why Hebdige (1987) coined the phrase "cut 'n' mix" to describe the mixing of various genres of Caribbean music, which has "hybrid, syncretic and creolized cultural

forms" (Kalra et al., 2005:37). Although there is a difference between the movement of the Caribbean diaspora and Nigerians' historical migratory trajectories, there has nevertheless been a long established relationship, a "shared cultural space in the contemporary black African and Afro American communities" (Shonekan, 2011:9). There is an exchange of ideas and styles between musicians and listeners, which has given the black identity its universal yet peculiar identification. This common affinity resulted in the creolisation of afrobeat with American-style hip-hop that is being celebrated in identity reclamation by the participants.

The findings reported in this section were informed by observations and interviews related to weddings attended on 3/8/2013, 10/8/2013, and Tolu's 21st birthday party. It is also based on evidence gleaned from personal practices of participants as they listened to afrobeat music on the radio, YouTube, in music videos, their laptops and mobile phones.

Situating Contemporary Afrobeat in Historical Context

Afrobeat is a blend of various musical genres of Ghanaian highlife, jazz, James Brown-style funk, and traditional Nigerian music. It was created in the late 1960s by Nigerian musician Fela Anikulapo-Kuti for use as both dance music and "as a tool to critique the military government and British-influenced society of Nigeria" (Gendreau, 2009: iii). According to Grass (1986), it is a "jazz-highlife hybrid-highlife fusion of various West Africa traditional styles, brass-band, Latin guitar styles and jazz" (p.134).

Through the adoption of traditional proverbial style (ibid:137), Anikulapo-Kuti deployed afrobeat music in criticizing government policies and government officials, singing against corruption, exploitation and the total annihilation of traditional African beliefs and cultures. For instance, his *International Thief Thief* (1979) featured political lyrics that openly insulted those in power in Nigeria, accusing them of stealing. Also attacked were corporate organizations, multinational companies, and ruling classes all over Africa, which Fela perceived to be exploiting the continent's resources and peoples. Significantly, he linked the situation in the 1970s to slavery and exploitation as well as to colonialism (Vigliar, 2014). *The Beasts of No Nation* was composed after his release

from prison in reaction to police brutality, army oppression, and injustice in the Nigerian judiciary (Nairaland Forum, 2011).

Roy Ayers, American funk, soul and jazz composer, was drawn to afrobeat in the 1970s, as was the Jamaican-American pianist Randy Weston in the 1990s (Ayers, 2016; Weston, 2012). Fela Anikulapo-Kuti himself was reported to have had his musical education transformed into political radicalism in Los Angeles (Lipsitz, 2001:191). This is part of the "give and take" (Gilroy, 1993) that has informed the cultural history of the African diaspora worldwide. Funky party sounds emanating from Ghana and Nigeria are injecting new energy into British urban and American hip-hop music. At the same time, African music in Africa is evolving in relation to what is going on abroad, according to the British–Ghanaian hip-hop artist Sway (cited in Hancox, 2012). Afrobeat has now become an umbrella term for the new wave of African popular music that combines both this traditional past with a contemporary and modernised version of hip-hop, grime and house music (Adegoke, 2015; Abrantee, cited in Hancox, 2012).

This is the background in which the rise of afrobeat is linked to hip-hop in such a way that second generation Nigerians now celebrate its popularity as a source of national identification with their country of heritage. Contemporary Nigerian and Ghanaian artists have brought afrobeat music to the international scene with remarkable success.

Prominent afrobeat artists include Sarkodie, Tiwa Savage, Efya Jane, and award winning D'Banj. The latter's album *Oliver Twist* was featured as background music at a party on the BBC's programme *East Enders* (Smith, 2012) and was also played at the New Year's celebration on the Thames (Hancox, 2012). The major global recording firm Sony Music Entertainment signed an exclusive deal with D'Banj to have him its African label, which was celebrated by Nigerian fans on personal blogs (Ovie, 2014; Ify, 2012). There has been collaboration between Sarkodie and UK artists Donaoe and Sway (Hancox, 2012). Adegoke (2015) expressed joy in a blog post that afrobeat has become popular on MTV, saying that its artists could rival their American rapper counterparts. According to him, the genre went platinum with releases by Wizkid, Sarkodie, Banky W, Ice Prince, Castro and Don Jazzy, and it was not long before they entered the mainstream charts (Adegoke,

2015). Other successful artists on the international scene include Fela's own sons Femi and Seun, who are keeping their father's music tradition alive and proving to be worthy successors (Hancox, 2012). The success of this genre would be impossible without the Internet aiding its spread among Nigerians at home and the youths in diaspora.

It is the music and the successes of these artists that have captured the imagination of the Nigerian diaspora, especially the second generation. Together, they have opened up a new chapter in global pop music. Reaping the rewards of battles Fela won, they are operating in the context of freedom of speech (Hancox, 2012) and also within the freedom which global social media affords them in reaching "a wider audience of music lovers than Fela ever had"[30] (Smith, 2012). According to Cecil Hammond, a Nigerian music promoter, while Fela's version of afrobeat served a political purpose in opposing governments, the new generation of afrobeat is geared towards making people forget their everyday troubles and have a good time (cited by Duthiers and Kermeliotis, 2012). Thus, through the Internet, contemporary afrobeat, which started out shaping Lagosian adolescence through the mid-2000s, began shaping a minority of Londoners in the new century, namely, second generation migrant youths.

Of special interest to this study is the role of social media in the dissemination of afrobeat and the popularity of its artists at the local, national and international levels. Smith (2012) affirmed that, because of prior knowledge of artists such as Ice Prince through television, it is little wonder that when he appears at a show in Malawi or elsewhere, enthusiastic crowds of fans numbering in the thousands greet him. The introduction of MTV, other cable channels across Africa, both English-speaking and French-speaking, Tweeter, and social media, has contributed to the spread of the contemporary afrobeat music (Smith, 2012).

Afrobeat has travelled across four regions: Africa, America, Europe and the Caribbean (Kalra et al., 2005; Gilroy, 1991) and combined with many genres from these localities, only to return to where it started, as discussed above in relation to its originator. Within the discourse of "travelling or hybridizing" (Clifford, 1994:306) and the global blending

[30] D'Banj in an interview with Smith, 2012.

of cultural artefacts, diaspora members themselves have to navigate similar global processes that require them to connect to multiple locations. Accordingly, the subjects of this study were found to have developed particular admiration for afrobeat in response to feelings of social exclusion and the necessity of choosing from the multiple identifications that diasporic experience offers.

Thus, the artists of Fela's afrobeat music, whose roots are in Lagos and Accra, heralded a three-way cultural exchange between Africa, America and Britain in such a way that it is reliving the double consciousness of *The Black Atlantic* (Gilroy, 1993). The responses of the Nigerian subjects of this study and its impact on their diasporic identity are analysed in the next section.

Afrobeat - A Contemporary Nigerian Diasporic Identity

That the diasporic site is one of social exclusion wherein multiple identifications have to be negotiated as part of the everyday diasporic experience, is expressed by some of the SGPs. They claim that previously, they had to settle for co-identification with their Afro-Caribbean brothers. According to SGP Tolu, a 21 year-old female undergraduate:

> "Back in the 80's when Nigerians first started coming into the community; it was seen as something shame[ful] to be Nigerian... a lot of people have spoken about that, about how it was always cool to be seen as Jamaican rather than Nigerian. And even when I was in primary school, even though the majority of the black children were actually Nigerians, because of the area where we lived, there was nothing cool about being Nigerian… we never really had any sort of cultural standing."

This statement is in line with Hall (1996) position that identity is always a process that is situational and contextual rather than being essential. Thus, prior to the opportunities afforded by diasporic media in all its alternatives and particularistic content and focus, the FGPs have had to perform their diasporic identity around solidarity with other minority groups (Safran, 1996). However, the emergence of communication and information technologies, most especially the Internet, has opened new channels within the global context. These channels now serve as the means by which Tolu, Peter and the other SGPs can "reclaim their identity" that was subsumed in co-identification with Afro-

Caribbeans. This is what they now celebrate through various platforms on the radio and at parties, and through "compact discs, MP3 players and electronic music files exchanging hands on the Internet" (Olaniyan, 2004:108).

Tolu's statement above affirms what the British-born DJ of *Choice FM,* Abrantee Boeteng, expressed in an interview with Smith (2012), a journalist from *The Guardian*. Described on his website as the "UK's biggest and most influential Urban Radio DJ, TV personality and global afrobeat ambassador", Abrantree claims that growing up in London, it was embarrassing for them to say that their families were from Africa. As a result, they pretended they were from the Caribbean. Interestingly, this contrast with the Nigerian students of the 1970s who sought to distinguish themselves from their West Indies counterparts during that period of racial turbulence (Harris, 2006). It affirms the processual nature of diasporic identification as contingent and situational (Hall, 1996), a situation that could be both conflicting and creative (Kalra et al., 2005). In the context of these SGPS, it has been creative. This was first through co-identification with a fellow diaspora group, the Jamaicans in the past, and in the present with the popularity of afrobeat. Thus, in the interview, Abrantee echoes Tolu's words, claiming that suddenly, the black kids from Ghana or Nigeria started declaring that it is "cool to come from there."

Thus, these migrants find that, repackaged by artists from its earlier origin, afrobeat is now available through alternative, global media. These alternative media channels, such as BBC 1Xtra, Capital/Choice FM, and YouTube new releases and remixes, have become for them a medium of identification as they declare a sense of national pride they previously lacked. YouTube even reminds users of the most viewed videos and most frequently searched topics, besides suggesting new tracks to listen to. The artists themselves promote their new music through social media, especially Instagram and Twitter (Bisi, 20/12/013). In the process, the second generation relive an experience that was foundational to traditional African cultures and everyday practices whereby "music and dance are tied to every aspect of life" (Grass, 1986:131).

In her ethnographic study of Punjabis in Southall, Gillespie (1995) noted that the process of hybridisation and syncretisation has been associated with Britain's black settlers for decades and that it has been the focal point of studies on popular music, dance, fashion, style, and even experimental film (ibid:4). Similarly, the presence of this expressive culture served as the initial point of identification for the consumer culture that becomes the backdrop of the participants' claims about the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham. The popularity of afrobeat has enhanced a sense of identification and national pride among the participants.

Afrobeat, then, is a genre that links the Black diaspora's transnational formation across the Americas, the Caribbean, Africa and Europe together. This is exemplified in Gilroy's (1993) seminal book *The Black Atlantic,* which is the premise on which black culture and the black Atlantic diaspora have been studied. This black musical genre, which embodies the notion of *"*give and take*"* throughout the "Black Atlantic", has now reached full circle through the provision of identification for subsequent generations of its land of origin, where it began its transnational cum diasporic legacy. Its historical trajectory among the black diaspora extends beyond the present, as affirmed by Lipsitz (2001), who linked the "hip hop energy" to its many originating sources, and its crucial element is in its ability to respond to the *"*realities of the African diaspora" (p.190). Therefore, contrary to the linear view of seeing the preservation of either African or American or Caribbean elements in hip-hop, it should rather be viewed from the multidimensional perspective of the concept of *"*give and take*"* espoused by Gilroy. American and European blacks drew on African traditions in the first instance. This view is supported by Lipsitz (2001), who posits that Africans, in turn, have drawn on "Euro-American power relations" for "their cultures of opposition and strategies of signification developed by the diasporic Africans as a form of struggle on the African continent" (Lipsitz, 2001:190). The connection, however, for the SGPs of this study is that identification with this cultural form is not a continuation of the narrative that music is ideological in its foundation. Rather, as most of the SGPs agreed, afrobeat is "to be unapologetically African, is to be in touch with your cultural roots, displaying pride in the music, dancing, food and traditions" (Bisi, SGP, 20/12/013). To her and most of her friends:

> "The popularity of afrobeat has fostered this confidence and openness amongst black, particularly African, young people. That confidence can translate into other areas of life where to be black or African is not desirable, or respected, but rather looked down upon or ridiculed. It is cool to see music from your culture being played in the mainstream and being danced to by your non-African friends. The facts there are afrobeat summer parties hosted by radio stations and DJs shows that it has mass appeal. (Bisi)

Thus, in contrast to the overt ideological overtone of American racial unrest or current issues of discrimination, which have made music, historically, a way for black people to negotiate the double consciousness of slavery and poverty (Du Bois, 1986), afrobeat has created a space to articulate identity and to negotiate national belonging.

