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Editor's Note

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to vol. 5, No. 2 September edition of Zaria Journal of Communication. This edition contains eleven chapters of empirical works on mass media and society, peace journalism and other issues from scholars across the country, giving the edition a widespread. Articles on media and governance, social media constructions and a host of others are presented in this edition. I commend the editorial team for putting extra efforts to maintain the schedule and appreciate the authors and thank them for making this edition a success despite the disruptions resulting from the COVID 19 pandemic. We also solicit for more submissions of empirical articles for publications in subsequent editions of the journal. Thank you all.

Maryam Ibrahim, Ph. D

Editorial Guidelines

Articles including graphs and tables should not be more than 20 pages on A4 paper (double line spacing) on M.S Word, 12-point type (New Times Roman). Papers should be with an abstract of not more than 250 words, and six key words. All submissions must conform to American Psychological Association (APA) referencing format.

Zaria Journal of communication is a peer-received journal published twice yearly (February and September) by the Department of Mass Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The Journal accepts articles in all communication related areas from local and International Journal Scholars. Articles are received all year round and are subjected to a blind review before final acceptance for publication.

- Manuscripts submitted for publication should not have been published or currently being considered for publication elsewhere. Contributors must inform the Managing Editor if the paper has been made public in another form or language as copyright of papers accepted for publication belongs to the Department of Mass Communication, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.
- Each manuscript received shall be sent for blind assessment review. The sum of N5,000.00 (Five Thousand Naira only) shall be paid as assessment fee. Authors shall be notified about the acceptability or otherwise of their manuscripts. Accepted manuscripts shall attract a publication fee of N20,000.00 (Twenty Thousand Naira only). Authors shall be entitled to 2 copies of any edition in which their article(s) appears.
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All submissions/contributions should be addressed to:

The Editor

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Second Generation Nigerians and Ethnic Identity Consciousness: A Study of Some Select Nigerians in the United States

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Abstract

This study focused on the nationality preference, consciousness and sources of information of second-generation Nigerians in the United States of America. The study is descriptive and qualitative. It used focus group discussion to gather data. Social identity theory was used as the theoretical framework. The study found that second generation Nigerians in the United States of America whose parents are from the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria were aware and proud of their homeland ethnic identity while the second generation Nigerians in the United States whose parents are from the minority ethnic groups were not too vocal about their homeland ethnic identity and preferred to be called Nigerians rather than Americans. The study also found that the main interest of the second-generation Nigerians about their homeland was for entertainment purposes and not homeland ethnicity; and apart from their parents, the YouTube was the preferred source for forming their social identity with reasons embedded in the study.

Keywords:
Immigrant, second generation, source of information, nationality, social identity, Diaspora

Introduction

This work critically examined aspects of Nigeria's media, history, and culture available to second generation Nigerians in the United States of America. It also interrogates them on their nationality preferences. The work seeks to find out whether second generation Nigerians prefer being called Americans and how this can form their social identity in the United States of America. The researcher is a Nigerian. He was born and bred in Nigeria where the natives show very strong cultural leanings to their ethnic inclinations. He is quite conversant with the average Nigerian's cultural attachments to their social identity. These second-generation Nigerians are part of the Nigerian diaspora (Awokoya, 2012). It is therefore needful to find out whether children born to them in the diaspora exhibit this same level of ethnic tendencies and consciousness as a result of being exposed to any channel of communication that beams homeland's contents.

Statement of the Problem

The second-generation Nigerians in the United States knowing their parents are Nigerians might not have identity problem, but their nationality preferences and the level of their consciousness of their homeland ethnic identity are helpful keys to their forming social identity in the United States. Alakija's (2016) study on first and second generations Nigerians in Peckham (England) have major important limitations because its emphasis is mainly on Yoruba Nigerians, simply because of their sheer number and the group's position as the earliest Nigerian immigrants to Britain. The idea of intermixture and communication and their possible impact on national identity among second generation Nigerians in the United States is a key reason for this research study. It is based on this lack of studies on the use of communication by second generation Nigerians that this study investigates second generation Nigerians in the Diaspora and their use of various channels of communication to explore the African homeland and their homeland ethnic identity, amidst the influence of Western culture, and how this impacts their contact with their homeland, if at all. To investigate the above, the study addresses the following research questions:

Research Questions

RQ1. What communication sources do second generation Nigerians in the USA use in obtaining information about their homeland ethnic identity?

RQ2. Do second generation Nigerians see themselves as Nigerians, Africans or Americans?

Literature Review

A logical starting point for this study is a clear understanding of the term Nigerian Diaspora. 'Diaspora' refers to a group of people that have spread around the world from a common point of origin' (Williams, 2013, p. 113). Gilroy (1993) tells the story of the earliest African diaspora as slaves brought in from the continent of Africa to the New World and the descendants after them. Since then, several Nigerians have voluntarily emigrated from their homeland to other places, including to the United States. Such migrants come into contact with different host cultures. As Williams (2013) notes, "travelers and migrants brought different cultures into contact with each other, and new cultures were produced of this intermixture" (p. 114). The intermixture, identified by Williams, could be problematic. For instance, second generation Nigerians faced by such intermixture in the United States of America could possibly become culturally

distant from the Nigerian homeland. Nevertheless, they also are considered part of the Nigerian diaspora. Gilroy (1993) fears that some diasporans might lose their cultural and ethnic identity with the result that tracing their ethnic root back to Nigeria might be impossible.

This status as part of the Nigerian diaspora gives the impression that they will seek contact with the Nigerian homeland. However, studies focusing on use of homeland media by second generation immigrants have been rare (Alakija, 2016; Echchaibi, 2001; Louie, 2004). Although Alakija (2016) explores the different ways that first and second generations Nigerians in Britain use the media, such studies are few and far between on Nigerian immigrants. Nevertheless, Alakija's work demonstrates that social, religious and cultural practices shape how each generation engages with diasporic media. More prevalent are studies such as by Bailey, Georgiou and Springer (2007), who analyze the consumption of host country media by diasporic communities, and the attitude of diasporic community towards the host media. Although Codjoe, Abdi, Hayfron, Laryea, Deiwert, Okeke-Ihejirika, Kumsa, Yesufu, and Spitzer's (2005) study reveal that children born to first generation Africans in Canada are faced with the intermixture dilemma, they fail to explore whether those children use certain sources of information to keep in touch with the homeland to ameliorate their intermixture dilemma.

Essentially, there are several studies that explore second generation migrants' social identity globally (Jones, 2008; Sabatier, 2008; Hume, 2010) and as well as specific studies zeroing in on second generation Africans and identity in the diaspora (Watson, 2004; Cooper, 2008; Akinrinade Olukoya, 2011; Rivers, 2012). Unfortunately, very few explore aspects of communication that second generation Nigerians use in sourcing for their homeland ethnicity that can help form their social identity, means of self-identification, and how