Shonekan (2011) demonstrates, in her study of hip hop in Nigeria, that as a black musical genre, it has provided the special virtual space where black youth create an identity that reflects a "double consciousness" (p.11) that is associated with freedom from oppression. The difference is that while African Americans have always used music to navigate urban realities such as poverty and social exclusion (McRobbie, 1999, cited in Shonekan, 2011), for the Nigerian diaspora's second generation, this chapter argues, it is a means of finally finding a "voice". In other words, music serves as a focal point of identification for an identity that had hitherto found expression within British black collective identity, as stated by Bisi, Tolu and Peter.

Thus, the "give and take" reciprocity in the black musical movement (Gilroy, 1993) is not a new phenomenon. Afrobeat is merely a continuation of the narrative of cultural interactions, which produced the hybrid form in the first place. However, while it is a continuation of a hybridised process that spans the black Atlantic, this new form of identity articulation, it is argued, is being reclaimed in a banal form of nationalism in the stream of the global cultural flow and global marketing strategies.

At the same time, new media technologies throw open new opportunities and channels for its exploration and expression. Afrobeat artists have a strong presence on various alternative channels, as discussed previously, and it is on YouTube that new artists and musical entertainers such as *Naija Boyz* produce remixes of other artists' work. An

example is their African remix of Beyoncé's *Single Ladies.* Also, through the use of satirical imitation, the lyrics of *Naija Boyz* highlight the differences between host and 'home', West and South, British and Nigerian, American and African. Thus, this channel has become another avenue for negotiating differences in the social and cultural practices of the 'homeland' and mainstream host, particularly for the SGPs.

Musical Language, National Identity and Global Positioning

Within the context of globalisation and localisation, the Nigerian second generation members of the diaspora view the syncretic form which combines American hip hop with local beats as setting the pace for the nation's global connection. They see it as fostering their inclusion in the trends of the global North. For them, claiming a voice, which had otherwise been silent, and an identity that had been conflated with the Afro Caribbean was considered important. In the 1990s, the increasing popularity of afrobeat and its artistes on the international market stimulated a sense of social identification that reinforced "Nigerian identity through popular Nigerian music and provided strong identification with Nigeria." This is the view of 24 year-old SGP Biyi, and widely shared by other participants. It heightened a collective sense of pride among the group as their musical repertoires now encompass not only listening to the lyrics but also identifying with the genre and the language used in it. The language itself is the result of hybridity, specifically, the locals' interaction with the English language during the colonial era, which resulted in created a dialect known as West African Pidgin English (Shonekan, 2012).

Interestingly, although African, both the genre and the language to which Biyi refers incorporate Western expressions, and this has been the target of purists for "gradually becoming homogenized to fit into the western stereotypes" (Adedeji, 2014:497). This is the core of globalisation and the essence of its criticism. It is a healthy paradox, however, that globalisation both universalises as well as particularises. It has not only advanced the genre into the global world of musical variety, it has also engendered relationships among ethnic groups, which is one of the core features of diasporic consciousness (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997, 2008).

Tolu claims:

> "We now have something to call our own; no more going to a party and expecting to hear only American, British and Jamaican Music - we have something to proudly flaunt also! And that is what makes it so popular, the fact that it is uniquely ours." (3/6/013)

According to her, this sense of pride is heightened "when I see those of non-African origin doing the Nigerian *Etighi* dance… whilst trying their best to sing along to lyrics such as *"Oya komole ma jo lo baby."*[31] They used to copy the foreigners; now the foreigners copy them. Even as Tolu and her SGP friends celebrate the popularity of the form in a collective sense of pride of belonging, a sense of loss has also been identified (Adegoke, 2015). Tolu, Sophie, Abid and Bisi agree with Adegoke's lament that: "The impassioned lyrics made those of us who hadn't learned our native language determined to do so, and those who had, felt like they knew the passwords to a secret clubhouse."

It has been argued that it is not always clear, whether the music deliberately sets out to emphasise nationalism in its lyrics, or if it is the participants that consume the music in a particular way to accentuate the script of banal identification with the national origin of their parents. Mahtani and Salmom (2001), in their study of the Canadian band Tragically Hip Fans*,* noted the sense of identification the band's music stirred up in their fans. Even when the band itself had not intentionally stressed nationalism in their music, aside from employing Canadian-specific references in the lyrics, the study observed that musical fans consume the product in "a particularised way" (ibid:174-175). While the band did not preach nationalism, nor openly associated their music with it, the fans still appropriated it as such. Although there is an appreciation for the music, it is argued there is some sense of sentiment through a discourse of identity that is attached to it.

[31] A Yoruba encouragement to whole-hearted dancing.

The popularity of both artists and the way in which afrobeat is being appropriated by the diaspora and various consumers show a deliberate act of promoting nationalism in contrast to the Canadian subjects of Mahtani and Salmom (2001) discussed above.

Arguably, it is surmised as a work that has been deliberately produced to win the favour of the people as well as for its commercial value (William, 1983). The hybridity that produced Nigerian hip-hop and afrobeat has, therefore, been dynamic (Shonekan, 2012), and the impact of globalisation, global communication and cultural flow has influenced their popularity with Nigerian youth (Adedeji, 2014). In this instance, for the artists, the producers and the fans are arguably deliberate. According to Shonekan, Nigerians have embraced and imbibed African American popular music for decades, and in the process, created this new cultural and artistic product (ibid: 147). Consequently, the resultant genre is indeed deliberate, a point which the forthcoming discussion on *Nollywood* will further highlight.

The process of production and consumption is part of the whole circuit of culture whereby "representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation" are dialectical, an ongoing process (du Gay et al., 1997) rather than just a "transmission flow" from producer to consumer (Harrington and Bielby, 2001:11). The implication of this claim is that, contrary to the divergence between the band's intention and the fans' consumption of Tragically Hip Music in Canada, there is a unity between the consumers and the producers of afrobeat in positioning "nationhood" as a brand in the music. This could be supported by the discourses of various stakeholders and the fact that it has received government recognition. For example, the former President of the Performing Musician Association of Nigeria (PMAN) said that hip hop/afrobeat artists "are professionals creating a positive identity for the Nigerian nation… and restored our dignity by ensuring that when you come to Nigeria the music you hear on the airwaves... is predominantly created by Nigerians" (Okoroji 2009). Similarly, from the perspective of the SGPs of this study, Peter claims that the "victimised" have become the "trendsetters" through afrobeat:

> "People are making statements: musicians such as D'Banj, are being signed to American artists [record labels]... that association, that integration and the confidence in who we are... have really grown over the last 5 to 10 years… people are paying attention... and buying into what we have…" (8/7/013)

Afrobeat artists celebrate their gradual penetration into the mainstream through collaboration with British and American colleagues, even as the SGPs celebrate the gradual incorporation of afrobeat into the mainstream. According to Bisi:

> "Afrobeat's popularity has now crossed-over into the mainstream, evidenced by the Radio 1xtra show with DJ Edu, big break-out stars such as DJ Abrantee, a Ghanaian-Brit, and non-African artists featuring on afrobeat tracks, for example, 'Turnaround' featuring Conor Maynard, a white American and Ne-Yo, an African-American. Popular music sells to the populous, and more so if the artists are well known and identifiable to the masses. The natural dance-ability of the afrobeat sound helps to popularise it and leads to particular dances attributable to song, e.g. Azonto, Shoki dancing. Afrobeat is firmly part of any urban party playlist." (27/11/015)

Statements such as this are stamped with the deixis of nation, nationalism and nationhood that is "taken for granted" (Billig, 1995). The artists and musicians have all consumed the genre in a particular way, the colloquial "Nigerian way" that embraced nationalism, even when the form of music is a hybrid. Arguably, the music has been influenced by an appreciation of place, nationalism and patriotism that combines both the "global North" and the "global South." The influence is apparent in the style of clothing, even in the musicians' haircuts, in the hybrid forms used in on-stage musical performances, in the lyrics, and in various other aspects.

The next section discusses further the diasporic connections made by some of the SGPs with regard to afrobeat and the larger context of host in which their everyday diasporic experiences are enacted.

Generational Connection

Peter, a 26-year-old SGP, expresses a similar view to that of Biyi and Tolu, who serve here as the collective voices for the Peckham youth, and arguably for Nigerian youths in

diaspora. He acclaims the fact that an application of the "Nigerian culture to urban community" is progressively taking place. He sees this "in music nowadays in the UK, as they have begun to embrace African culture as a result of the popularity of the artists and the music." According to him, "a lot of the music that even white people listen to is very much Nigerian. Even some of the music has Yoruba dialect [lyrics] in them; it's embraced by all..."

In its fluid and globalised form, afrobeat is recognised as not yet laying claim to widespread acceptance across all social-cultural affiliations. What is already happening, however, is that it is providing inspiration for Nigerian youths in diaspora. According to Tolu, "the cultural backdrop afrobeat has provided for youths in the diaspora" has stirred up a revolution in "the appreciation for language and a surge in patriotism... within the UK." Also, she adds, "*Afrobeat* unites young people abroad and at home." This is the sense of national pride and patriotism that sets the SGPs apart from other migrant groups whose attachment to their parents' countries of origin is a major point of conflict and negotiation (Gillespie, 1995; Georgiou, 2006). Interestingly, although contemporary afrobeat artists are mostly male, both male and female participants responded equally positively with regard to how it is received and perceived.

Even as the youths in diaspora and in the homeland celebrate afrobeat as authentically "ours" (Adegoke, 2015), the new genre has been critiqued by older Nigerians such as Abati (2009) as having a lower standard compared to traditional Nigerian music, which "made sense," was meaningful and polished, and not "just sound." To him, the contemporary form is inauthentic because of the emphasis on its commercial value, which makes the focus on branding, showmanship and financial remuneration. Thus, to this first generation Nigerian, the language of afrobeat and the attempts by its artists to imitate Western hip-hop styles compromise its authenticity (Abati, 2009).

The artists make no effort to deny their commercial interests in the genre. They are unabashed, however, in flaunting their claim to be ambassadors of a new genre that is representing Nigeria in the global mainstream of the music industry (Banky W, 2009). Although it may be rightly argued that the genre has been deliberately packaged and is

not devoid of "western" elements in various forms, even this may have aided its acceptance as a new form of identification by the second generation. They are more westernised than their parents, and the future for them is an ever-increasing embrace of Western realities.

What is unanimously declared is the fact that afrobeat artistes love and are representing their country proudly on the global stage (Banky W, 2009). It is a fact that the entertainment and fashion industries are youth-driven, and both have contributed to propelling Nigeria into the global mainstream. This motivation for newfound identification with the national centre by most of the SGPs is in line with Banky W.'s proclamation in Naija Till We Die:

> "For many years our dear country was mostly known for corruption, lack of infrastructure, and security issues. Our country has not yet given us steady electricity, adequate education, safety from armed robbers or standard healthcare; yet artists have risen like roses that grow from concrete... and these very artists love and represent their country proudly on a global stage… Nigerian artists are doing a pretty good job of representing this great country of Nigeria." (Banky W, 2009).

This statement reflects the mixed feelings with which the first generation parents received this connection between the younger generation and their country of origin. While they celebrate the popularity of afrobeat on the one had as alleviating their desire for their children to embrace Nigeria as their own, they lament the Western influence on the clothing worn by female artists, the vulgarity, and the propensity of the male artists for drinking and taking drugs. All of these aspects have implications for this new form of identity regarding traditional African culture and values. According to Ola, FGP midwife and Tolu's mother:

> "We are happy about the popularity of *afrobeat* and *ankara* in two ways. One, we are happy that... inu wa dun- inu eniyan dun[32] because it is promoting our culture, ankara is made into shoes (bata), fanciful styles, gele (head ties). We recognise that poverty drove the boys into music due to lack of employment because all of them have education. Because they could not find jobs in Nigeria, so they recourse in music. A dupe lowo Olorun[33], this will reduce the crime

[32] Yoruba for we are happy
[33] We thank God

> rate too. The majority are educated – owo no wa[34]. They want to be comfortable, but the girls, look at how they expose their nakedness, drink... Culture wa ko ni yen, bora sile, expose idi ati oyan[35]." (12/12/2013)

Ola's statement indirectly links the popularity of afrobeat artists to poverty, which was one of the reasons discussed in chapter one for the mass emigration of Nigerians in the 1990s. It also confirms Banky's contention with Abati's, discussed above. The implication is that, as artists, they are not only contributing to alleviating corruption and poverty in Nigeria, they have also created an avenue that situates Nigeria's music industry in a global context. The participants' particularised consumption and articulation of identity around the popularity of *Nollywood* (discussed further in 7.3) and music reflect Larkin's (2004) finding that Nigerians have developed a distinctive film practice around the consumption of Nigerian films. Likewise, the infrastructure of production which piracy has generated has both "material and sensorial effects on both media and their consumers" (p.310). These effects have not only shaped the way media take on cultural value and act on individuals and groups (Larkin, 2004) in Nigeria, but also in diaspora.

Irrespective of this contention, however, SGP Tolu, Ola's daughter, recognized at least in part that Western cultural influence is not a recent phenomenon. Just as the Western culture has been instrumental in helping produce this musical genre, it also influenced the parents' musical genre in the past. According to her, *"*Our parents had *Highlife* and *Juju* music during their youth, which were influenced by Western styles of music also." Nevertheless, this statement affirms the global implication of the claim that *"*no culture is pure*"* (Boyarin and Boyarin, 1993). While a generational gap exists, there is also generational continuity, although this may take different forms of expression and practices. For instance, Folu, an FGP nurse, remarked that while the first generation would invite a *"*live" band, their second-generation offspring prefer a disco where a DJ playa a variety of music from the afrobeat collection. This was during the planning of her daughter's wedding described earlier.

[34] They are looking for money

[35] our culture does not condone the exposure of private body parts, such as the bums and the breasts

> "My daughter warned us that they do not want a live band with all the instruments and singing and dancing. They want a DJ that would play all the music they listen to today. I love Nigerian music, those boys, they are my children. When they start singing, I sing with them word to word and I dance their dance. I may be old but I'm young at heart." (6/6/015)

For the SGPs, it is sufficient that afrobeat gives them, as African youths in diaspora, a sense of social worth and an appreciation for a language they hardly speak The parents see their children's interest in it as a welcome development in their desire to have them embrace Nigerian things as their own. Thus, Folu further remarked of the music, and also of *Nollywood* in relation to the youth:

> "In a way [the genres have] helped them to connect or to relate to our tradition and culture because sometime they say, 'We saw these films on our channel or this musician, the way they dress, the way they speak English - their accent,' and they start mimicking them… The one getting married... she doesn't want a band, she wants Nigerian music CD played." (6/6/015).

The pleasure that Folu and other FGP parents experienced as a result of their SGP children's interest in cultural artefacts from their home country is affirmed by Abrantee in his interview with Hancox: "the parents are really pleased and proud that their UK-born kids are all of a sudden embracing their culture" (Hancox, 2012). Thus, afrobeat is recognized as a Nigerian musical genre and has gained inter-diasporic recognition among other minority groups in Britain. This is a source of pride for the youth. According to Tolu, it is setting a standard to "see afrobeat played not just at African gatherings but in clubs, radio and even on TV. It is no longer a hidden gem, as it is listened to by those of non-African descent also, [although] it has, however, not penetrated the wave of mainstream media."

7.2. Global Marketing and Ankara Fabric

Gillespie (1995) observed that fashion has consistently been a site for the construction of public identity by youths in the United Kingdom. According to her, and citing Chambers (1986), this shows *"*how underprivileged groups actively shape their own identities in the face of powerfully organized commercialism*"* (Gillespie, 1995:13). It is

in this context that the significance of *ankara* fabric in the articulation of identity by the subjects of this study becomes apparent.

Ankara fabric is 100% cotton wax prints of Dutch origin and design (Shonibare, 2012). It started as a transnational artefact before taking on what could be referred to as "the diasporic life of African print," borrowing the metaphor of the "diasporic lives of objects" from Chambers (2012). With its Indonesian-Java batik and European/English connections, ankara became part of the Nigerian national identity as a result of mass consumption by the population, and recently made its debut in the global world of fashion. It is now popularly known as African print because of its colourful designs and patterns, and it has acquired a symbolism reflecting the cultural values, personal tastes and preferences of West Africans (ibid, p.5). Now there is a "Nigerian" claim to it as they combine Western and Nigerian styles. This has been warmly embraced by the Nigerian diaspora, especially by the SGPs of this study, as a mark of identity.

While afrobeat representation has had to navigate its way from the periphery to the centre and from the local to the British and global mainstream, the media representation of ankara started with mainstream recognition of the local culture. SGP Bisi, a lawyer, affirms the influence of this global representation on their identity performance by claiming:

> "The popularity was boosted by celebrities such as Beyoncé Knowles and her sister Solange wearing ankara and visibly African attire or patterns. Coupled with the styling of their hair into African braids, it all created a more pro-Afro-centric image, incorporating tribal dancing and sounds. As a fashion and styling icon, Beyoncé made the look more accessible and identifiable, which naturally influenced many young designers and high-street chains, crossing over into white or European fashion." (20/4/013).

Ankara has been displayed on Parisian catwalks (Odulate, 2009) and is associated with celebrities such as Beyoncé and Rihanna. Other celebrities that Akinola (2013) has spotted wearing the fabric include American First Lady Michelle Obama and the reality TV star Kim Kardashian. This is what informs the position of this study in linking the popularity of the fabric to global trends in fashion as well as in the global consumer

culture. The evident success of a fabric that has assumed a *"*Nigerian identity*"* through patronage has led the SGPs to lay claim to it as *"*our culture." In a similar fashion with afrobeat*,* the popularity of ankara cannot be separated from the global process associated with the mass flow of cultural goods and capital, which has aided interconnectedness among people. This interconnection has resulted in a *"*fluidity*"* that marks identity; Appadurai (1996:7) listed clothing styles as one of the features of the flow of international capital. Consequently, one can arguably claim that the proliferation of ankara fabric since 2010 (Shonekan, 2012) is part of the cyclical process of defining and redefining the symbolic values such clothing styles express (Bovone, 2006:322). Whatever the trends or processes of the fashion industry may be, the second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora perceive this as a site for the negotiation of identity. According to Biyi,

> "Nigerian fashion and music have helped us identify ourselves with Nigeria even when we felt so distant from being Nigerians ... [when we are] bewildered whether we belong more to Nigeria or Britain." (26/3/013)

The symbolic values thereby attributed to the fabric have elicited the consumer responses in this instance (ibid: 322). These elements have all interacted to help shape the perception of the SGPs about themselves, their parents' country of origin, their current location, and their place in the global world of the movement of wares and people. As a result, the production of identities (Hall, 1996) has evolved around the material culture that is both local and global at the same time. However, while the values attributable to fashion by consumers from the producers have always been dictated by class, lifestyle or subculture (Crane et al., 2006:323), in this context, the value lies in national pride couched in an identity that is connected to heritage.

Figure 7.1 Bales of ankara fabric with typical African print patterns

The Origin of *ankara*: museorigin.com (Accessed: 26/1/2016)

On display here is the successful universalising of the local, creating a global context for enacting a new identity, as is the case with afrobeat and with *Nollywood,* which follows in the last section of this chapter. What is perceived as *"*local*"* and *"*particular*"* by the Nigerians has had its own circle in the global process, because what they referred to as the "ankara craze" is associated with the popularity of the fabric among Western celebrities. This is implied in Tolu's boasting that *"*both Beyoncé and Rihanna have been caught 'rocking it in ankara.'" Again, just as with afrobeat, she stresses, *"*it is something uniquely ours; a culture passed down from generation to generation that we have managed to modernize, popularize and make accessible to the world."

Figure 7.2 Ankara dresses at the wedding of Folu's daughter in Peckham

7.3. Nollywood - Performing the local within the Global

Nollywood, the Nigerian movie industry, was already mentioned in Chapter 5. Here, the focus is on how the second generation connects the reclaiming of a diasporic identity to the popularity of this alternative medium. The designated brand name Nollywood, said to have been coined by Western journalists, has become a standard term used by Nigerians to refer to the Nigerian film industry and its products (Larkin, 2005:109). Its distinct identification makes it separate from the dominant global film industry network of production, inputs and distribution, yet it remains globally linked through what Miller (2012) refers to as the *"*alternative global network." It is a traditional medium which Larkin (2005) declares *"*appeared form nowhere yet produces over 600 films a year, making Nigeria one of the largest film producing countries in the world, as measured by quantity" (ibid:109).

Nigerian films are travelling the "length and breadth of the continent, connecting Africa, and Nigeria in particular, to its diverse, far flung diasporas through satellite TV, Internet, piracy..." (Krings and Okome, 2013:1). The popularity of Nollywood is helped by the use of video technologies in mobilising self-expression to facilitate the spread of its films "across linguistic, cultural and national boundaries" (p.46). It has led to the popularity now celebrated among this diasporic group.

Due to the unique production style of Nollywood, one could arguably give it the title of a *"*floating*"* industry. Unlike its Hollywood counterpart, it has no physical location where all film making activity is concentrated. It operates mainly from the Alaba Electronic open market in Lagos, with amorphous production sites all over the country, and distribution channels in Abuja and Lagos. It has no multinational media corporations such as Warner or Universal to back it; productions are financed by independent marketers and executive producers who tend to have a background in electronics (Miller, 2012:119). These independent marketers, Miller explains, exercise great collective power, and the decision to finance a film is not based on estimated sales potential but on an informal knowledge of the market from their ownership and their management of the distribution channels.

The exceptionality of the Nollywood production system extends to these distribution channels, as it is an industry, which operates largely outside of global networks, yet works within global connections. However, a substantial amount of the re-production occurs through piracy (Larkin, 2004). Not only has Nollywood created an industrial image for itself as a national industry, it has also, through alternate distribution networks, "hooked up to the accelerated circuit of global media flows" (Larkin, 2008:224-225). This is what is responsible for "connecting Lagos to markets from Dar-es-Salaam to East London to St Lucia in the Caribbean" (Miller, 2012:125). The distribution networks are what makes Nollywood films available all over the Western world, but it is popular mostly among diasporic groups. It also extends all over the Sub-Saharan African countries, and its films are the most watched films in Africa and in diaspora by Africans and non-Africans alike, but especially by Africans. The global reach includes Peckham, and thus the industry is responsible for the array of films made available in stalls by entrepreneurs who are both sellers and re-producers of the films in VCD and DVD (see Fig 7.3). Their clients are not only Nigerians but people of various other ethnic backgrounds as well, who stop at the stalls to buy and place orders.

According to Miller (2012:125), the popularity of the industry is connected to the spread of Nigerian diasporic groups across the world, given that its "main markets are the UK, the US, the Caribbean and Sub Saharan Africa, but [also] countries with smaller numbers of African migrants, such as Spain, Italy, and Germany." Within an alternative cultural production and distribution that is outside of the global networks of Hollywood, Nollywood is a respected brand name. That name appears to be a play on Hollywood but ironically, it is consumed mainly by those who are left out of the dominant global cultural industry distribution networks (ibid: 118). This is what invokes the sense of pride and patriotism expressed by the second generation of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham.

Beyond Entertainment: Articulation of Personal and Cultural Values

Within the global circulation of goods, capital and people, the mythical link to the country of origin is understandably stronger among the first generation of immigrants. The idealisation of the 'homeland' and the nostalgic feelings for it, which are poignantly a part of their everyday experience, are not shared in the same way by their offspring.

Although the transmission of cultural and religious values from the country of heritage have made interaction with the mythical 'homeland' a part of their social formation, their solidarity and attachment are not comparable to their parents'. It is therefore interesting that the SGPs of this study maintain such a great sense of pride in and through the cultural circulation, which has become a fundamental part of their everyday discourse, identification and association with Nigeria.

The pride that the SGPs have in Nollywood is based on their approval of its style and content. Peter, like Owotola who was cited earlier, is an admirer but also a critic: "I love Nollywood but it frustrates me also... some story lines… the quality needs to grow." Owotola also rues the content, saying:

> "It's all about *juju*, I just don't find it interesting, I really don't. The stories ... they are pretty limited in terms of playwriting. It's always the same thing. This one is scared of that one because of something or someone getting poisoned because of *juju.*"

Juju is a major theme running through the content of the movies, and is emphasized repeatedly. It refers to an exploration of the role of the supernatural, of how the world of spirits affects current realities, of how endowed practitioners can travel in the astral and project curses or cures, and departed ancestors take an active interest in present day events. Other themes are also treated in order to teach moral lessons, highlight religious issues or social problems such as HIV/AIDS, and social ills, love and hate, and everyday concerns, but it is the recurrent theme of witchcraft and *juju* that makes Nollywood unique. As Larkin (2004) describes it, "they show witchcraft because that is what many people care about and because it is the real problem of the people" (p.110). This is the theme to which many of the first generation respond in non-negotiated viewings of the films. As Owotola states, however, many of the second generation do not like this aspect of the films. However, that does not weaken their national pride in the position of Nollywood in the global film making industry. Consequently, SGPs think "they are doing Nigeria proud," and within this sense of national pride, they find a new identification that links them to their parents' country of origin.

First, it is the sheer scale of the industry. Ranking even higher than Hollywood and second only to Bollywood in the number of films produced, Nollywood generates a sense of national pride for all participants regardless of sex or class. Bisi, for instance, is similar to Owotola in being a critic rather than an admirer:

> "[Nollywood] rarely communicates a meaningful or realistic message, and the quality of the films are still behind global standards. Personally speaking, to watch a Nollywood film would mean I have no other avenues of entertainment (a rarity in the age of smart phones) and wish to completely suspend belief." (28/4/013)

Even she, however, does not hesitate to acknowledge its value as she goes on to admit that it contributes "millions to Nigeria's economy and presents opportunities for creativity... It has its appeal and is an important industry."

Secondly, all of the participants are proud of Nollywood's projection of Nigerian culture on the global scene. FGP and Business Management consultant Lami declares: "I love Yoruba cultural films... my children always love the ones that have English subtitles… It is showcasing our own cultural heritage." For him, Nollywood films are a source of pride, just as "British films get played all over the world; American films get played all over the world." Miller (2012:123) speaks of a cultural diplomacy that is explored by the actors and the movies in popularising Nigerian clothing styles as well as manners of speaking and living throughout African and African diaspora communities. It is in this indirect "soft sell" of national identification by both producers and consumers that the popularity of Nollywood is comparable to its Western counterpart. Pal further expatiates that "essentially, wherever the industry is, it gives you understandings of that culture of that community… so American films normally give you a better understanding of America." It seems to mean a lot to Peter. For him, Hollywood disseminates American culture, Bollywood disseminates Indian culture, and Nollywood does the same for Nigeria.

Nollywood has become famous not only among black diasporas but also with other nationalities, though it is still considered invisible in the "formal economy of many in the global North" (Miller 2012). However, through Video, VCD, and DVD formats as well as satellite subscription (Larkin, 2005; Miller, 2012), Nollywood products continue to

circulate and to act as a contra flow of media production from the global south (Karim, 2007; Miller, 2012:120), in a similar fashion to Bollywood and the telenovelas of Latin America. According to SGP Tobi, "[Nollywood] actors and actresses are making Nigeria proud… they remind us of where we are from… our root."

SGP Kiki, a 40-year-old accountant, agrees. Their observation is in line with the finding of Krings and Okome (2013) about the impact of Nollywood on its wider African consumers, who copy the patterns of behaviour, fashion, and speech from Nigerians films (p.4). According to them, these films have exerted an influence on public culture in various other parts of Africa where Nollywood is watched.

> "Kenyan politicians have been spotted wearing Nigerian gowns, Congolese seamstresses sew dresses and skirts in Nigerian styles, new buildings in Kinshasa are inspired by architecture seen in Nigerian video films. Names of actors and film characters are templates for nicknames in Kenya. South African students mimic the Nigerian English accent, and the consumption of Nigerian films provides viewers in South Africa and Namibia with the "opportunity to claim, reinvent and debate their Africanity." (sic. ibid: 116)

Thus, through the two-fold interpenetration of globalisation, the "universalization of particularism, and the particularization of universalism" (Robertson, 1997:73), Nollywood is proving to be a source of pride, particularly for the SGPs. It is for them part of the sense of collective national pride generated by the global acclaim of afrobeat, and even of ankara fabric, both of which have helped to launch Nigeria into the global cultural mainstream.

Figure 7.3 Nollywood films in VCD and DVD format on sale in Peckham.

Figure 7.4 Nollywood films in VCD and DVD format on sale in Peckham.

Conclusion

Weaving in and out of the media of both host mainstream media and the particularity of various diasporic media, this chapter has argued that through the consumption of popular culture, generational continuity is sustained among the subjects of this study. The popularity of afrobeat and Nollywood becomes a new way of connecting across space and time with other members of diaspora as well as of revalorising 'Africa', in particular, Nigerian identity within black identities. Many of the second-generation participants claimed that social media, YouTube and various diasporic media connect

them to Nigerians, who may or may not reside in Nigeria. In this context, it is the country Nigeria, the geographical location itself, which is celebrated in its contemporary form. This occurs as the participants are found to appreciate a Nigeria that they believe is becoming globally acceptable, a country with potential, whereas prior media representation had focussed on it as a country saturated with political corruption and poverty (see chapter 2).

The engagement and identification of second-generation Nigerian immigrants in Peckham with the alternative media of *Afrobeat* music, representation of *ankara* fabric and *Nollywood* films shows how the processes of social inclusion and exclusion function in everyday diasporic life. Hybrid identities are always in flux, being constantly negotiated and re-negotiated. Furthermore, any particular aspect of these identities can become fixed. In addition, the younger generation further illuminates the complexities of identity, since through their acceptance of the 'Nigerian' aspect of their multiple identity, they are implicitly rejecting its British counterpart, even though both continue to be part of multiplicities of their diasporic identity. Thus, diaspora continues to be "the sites of new hope and new beginnings… contested cultural and political terrains where individual and collective memories collide, reassemble and reconfigure" (Brah, 1996:193).

From the analysis, it is therefore surmised that the question of 'home' is about political and personal struggles with social regulations of belonging, which subsequently lead to the performance of identities that are contextual, contingent and indeterminate (Barker & Jane, 2016). It is simultaneously about the roots and the routes (Gilroy, 1993). This has been found to be the experience of most second generation Nigerians, as Onoso (2012) shows, who do not seek self –worth and esteem from being British, as the official descriptor of 'black African' has already situated them as 'outsiders' to the British mainstream. Thus, processes of identification continue to be situational, the "becoming" of identity (Hall, 1999), ever fluid. It is argued, however, that within this fluidity and the situational processes of negotiating identity and belonging, discourses tend towards fixing, even of that which is hybrid.

Chapter 8 'Home', Host and the Diasporic Condition: Summary and Conclusions

"Although media do not determine identities, they do contribute in the creation of symbolic communicative spaces… that either include or exclude, thereby affecting audiences' lives and discourses about their identities". (Mirca Madianou, 2012:74).

Introduction

Through an ethnographic study of media consumption amongst Nigerian migrants, this study provided empirical material in the form of dialogue with debates about media, migration and identity. It demonstrated how both diasporic and mainstream media provide symbolic spaces for articulating diasporic identities (Madianou, 2005; Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005, Schlesinger, 2000) and enable intense interconnectivity among these diasporic subjects and with others around the world. Consequently, the 'homeland' is no longer a faraway place in the imagination but also exists in their diasporic space, where attachment is nourished even as they live and hold citizenship outside the *heimat* (Morley, 2000).

The study's major findings suggest that Nigerian migrants use media in diverse ways that both affirm and challenge their connection to homeland and host country alike. This finding affirms what Johnson and McKay (2011) found in the context of Filipinos diaspora, that media has expanded national identifications and the definition of home. The older generation expressed a connection to the host country and the need to belong to mainstream British society, but used media for nostalgic purposes at times, and for negotiating the cultural values of the homeland in the diasporic context. For example, among the older participants, Nollywood content is appropriated as real in contrast to the negotiated, critical and constructive readings of the younger generation. The younger migrants, on the other hand, used media for a global connection, through the consumption of all types of programmes from the UK, USA and Nigeria and with other Nigerians at home and in diaspora.

On the other hand, class differences were blurred as both contested the mainstream media representation of the Woolwich killers that stressed their Nigerian descent, when this was only one aspect of their hybrid and multiple identities. This was also observed

in the second generation's collective celebration of, and sense of national pride in, popular culture and artefacts from their parents' homeland and country of heritage. Compared to the migrant participants in Sreberny's (2000) and Gillespie's (1995) studies, Nigerians in Peckham expressed more essentialised identity discourses. This was a result of engagement with the particularity of media content and their diasporic media's focus. The analysis in the three empirical chapters showed that in different ways media affords both generations a connection to a contemporary Nigeria that is 'trendy', stylish, and future-oriented. The centrality of the media in shaping this 'trendy' identity has been facilitated by technological developments (social media, YouTube and various diasporic media as discussed), whereby a 'revalorization of Africa', in particular Nigerian identity within black identities, is advocated.

This revalorization, as exemplified in the second-generation participants' newfound identification with the global positioning of local artefacts, and with the contestation of the national identities of the perpetrators of the Woolwich killing by both generations, showed how hybridity is not a seamless fusion, but disassembles and reconfigures in diasporic space. It is subject to negotiation and renegotiation. This finding is in line with Barker & Jane (2016); that hybrid identities are useful for recognizing new formations of identity and culture. My position is that, although hybridity in this context has facilitated the articulation of identities around the global positioning of these local artefacts within the milieu of diasporic experiences of the two generations of participants of this study, it has also validated the claims that essentialising enters through the back door during the discourses of these identities (Madianou, 2012, 2002). In the context of this study media discourse and participants' reaction to the same is couched in terms of a national centre - Britain and Nigeria (chapter six), stressing the power politics and the complexities of negotiating belonging within the social processes of exclusionary regulations in the country of residence, continues to subject diasporas to discourses of a national centre. Similarly, the second generation Nigerians in Peckham claimed that diasporic media and new media technologies with all their affordances are connecting them to Nigerians. However, through the celebration of local artefacts being included in host and global mainstream they have demonstrated a performance of identity rooted in a contemporary Nigeria, the national centre which is now becoming globally

acceptable. Hybridity, arguably, cannot be divorced from national and essentialising discourses.

8.1. Empirical Milestones

The thesis began with the question of how first and second generation members of the Nigerian diaspora in Peckham navigate 'home' and identity through their engagement with media, especially diasporic media. In answering this question, the thesis has extended the existing literature on the subject by showing that their media repertoires are a combination of media from the 'homeland' and the host country. (Bozdag et al., 2012; Ogunyemi, 2012; Madianou, 2011, 2005; Johnson and McKay, 2011; Ong and Cabañes, 2011; McKay, 2010; Ong, 2009; Georgiou, 2006; Sreberny, 2005; Aksoy and Robin, 2000; Gillespie, 1995). However, while others have looked at a single category of a diaspora group, focussed on the young, albeit in comparison to the old (Gillespie, 1995), or looked at two different groups, e.g. Turks in Greece and Greek – Cypriots (Madianou, 2005), this study investigated two categories of Nigerians in diaspora. Also, in a specific location with an emphasis on tracing the long duree of how the diasporic consciousness (Faist, 2010) nurtures generational continuity, through media consumption and other social practices that inform the diasporic experiences of this particular group of diaspora in Peckham.

Peckham is a location that has been associated with lower class Nigerians, but the majority of the participants were more in the middle class than the lower class category. The younger generation also tend to belong to the middle class category by virtue of education and occupation. For example, Peter and Biyi work in the financial sector in the mainstream, Bisi is a lawyer and her brother is a surgeon, also working in the mainstream. Tayo, a middle class, first generation participant, also associated the consumption of the particularity of religious programming and the adverts on diasporic radio stations were also associated with lower class Nigerians in Peckham, whom he believed live in poverty and are exploited because of the lack of access to the NHS due to their undocumented status.

In addition, whilst it confirmed the contingent nature of identity and argued that the participants' engagement with media is situational and constructive, it also established a tendency towards "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1980; Reichardt, 2003) as both contested media reportage. Through the application of existing theories on diaspora, media, identity and the adoption of ethnography in the context of everyday practices, this study has provided empirical evidence which situates the Nigerian diaspora, like other diasporas, within the wider context of media and migration (Ong, 2009; Ong and Cabañes, 2011; McKay, 2010; Madianou, 2005, 2012; Georgiou, 2006; Aksoy and Robin, 2000; Gillespie, 1995). It showed how both generations as active consumers of mainstream and diasporic media alike negotiate home and identity and weave in and out of the two national imaginaries. The first of these is represented by the media of the host country and the second, by that of the homeland, similar to the Filipino subjects of Ong's study with regard to karaoke and British news (Ong, 2009).

The thesis depicted how the media serve as important resources for negotiating the multiple attachments of 'home' around which identities are performed. First, it showed that both the older and younger participants use media to construct identities and to navigate multiple attachments to the two national imaginaries through the use of diasporic and mainstream media. This was reflected in both generations' contestation of the media coverage of the Woolwich incident, and in the mediation of racial and social exclusion by the second generation through patriotic pride, which was displayed through artefacts from the country of their heritage. Secondly, the study demonstrated how diasporic media serve as an alternative to mainstream media in their particularistic focus, which orients participants to the homeland through the appropriation of the religious programming, Nollywood films, and Ben TV entertainment programmes. Meanwhile, mainstream media provide the means for public connection in navigating the host.

In this process, the study also demonstrated how media provide the symbolic space for articulating identity (Madianou, 2005; Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005, Schlesinger, 2000). The particularity of diasporic media and the affordances of digital media facilitated a "double consciousness" (Gilroy, 1993, 1991, 1983; Du Bois, 1986) that

enabled the diaspora to look outward to the homeland, inward to the host and around to global imaginaries. The discussion of media use in Chapter 6 showed how both mainstream and diasporic TV and radio facilitated the negotiation of identity, and here, even hybridity itself was contested. Through the provision of a symbolic space for mediating identity, a collective sense of "Nigerianness" and "Britishness" could be articulated that situated each category of participants within the two national imaginaries. Also, in contrast to the "collective sense of shame" expressed in response to the Woolwich killing by both generations, media also served as the platform for celebrating a "collective sense of pride" in the popular culture of afrobeat music, Nollywood and ankara, as shown in chapter 7. This was particularly true for the SGPs.

These findings demonstrate the complexities associated with media consumption and its power to include and exclude within national imaginaries. The processes of such social exclusion lead to the performance of identities around media artefacts and to negotiating belonging to both countries. These findings are discussed further in the sub sections that follow.

Negotiation of Identity: Home and Host

The negotiation of multiple identities and attachment to a national centre (Madianou, 2005) were copiously documented in the empirical chapters. Similarly presented was the shifting nature of these identities (Ang, 2001; Brah, 1996; Hall, 1992, 1990). Some of the findings are in line with Hall's (1992) postulation that identity is never something inside us as individuals, but is filled from outside by the ways in which we imagine ourselves to be seen by others. For instance, it was found that the second generation, as carriers of cultural difference, negotiated a diasporic identity that has been developed relationally in the context of a host, which positions them as minorities (Modood et al., 1997). Kelly (2015) and Baileys et al. (2008) similarly found that for second-generation immigrants, there is an emotional quality to their hyphenated identities, as media becomes the platform for recreating and articulating this emotional connection, bonding and belonging. They live out their diasporic experience between the margin of "insiders" and "outsiders" (Georgiou, 2006) who are "from one place but of another" (Hall, 1990:310), caught between the border zone of "here" and "there."

They live with a constant awareness of difference (Kalra et al., 2005) as political and mainstream media portray them as "outsiders" to the mainstream society (Georgiou, 2006) in such a way that "where you are from" takes precedence over "where you are at" in dominant discourses (Ang, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 6, through their contestation of the reportage of the Woolwich killing, however, they distanced themselves from people who share the same identities with them as British-Nigerians.

The subjects of this study demonstrated uniqueness, as highlighted in Chapter 7. Their positive identification with such things as afrobeat and Nollywood served as a means of asserting "Nigerianness" where previously a racialized co-identification with another diasporic group, the Afro-Caribbean, had been the norm. In this process, they were making up for the perceived prejudice and labelling of their group as outsiders to mainstream British society.

Seizing the opportunities thrown open by the global processes, which have dissolved boundaries and facilitated the mingling of cultures, the second generation British-Nigerians in Peckham expressed an openness to change. This contrasts both with Gillespie's (1995) young Punjabis as well as with their parents' close-mindedness in "maintaining the culture" of home. The second generation in this study embraced cultural artefacts as a means of reclaiming cultural identification with Nigeria by declaring that it is "cool to be Nigerian." In doing this, they expressed a resistance to cultural homogenisation, rejoicing in the movement of cultural products from the periphery to the centre (Sinclair and Cunningham, 2000) as a form of re-inventing cultural identity and identification with the nation of their heritage. Through this newness, they have learnt to live the difference and sameness (Gilroy, 1991) of their diasporic experience. In the context of globalisation, home and identities are reconfigured through media content, while at the same time, the cultures from home and host countries cohabit to inform the everyday diasporic practice of both generations to varying degrees.

Professionally, the younger generation of this study is generally better positioned in contrast to their parents in the British context. Their diasporic imaginations, however,

are linked to an ethnic enclave reflecting 'homeland' practices with distinctiveness and innovation as an inescapable part of their diasporic reality. Diasporic continuity is for them a combination of shared memories and myths as well as the shared experience of "de-territorialization and re-territorialization" (Georgiou 2006), even when they themselves have never migrated. In this spatial context, diasporic particularity is reflected in the sharing of common symbols by both generations.

In Peckham, each generation has access to the same symbolic and social practices, and diasporic particularity and continuity are at play spatially. Arguably, the most significant of the various material and cultural symbols that characterise distinctively "Nigerian" practices in Peckham are the churches, which is in line with the religiosity of the 'homeland.' Diasporic consciousness is not only experienced, it is also enhanced in this physical space through the various religious organizations, social interactions, food, and other diasporic practices that remind the second generation of the "in-between-ness" of their everyday lives. They hardly have an option when the pervasive presence of other Nigerians constantly reminds them of their heritage. The sheer number of Nigerians leaves little room but to relate with people of similar background in the neighbourhood, at school and on the streets. Thus, they have no choice but to continually negotiate an identity that cuts across both locations of heritage and habitation.

8.2. Theoretical Contributions of the Study

The empirical chapters' findings regarding the two generations' engagements with the mediation of social, religious and cultural practices from the homeland in the diasporic space of Peckham build on Couldry (2013) and Johnson and McKay (2011). Furthermore, existing literature on the relationship between media, migration, diaspora and identity draw attention on the performative nature of identity as an ongoing process of becoming (Hall, 1996). This study's findings are consistent with this position. It also showed, however, how the participants' sense of "Nigerianness", felt through religious practices, continues to draw attention to a notion of identity that is fixed in national origin and ethnicity. This is what distinguishes this study from other studies; the two categories of my participants continue to negotiate identities that situate them between the two national imaginaries of host and home countries (Ong, 2009).

This also contradicts the notion of "banal transnationalism" and the ordinariness of media consumption (Aksoy & Robins, 2003) by migrants. The two studies are similar, however, in that they explore the emotions and thoughts of their participants. Aksoy and Robins explored what Turks in London thought and felt about Turkish channels. In a similar fashion this study recorded what the two categories of participants expressed in their engagements with the various diasporic media considered. These engagements have, at their centre, the issue of identity and belonging. Both diasporic groups appear to be similar in deriding the quality of the images and programmes of the media as inferior (Aksoy & Robin, 2003:98). Nigerians in Peckham differ, however, in that the participants relish the impact of BEN TV and Naija FM on their identity construction and in negotiating multiple attachments.

This study affirms the findings of previous studies regarding the second generation's lack of a direct attachment to a recently departed 'homeland'. As a result, there is tension between their concept of 'home' and identity and that of their migrant parents. Nevertheless, they share a common diasporic experience with their parents (Tölölyan 2012). However, the study disproves Tölölyan's claims that although the second generation acknowledge an ancestral 'homeland' and diasporic identity, they do not fully acknowledge a diasporic identity that is conceived in relation to, and one which is subordinate to, the national and moral authority of the homeland. In this context, the identity of the second generation is conceived in relation to the contemporary homeland/country of heritage. This a 'national' centre that is situated in the global context through various diasporic media platforms and their affordances.

The examination of the second generation's media consumption showed a similarity with the findings of Adeniyi (2008) in the U.K and filled the gap for second generation Nigerians raised at the end of Ayankojo's (2010) study in Toronto. The latter looked at the how the Internet and new technologies like social media now play an important role in the day-to-day interactions of diaspora members, where regular face-to-face contact had been the usual practice. Personal home visits have been replaced with a virtual form of interconnectedness among diaspora members, both with the homeland and the host country. This resonates with how this study's participant Owotola described how he

now interacts with his sisters through social media and telephone calls rather than the customary visits. All members of the younger generation deploy such media in relating to one another in diaspora, as well as to interact with Nigerians in the 'homeland' and elsewhere in diaspora. Not only does this demonstrate identification with a national centre, but it also offers an opportunity for them to build a new definition of 'home' and identity (Johnson and McKay, 2011).

Media and their various affordances were also found to bridge the generation gap (Arnold and Schneider 2007, Gauntlett and Hill, 1999). Participants Peter, Tolu and Biyi (Chapter 5) declared that the necessity of travelling to Nigeria has been removed to a large degree, with information now available "at the speed of lightening." It is as if they are living in both national imaginaries at the same time, as Peter stresses, "I am both here and there." These SGPs do not need to watch television the conventional way, as the Internet can be accessed anywhere through their smart phones and laptops. They are therefore, constantly interacting with Nigeria and with other members of the diaspora within Peckham and in other parts of the world. At the same time, they navigate integration in their country of settlement, the United Kingdom, specifically, in Peckham.

With regard to media studies, the findings of this study affirm those of Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997) and Siew-Peng (2001). Specifically, the first generation parents have a preference for cultural channels from the homeland while their second-generation offspring have a preference for global channels. This finding is more in line with Croucher, Oommen and Steele (2009) and Oh (2012) whereby both generations contest exclusion through mainstream media representation as well as patriotic pride in the inclusion of diasporic media in the host and global context.

The findings discussed in Chapters 5 and Seven built on the notion of "banal nationalism" (Ong, 2009; Billig, 1995) because identities are performed based on national origin for the older participants and country of heritage for the younger ones. Even the contestation of the media's coverage of the Woolwich incident, detailed in Chapter 6, challenged the notion of a hybrid identity that is value-free. Both generations

protested the media labelling and prejudice, which has been associated with race and racism (Cottle, 20006; van Dijk, 2000), showing how hybrid identities also require a continuous state of negotiation.

I cannot claim that my findings are at odds with those who assert that geographical location does not play a significant role in immigrants' media consumption (Esser, 2016; Robins and Aksoy, 2005, 2001; Aksoy and Robins, 2003, 2000). However, this study proposes that national imaginaries, geographical location, nation and nationality will all continue to form part of the diasporic experiences of various groups. This is because of the opportunities digital technologies afford in negotiating multiple attachments of 'home,' identities and belonging, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Such technologies, and the diasporic media that operate through them, also bring local cultural artefacts to the global cultural flow, as discussed in Chapter 7. These factors are likely to occupy the same key position in academic inquiry as social categories such as age, gender, sex, and class, which are already crucial elements in diaspora and media studies.

Given the second generation's heightened connection to their parents' 'homeland' in virtual and symbolic forms, this study has found that the 'homeland' is not only re-territorialized in Peckham, but also that identity is strategically "essentialised" (Ayankojo, 2010; Reichardt, 2003; Spivak, 1980) through various practices by both the older and younger generations. The dialogue between the 'homeland' and the host country is ongoing, and the influence of the 'homeland' still holds sway in diasporic life. It is a reality with which they all have to contend as banal nationalism is displayed in the participants' media engagement on a daily basis, both consciously and unconsciously (Billig, 1995). This study agrees with other studies (Ayankojo, 2010; Adeniyi, 2008), by showing that Nigerians perform their authentic identities through the consumption of mainstream media, diasporic media and the Internet. In the process, the 'homeland' is a constant point of reference in interpersonal relationships, social and political discourses, and in the value of both mainstream and diasporic media in the context of their lives in Peckham.

In addition, alternative and particularistic media also facilitate social and political contact with the homeland and with other diasporas. Social and political events from 'home' are made available through the Internet even as they interact with the host through the BBC and various online forums. Photographs of social events are mediated from 'home' as from diaspora; and they also provide the avenue for both SGPs and FGPs to engage with political issues and events in the 'homeland.' Forums such as *Nairaland* provide opportunities for SGPs like Tolu to read about all sorts of events in Nigeria and to obtain first-hand information on how 'home'-based youths perceive their born-abroad counterparts in diaspora. There is ready access to websites providing up-to-date accounts of clothing styles, accessories and events in music and the fashion world in Nigeria and in various parts of the global diaspora.

Through remittances and involvement in physical projects, Lami and Emma contribute to development of the 'homeland' as long distance nationalists, even though, like many other FGPs, 'home' is defined in terms of a commodity to be negotiated. As long-distance critics, they condemned the non-viability of basic infrastructures and facilities such as the health care system, security, and basic amenities. The SGPs, on the other hand, identified with their FGP parents' ordeals and expressed a sense of belonging and obligation to contribute to the development of the 'homeland' some day in the imaginary future (Cohen, 2008, 1997; Safran, 1991). Owotola, Peter, and the avowed Briton, Biyi, all engage and disengage from the national context at will, but they all harbour a sense of obligation to their country of heritage and expressed pride in it as well (chapter 7).

Generational Similarities and Differences

A major factor in this study is generational difference. Time and *longue duree* (Faist, 2010) have been shown to be a significant element in diasporic social formation, which was the rationale for including two generations in this study.

The sample of participants varied in gender, age, class, ethnicity and profession, between both categories of participants. However, the analysis showed a collective articulation of identity that was situational, leading to the collapse of all social categories

as both generations responded to media representation of the group. Thus, the findings recognized the uniform expression of shame, regardless of generation, gender, or age, in reaction to the Woolwich murder, and also indignation at the media coverage of it. The same uniformity was also found in the pride both FGPs and SGPs of all classes and both genders showed in afrobeat and the accomplishments of Nollywood.

The findings demonstrated that an awareness of their "Nigerianness" is a significant aspect of identity with regard to media use by both generations. However, age-related computer literacy played an important role in this context, as described in Chapter 5. While the older generation appropriated the content of Nollywood films, *BEN TV* entertainment, and diasporic radio as representation of reality, their younger counterparts saw them as hyper-real. The younger generation therefore negotiated and interacted with the dominant reading in contrast to the older generation. The first generation, therefore, affirmed the powerful identities and weak media relationships by indicating that media reflect the prevailing national, cultural and dominant values in the society (Madianou, 2005), whereas the younger generation see media representation as a constructed representation of reality rather than a reflection of it that is to be applied to personal lives and relationships.

The two generations shared a similar diasporic experience but differ in that, as the children of immigrants, the second generation is marked by not belonging fully to any particular place (Kalra et al., 2005). While the first generation is there by conscious choice, their children are compelled to inhabit two locales and navigate multiple identities (Hall, 1990). As discussed in Chapter 6 with the specific experience of first generation participant Adios as well as most of the second generation participants, developments in information and communication technologies and diasporic media have facilitated contact between Nigeria and Nigerians in diaspora and have also served in heightening the contrast between the first generation and second generation's diasporic consciousness. They have the effect of making the parents "at home abroad" (King and Christou, 2010:181). For the same reason, the children maintain connections with both the parents' host land (Adeniyi, 2008) (which, incidentally, is their country of birth) and homeland (their country of heritage), by association. As celebratory as this

process of continuous connection may appear, it is not devoid of its own internal complexities and politics of negotiating "belongingness" in both national imaginaries. For instance, a tension between the generations was observed as a result of their varying Internet use. While it opened up new opportunities for the SGPs, it created a tension between the two grandmothers and their daughters due to the information the latter obtained from it. This information conflicted with the traditional remedies known to the grandmothers.

The importance, which the FGPs in particular attach to the cultural values of the 'homeland', is reflected in the way they appropriate Nollywood's content. Unlike the negotiated and even critical readings of most SGPs, Tolu's mother Ola appreciated its social and cultural lessons, which she translated into real-life. The context of everyday media consumption therefore reflects a site of identity negotiation. In the case of the FGPs, it becomes the site for negotiating new media literacy that transcends their particularistic consumption of media. Despite the diversity available to them, however, this finding is at odds with Georgiou's (2006), as the consumption did not develop into what she refers to as "reflexive critical appropriation," especially when they consume Nollywood or other homeland focused media content. They see it, rather, as culturally "real," depicting what norms in the 'homeland,' and therefore having a moral lesson to be learnt as well. For the SGPs, however, it is a site of negotiating an acquired relationship with their country of heritage through opportunities available from alternative, particularistic consumption of media. It is also a site that opens up the contention of whether they 'belong' or are 'outsiders' to the mainstream of events in Nigeria.

Thus, this study distinguishes between FGPs and SGPs as it situates Nigerian immigrants in Peckham within the debate about media audiences as active consumers of media technologies and content (Ang, 1991, 1985; Liebes &Katz, 1986; Bausinger, 1984; Morley, 1980; Hall, 1980). The ideal of a "one-day return" to the 'homeland' is kept alive in the diasporic imagination of the FGPs. The SGPs, however, rather nurture a diasporic consciousness of giving back to their national heritage, as articulated by Peter and Owotola in Chapter 6. They do not harbour the same notion of returning to Nigeria at

some point. This finding resonates partially with the finding of BBC journalist White (2005) that Nigerians he met in Peckham nurture the myth of going back home one day, offering it empirical validation.

Mainstream and Diasporic Media and the Multi-directional Gaze

These findings demonstrated that in the everyday media practices of both generations of Nigerian immigrants in 'Little Lagos' Peckham is not only bi-directional, that is, lived between 'homeland' and host country. It is actually multidirectional. They live out their diasporic experiences simultaneously between London and their 'homeland' through the range of media available to the diaspora, which permit gazing back toward the old home, gazing into the new home, and gazing around and about the world of new diasporas (Sreberny, 2006). The second generation are caught in-between these gazes, and through the use of new media technologies, multiple orientations are sustained to their country of birth and that of their heritage, as well as to the global mainstream and global diaspora. This is validated by the collective identifications of the SGPs with Nigerian youths in the homeland and others in diaspora. It is a connectivity, which media facilitates both in its digital and traditional forms, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The thesis has also identified a synergy between mainstream and diasporic media, which scholars such as Christophe (2012) and Lay and Thomas (2012) had postulated as a necessity. While the mainstream media of the host country can present the diaspora to the mainstream society, diasporic media cannot, because the majority does not access it. On the other hand, mainstream media lacks the particularity of content and focus necessary for targeting a specific diaspora. They simply are not equipped to represent the migrants and their cultural distinctiveness to the majority (Christophe, 2012:98). Both are united, however, in their mutual function of providing symbolic space for articulating identities and sustaining minority groups (Dayan, 1999).

Contesting Negative Mainstream Media Coverage

The Woolwich incident was an exceptional event, which immediately reminded the participants that they were outsiders from the mainstream, even as the media continued to influence everyday lives, which in turn influenced who they were and

where they wanted to be (Cottle, 2006, 2000). It reminded them of social inequality in cultural differences, as boundaries were drawn and redrawn situating them as "minorities," "Black Africans" or "Black British", all of which are descriptors of a racial "other."

Whilst this particular event is exceptional, everyday diasporic consciousness and experiences require living in the margins, for diasporic members are carriers of difference. Such groups constantly live within the margins of exclusion and inclusion, which one-off incidences like Woolwich only serve to accentuate. Everyday diasporic experience requires them to respond to this type of exceptional event by performing their identities around the way they want others to see them (Cottle, 2000). Alternatively, they are defined by media discourses. Hence, Hall (1999) posited that identity and identification are always in process as an uncompleted and unfinished dialogue that requires minorities to respond to how they are defined from outside.

The complexities that migrants face in navigating racial difference and the exclusion of certain diasporic groups based on racial sameness while other diaspora groups experience inclusion in the mainstream society (Georgiou, 2006) is accentuated by media discourses. The mainstream media continue to represent migrants as aliens and outsiders to the mainstream, as stereotypes; they profile and continue to raise the boundary of exclusion, especially in times of crisis linked to terrorism, religious extremism and immigration (Ong, 2009). The binaries of 'us and them' continue to inform media discourses about migrants (Ong, 2009; Madianou, 2005, Gillespie, 1995).

The participants' responses to the media representation of this incident brought to the fore the way identities are continually negotiated in diasporic space and in media. Such negotiation becomes more pronounced when identity is in crisis (Hall, 1990; Mercer, 1990). For the SGPs, the very assumption surrounding their fluid hybrid identities as "British Nigerians" required renegotiation, as it was shaken by the experience of doubt and uncertainty created by the media coverage, which regarded the perpetrators as "outsiders" to the British mainstream society, de-emphasising their hybrid identities and the multiple nature of belonging. This is in contrast to "fixed, coherent and stable"

identities (Mercer, 1990:43) that are linked to a single territory, as they experienced rather a binary of identity that was neither fixed nor attached solely to either nation.

The theoretical implication of this diasporic "collectivism" is that media, whether diaspora, ethnic, minority or particularistic, are not only integrative in their particularistic venture in terms of ethnicity, identity and other social classifications. The diasporic site itself foments collective identification that transcends other such social categorizations. This was especially true in the Woolwich case, where the perpetrators' initial identification with Christianity and their new identification with Islam were de-emphasized in the discourses of the media coverage. For the second generation however, the media coverage opened up a case whereby even their claim to a hybrid identity of being both "British" and "Nigerian" at the same time was challenged. Their very qualification to "belong" was perceived as depending on merit, which is, based on the benefits they bring to citizenship. Media and political discourses thus challenged their ontological security of laying claim to Britain as 'home' (Brah, 1996).

Between Exclusion and Inclusion: Strategic Essentialising of 'Hybrid' Identifications

As discussed in Chapter 3, the navigation of hybrid identities differs from one specific diaspora group to another (Georgiou, 2006). For some, such as the participants in this study, and as the media coverage of Woolwich demonstrated, it is a continuous process of negotiation, which depends on how individuals and the group as a whole navigate political discourses that situate them as "outsiders"in the British context. There may be internal divisions whereby some within the Nigerian diaspora, such as the SGP who is a surgeon, have assimilated into the majority. Given the social stratification of British society, it is possible that even such people would still struggle for recognition and inclusion in the mainstream. Only further research can address this.

In the context of this study, however, both the media and the Nigerian diaspora have strategically essentialised identity in terms of nationhood. In doing so, the influence of the 'homeland' as a continuous reference point for the diaspora re-emerged. And as already referenced at the beginning of this chapter and in Chapter Three, the second generation found themselves in a "conflictual allegiance" that is negotiable (Tölölyan,

2012), as evidenced by their reaction to the media coverage and representation of this event.

Diasporic space is a site of negotiating and contesting identity. It is a site of hope and new beginnings (Brah, 1996), the third space of creativity (Bhabha, 1994) where new possibilities of identification and imagined belonging could be created. For the SGPs, the popularity of afrobeat, Nollywood and representation of ankara in global context, as a fabric that has acquired a Nigerian association, in the global media all provided the new space of identity articulation. The articulation of home, identity and belonging by migrants in their places of settlement through material objects, ethnic enclaves, practices, social relationships, living arrangements, and neighbourhoods (Morley, 2000; Salih, 2003; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Nowicka, 2006) have been conceived as adaptive strategies in response to the hostile or unreceptive context in which migrants find themselves (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011). However, the participants of this study, especially the second generation have been able to develop a distinctive diasporic identity that connects to contemporary Nigeria. It does this through diasporic media in its various affordances, such as YouTube, Facebook, websites, blogs, and small and traditional media available through new digital technologies, as well as through the globalization of local artefacts. These tools have also become central to their identity articulation, national identification and definition of 'home', as posited by Johnson and McKay (2011) in relation to the Philippines and Filipino diaspora. Through the celebration of afrobeat and a newfound connection to Nigeria and other diaspora members worldwide, they have shown how 'African-ness' has shifted in various ways to become what it is today. Consequently, Africa is revalorised within black identities and the 'Black British' identity is challenged. In the process, the participants affirm the *"*give and take*"* espoused by Gilroy (1993).

The participants' various engagements with religious adverts, music at weddings, and rituals, demonstrate a strategic essentialising of cultural practices from the homeland, which is being practiced across pan-African diaspora in various degrees. This is in addition to the challenges encountered by grandparents regarding the continuity of 'homeland' practices in diaspora in Chapter 5. The participants also show how the

mediation of social, cultural and religious practices now shapes media consumption (Couldry, 2013; McKay, 2011). However, in the context of this specific diaspora, poverty and economic challenges were found to shape the consumption of radio adverts, according to participant Tayo. A phenomena that reflect the economic situation in the 'homeland' and inform the motivation for migrating discussed in the second chapter.

This finding, aside from affirming the notion of banal nationalism (Ong, 2009; Billig, 1995), also shows how hybrid identities are open to fixing in either national, cultural religious or other social-cultural orientations or catgorisations. This is consistent with Madianou (2005, 2002), who cautions that even with hybrid identities, essentialism has the tendency to enter through the back door. It is also consistent with Esser (2016), who stated that space or the geographically based conceptualisation of place and national imaginary is still primate in the study of the media consumption of immigrants.

Furthermore, through the banal display of patriotic pride in the popularity of Nollywood and afrobeat music, the British-Nigerian second generation affirms Larkin's (2005, 2004) claims that media piracy has resulted in a parallel economy. In addition, their consumption of Nollywood and afrobeat reveal that although they are born abroad, they share similarities with the Nigerians at home who have developed a distinctive film practice.

8.3. Methodological Contributions

Ethnography's bottom-up approach facilitated the gathering and processing of different types of data, which permitted me to look at the concepts and my research questions in a variety of ways. This involved preparing an extensive interview guide taken to the field, which enabled me to move between different types of data and exposed me to various thoughts, perspectives and actions.

In the analysis chapters, I have presented the different data, which aided me in answering my research questions and in looking at other aspects of media consumption in various contexts. I was able to see how my participants transformed the mundane, everyday practices of listening to music or watching their favourite Nollywood films into

a sense of celebrating "belonging" to a national imaginary. Participant observation exposed me to the nuances of unspoken practices associated with negotiating identities and navigating the complexities of media and political discourses that necessitated the performances of multiple identities in everyday diasporic experiences. I observed the excitement of ladies discussing on the telephone how they were going to sew the latest designs of ankara seen online and worn by celebrities such as Beyoncé or Rihanna. I watched SGPs attired in ankara garments in celebration as they danced to afrobeat music. I witnessed something of the friction between them and the older generation over navigating the twin terrains of Africa and Britain in the domestic confines of their homes. Over the period of seven months in Peckham, and subsequent visits, ethnography enabled me to track nuanced differences in the spoken and the unspoken (Baumann, 1996) and the complexities of living in two national imaginaries.

My methodological approach demonstrates the limitations of previous work on Nigerian immigrants, which were not based on long-term immersion in fieldwork. I therefore propose the adoption of ethnographic, long-term immersion as ideal for subsequent studies of media consumption among the Nigerian diaspora.

Limitations of the Study

First of all, the focus on Peckham limits the degree to which this study could claim to encompass the Nigerian diaspora. Nigerians in Peckham are a heterogeneous group with different religious affiliations and identities. The study is only representative of those who use Peckham as a diasporic space for residence, social, cultural, commercial and/or religious purposes. Other studies are required about Nigerians in different parts of London and in the entire United Kingdom. Borrowing from Tölölyan (1991), they too are examples of "exemplary communities of the transnational moment" (p.3). Also, while the focus here is only on two generations, there are some who have transcended the new-settler status and have generational links with England that extend beyond the second and third generation offspring of the earlier migrants. They too form part of the social reality of the diaspora in Britain.

Even for Peckham, there are important limitations to the study. The emphasis was mainly on Yoruba Nigerians, simply because of their sheer number and the group's position as the earliest Nigerian immigrants to Britain. Given the changing composition of this formation and the hyper mobility of the globalised era, many other ethnic groups from the nation seem to be an "invisible" part of the Nigerian diaspora in that they receive considerably less attention. These new groups too need mention in empirical data.

My analysis is based on formal and informal interview comments and participant observation. Consulting the blogs and Facebook comments of participants could have given me further insight and thrown further light on, amongst other things, the Woolwich incident.

Living within the British cultural milieu is no doubt challenging to the male-dominated Nigerian worldview. In spite of this, it is possible that there may be areas where a man could have received more intimate responses from fellow men. Conversely, it is also possible that I received better cooperation from the women than a man would have received. In relation to the Woolwich incident, it is possible that a Muslim researcher could have been able to draw out more of the Muslim perspectives.

8.4. Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Research

One thread running through this thesis is that communication is central to the collective consciousness of the twenty-first century diaspora. This is what distinguishes the new diaspora from its older version and maintains the dialogue of continuity that is crucial to diaspora formation. The data have shown that new technologies and faster communication enable greater interaction with the 'homeland' and also bring that 'homeland' to the diasporic consciousness of their born-abroad children. There is an unceasing reconfiguration of the two cultures of home and host countries, as Peckham has become a "third space" of social interaction and identity formation that links Nigeria to Britain in their everyday diasporic life. Through these ongoing interactions that combine media consumption with social, religious, and cultural practices from "there"

and “here,” identities are reconstructed and maintained. These factors emphasise the particularity of the group within other diasporas.

Given the limitations of this study to the appropriation of media, further research into the production processes of Nigerian diaspora media is suggested. It is further suggested that diasporic media content and how production and consumption actually interact is best done through an extensive ethnography. The seven months I spent uncovering the intricacies and nuances associated with media use among migrants, particularly the second generation, were illuminating but made it clear that the topic requires further academic input. Audience research to measure effectiveness and to explore the various programming of diasporic media would also provide empirical data to reflect the transnational contributions of these media to social cohesion within the group and the larger society.

There is also a need to study the transnational nature of parenting from afar as many Nigerian families are separated, such that one spouse and the children, or sometimes only the children in the custody of grandparents, live in Nigeria, while one parent or both works in England to send remittances home. The impact of this on the children and on the community deserve to be explored in the way Madianou and Miller (2011) looked at the role of polymedia on the transnational Filipino mothers who left their children in the Philippines to work in London. It would also be good to investigate the extent to which mobile phones (Madianou and Miller, 2011) and the proliferation of cheap calls (Vertovec, 2004), and many other new technological applications are facilitating the diasporic experiences of Nigerians.

Another area that this research has thrown open and which needs to be addressed in empirical studies is the notion of power relations and gender dynamics as they relate to diasporic women in particular, and families in general. Some say that diasporic experience is at the root of some of the marriage breakdowns within the group, since it necessitates the shedding of some of the cultural baggage from the homeland.

A gap exists to investigate further the dynamics of the consumption of media content and especially afrobeat and Nollywood within the global transnational flow of communication in order to identify and understand the role of class differences (Ong and Cabañes, 2011). Further investigation into the productions, programmes and programming techniques of the two stations BEN TV and Naija FM would be a good idea. It is also necessary to go beyond the collective study of BME (Lay and Thomas, 2012) and that of Africans' use of newspapers in London (Ogunyemi, 2012). The type of long distance transnationalism posited by Hassanpour (2003) and the role of Nigerian diasporic media in the context of the British multiculturalism deserve more scholarly attention. Further to the debates around fragmentation in the public sphere (Gitlin, 1998) and the assertion that the diasporic media participate in what is known as public *sphericules* (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000), the contribution of Nigerian ethnic media in various parts of the world and how they interact and overlap with the broader public sphere (Karim, 2012) requires further investigation. This will give further insight regarding the positioning of afrobeat and Nollywood in the global mainstream of media and film production.

An empirical investigation of Nollywood in relation to its Bollywood and Hollywood counterparts (Karim, 2003; Sinclair, 1997) could be very enlightening. Finally, this study has made a case for the importance of the Internet and new media technologies in navigating multiple attachments, it is therefore imperative to investigate how the non-hierarchical nature of Internet-based technologies (Karim, 2012) facilitate diasporic connections.

Concluding Observation: The Significance of Academic Research

The research process involved me in reading previous studies and the theoretical posits of various scholars about the concepts of home and identity. I was not only exposed to the thoughts of these scholars, interactions during fieldwork also made me privy to various activities, thoughts, views, and perspectives of many of my participants. Of notable significance was the fear expressed by some of the first generation parents that their children were not interested in the home country. They hoped my research would help orientate them towards Nigeria. My research supplied data to demonstrate their

fears were ungroundless. For example, the sense of collective shame and pride expressed by their second-generation children is an unexpected result from the methodology and the transformation of data that resulted from interpretation.

Indirectly, the analysis of my data has supplied empirical data that alleviates the fear nurtured by older migrants over their perception of non-involvement of young Nigerians in belonging to their homeland. They agonised whenever there was a negative report about Nigeria in the media, and what the responses of their born- abroad children might be to such news from the homeland. This fear has been answered indirectly through my data analysis. It has shown how their children's engagement with diasporic media has endeared them to the homeland their parents thought unattractive to them. Their worst fear of not bringing their children closer to their homeland as they continue to live in diaspora has been alleviated through the representation of popular cultural artefacts in the host's mainstream media, and by the opportunities diasporic media present in their various affordances.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Interview Guide/Questions

General: Demography and Migration Trajectories.

Biography (when and where born, grew up, about parents, siblings, education, job, marital status, children etc.)

Ethnic Affiliations

Where lived prior to migrating from Nigeria

Ethnicity

Language spoken: Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Ishan, Edo,Isoko, Urobo, or other?

First or second language

Opportunity to speak it here and with whom

Frequency of speaking it here

Competence in any Nigerian language

Membership in ethnic association cum leisure activities

Church or mosque attendance - Are you a stable member of it? Which one and why? How frequently do you attend?

Why do you go to this church or mosque? Why not another church/mosque?

Practices:

Everyday routines – description of a typical day, weekday or weekend

Personal likes and dislikes - What kind of things do you like to do.

Closest friends- Nigerians or non-Nigerians- What do you do when you meet? How often do you meet?

Daily practices and normal activities - Why are you involved in them?

Where do you shop?

What types of food do you eat most of the time? Why?

Do you go to parties, events etc.? What type and why do you go? What are the subjects of discussion at these events?

What are your preferences in clothing?

What other forms of engagement do you have within and outside Peckham, the UK and through what means?

Media Habits

Kinds of media interested in - What media do you watch?

What media programmes are you most comfortable with?

TV:

Satellite or free viewing channels? Why?

What channels do you watch most? Give three most watched channels and why?

What programmes do watch most on this channel and why?

Awareness of *BEN TV, OHTV, The Africa Channel, Vox Africa, OBE/Clear* and other non-British channels? Which ones do you watch and why?

What are your favourite programmes? Why?

Films:

Do you watch films? What are your favourite films?

Do you watch more British or Nigerian films? Why?

Radio

Do you listen to radio?

What channels and why?

Favourite programmes on these stations- Why?

Additionally during fieldwork: Knowledge of existence of *Naija FM, Surprise?* Do you listen to them and why?

Internet:

Access to the Internet - frequency of online engagements (how many hours do you spend online per day?

How do you access the Internet? (SMARTPHONE, HOME PC, LAPTOP, ETC.)

Favourite online activities - watch online programmes, television channels, *and YouTube* videos; connect family, read Nigerian newspapers etc.? Which ones and why?

What informs your selection of these media?

What other means do you use for associating with Nigerians in London - TV, music, *Nollywood* films, other and why?

Are you on *Facebook*?

Who do you meet mostly and how has interaction with them shaped your thinking?

Who are your friends? Are they mainly Nigerians or from other cultures?

How has your identity been shaped by the virtual world?

What sorts of things do you discuss?

Who are your closest friends and how did you meet them?

Do you connect more with family members, friends etc. outside or within Britain? Please explain how these connections have influenced your thinking.

Newspapers

Do you read newspapers?

Which ones do you read?

Why do you read them?

How about online newspapers? Which ones do you read and why do you read them?

Mobile Phones

Do you use mobile phone?

What do you use it for most and why?

How often do you send SMS in the course of your day?

Do your friends and family contact you through your mobile phone?

First Generation

Migration status

What are your strongest/weakest affiliations/allegiances? (For instance: religion, profession, neighbourhood, sports, village, clan, passion, sexual preference, union, group of friends etc.)

What do you think about global trend in relation to migration and settling in another country – past, present and future?

How has that changed over the years?

In what ways have there been fundamental changes in your attitude and behaviour since coming to England?

How would you categorise yourself? What does this mean? (Goal- to identify layers of identity: British, Nigerian, or British-Nigerian, global tribe etc.)

Do you have social contact with more Nigerians or more British? What is the difference and why?

Do you have children? Were they born here? Would you like your children to settle here or return to Nigeria? Why?

What in your own view is the British culture and how is this different from the Nigerian culture?

How settled are you? How would you define 'home'? Do you feel more 'home' here or in Nigeria?

Second/Third Generation

Age, marital status, spouse nationality- Nigerian, British or other? If single, would you consider marrying someone of a different background?

How much contact did you have with Nigeria and other Nigerians in diaspora while growing up?

Do you see yourself more as a British, Nigerian or British Nigerian?

What languages are you fluent in and are more comfortable with?

Please describe your parents' attitude to Britain and the British culture. Which one do they have the tendency towards? Why do you think so?

What is the difference between their orientation and yours? Please explain.

In what ways is your lifestyle the same or different from theirs and why?

Do they encourage you to identify with Nigeria more than Britain? Is there any discourse of return?

Is there any difference between the British and the Nigerian worldview? Please explain

Are you more comfortable with Nigerian or British food or is it a hybrid of both? How often do you eat Nigerian food, have contact with other Nigerians, wear Nigerian clothing and attend Nigerian events?

Would you like to live in Nigeria and have you ever visited the country?

What faith practices are expressed in your home?

What do you think about Nigerian dressing?

What songs about Nigeria and Nigerians are negotiated and expressed in your home and through your various associations?

Home and Belonging

Personal perspective of home and belonging - How journey through life has affected your concept of home and belonging? (Consequently, identity)

How often do you go to Nigeria?

Where are most of your friends, family etc.?

What is 'home' to you- symbol of comfort, security, and belonging, place of origin or current place of abode?

Where is home? Please explain

How would you describe Britain and what does it signify to you? How about Nigeria?

What would you consider the characteristics of Nigerian culture – (language, music, and dressing, naming ceremonies, traditional weddings, and festivals, love for extended family, parenting and child rearing or any other)?

What would you consider the characteristics of British culture – is it the language, music, dressing, food or other?

Any affinity towards both or either?

Will you categories yourself as first, second or third generation immigrant?

What in your own opinion is the meaning of "home is where the heart is"?

How would you compare this view with the Nigerian adage that "a river never runs far to forget its source"?

Identity Discourse and Practices in Peckham

Perspective about Peckham- Any Nigerian characteristics visible in Peckham?

Have you always lived in Peckham or did you move here?

When did you move here?

How long have you lived in Peckham?

How has the neighbourhood changed over the years?

Why do you live here and not any other part of London? (Proximity to Nigerian shops, proximity to Nigerians, proximity to the Nigerian culture, food, language; other)

Do you agree that Peckham has the largest number of Nigerians than any other location in London? If yes, why do you think this is so?

Do you agree that Peckham is truly *'little Lagos'* and *'Yoruba heartland'* as it is popularly referred to? Why do you think this is so if yes?

What are the visible features that qualify it to be so designated?

How do you view your present location? (Peckham - home to you)

How would you define Nigerian cultural identity and how does Peckham contribute to this notion of identity?

What kind of specific Nigerian everyday practices are displayed in the neighbourhood?

Are there any differences between commercial activities in Nigeria and Britain?

Do you engage in any practices that single you out as a Nigerian? If so, what are these practices and why do you want to be so identified?

Expert Interview

Why do you own a video store? African hair products, Nigerian fashion house, food chain in this neighbourhood?

Why have you established a church in Peckham and not somewhere else?

What ethnic groups attend? Why?

What kind of social networking exists among members? In what ways do they maintain such networking?

What other social networking do you have with other groups in the neighbourhood?

What products do Nigerians buy more and which ones do they buy less? Can you give a reason for your answer?

Return to Nigeria

Do you have any plan to return permanently to settle in Nigeria or have you settled here? Give reasons for your preference please.

How often do you go to Nigeria?

How long have you been here?

Do you miss Nigeria? In what way?

Do you have family in Nigeria? If yes, how often do you communicate with them? What media do you use to keep in touch?

How has this communication changed over the past few years?

Do you send remittances? How often and how much? Do you own or are you building a property in Nigeria? Why?

Do you have business interests in Nigeria? Why?

Do you support any political, humanitarian, developmental or religious causes in Nigeria? Which one and why?

Are there any other things you would like to share?

Thank you.

Appendix 2 - Nigeria Broadcasting Code (5th Edition) hereinafter referred to as 'The Code."

The **Code** represents the minimum standard for broadcasting in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The **Code** shall be applied in the spirit as well as in the letter, in accordance with the professional ideals of broadcasting.

4.0 PROGRAMMES

4.3 RELIGIOUS PROGRAMMING

Religious beliefs and practices are central to a people's existence and capable of evoking strong passions and emotions. Nigeria is a country with different faiths and

varying sensibilities and sensitivities. To avoid offending any religious belief or practice, broadcasters shall adhere to the following:

a. Equal opportunities and equitable airtime shall be made available to all religious groups in the community it serves.

b. Religious programmes shall be presented respectfully and accurately.

c. Religious broadcast, over which content, members of a specific religion exercise control, shall be presented by responsible representatives of the given religion.

d. Religious broadcast shall not contain an attack on, or a ridicule of another religion or sect.

e. The broadcaster shall avoid the casual use of names, words or symbols regarded as sacred by believers of a given faith.

f. A religious broadcast shall restrict itself to the content of its creed, and shall not be presented in a manner as to mislead the public.

g. A programme promoting religion in any form, shall present its claims, especially those relating to miracles, in such a manner that is provable and believable.

h. Rites or rituals involving cruelty and obscenity shall be avoided, except in programmes designed specifically to teach the beliefs of a religion.

I. Notwithstanding the above, religious broadcasts shall not exceed 20% of the total weekly airtime of any broadcaster (P.39 and 40).

7.0 ADVERTISING

7.5 RELIGIOUS

7.5.1 An advertisement promoting religion in any form shall:

a. present its claims, especially those relating to miracles, in such a manner that is verifiable, provable and believable;

b. not use the peculiarities of broadcast technology to mislead the viewer/listener;

c. not cast aspersions on any other religion or sect; and shall not be seen to exploit the weakness, handicap(s), shortcomings or state of desperation of members of the public (P.60-61).

A Publication of: NBC: ***NATIONAL BROADCASTING*** **COMMISSION**

http://resourcedat.com/upgrade/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/Nigeria-Broadcasting-code.pdf

Accessed 19/10/15

Appendix 3 - Nigerian Government efforts at obtaining accurate data on Nigerians in diaspora.

ANNOUNCEMENT:

DATABASE ON NIGERIAN PROFESSIONALS IN DIASPORA

This is to inform that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, in response to the yearnings of Nigerians in the Diaspora, has just established a full-fledged **'Diaspora Desk'** with the sole objective of attending to issues concerning Nigerians in the Diaspora including the use of their professional expertise. In pursuit of its mandates, the Ministry has embarked on the registration of Nigerian professionals abroad for the creation of **a one-stop data base** for the use of all Nigerian establishments that may need their services. This is in line with the Transformation Agenda of the Federal Government of Nigeria, especially in the quest for Scientific and Technological Development, as well as its socio-political re-engineering efforts.

2. Consequently, **all Nigerian professionals** resident in the United Kingdom are urgently requested to furnish the High Commission with the following:

i. Names;
ii. Gender;
iii. University(s) attended and year (s) of graduation;
iv. Qualification(s) and area of specializations;
v. Experience;
vi. Place of work;
vii. Residential Address; and
viii. Telephone Number(s) and e-mail address

3. Your response should reach the High Commission not later than 8th November, 2014 through **hc@nigeriahc.org.uk**. You are free to forward your CVs.

4. Please, accept the High Commissioner's warm regards.

S. F. ALEGE

FOR HIGH COMMISSIONER

Page **1** of **1**

Appendix 4 - Further visuals of 'Nigerianness' in Peckham

A Typical Nigerian Store showing fabric, artefacts and foodstuff.

Video Seller Store shelves display some of *Nollywood* CDs and DVDs on sales in Peckham

Nigerian fashion on display on festive occasions

Visuals of some of the Nigerian Food in "*buka*" (Local Restaurants in Peckham).

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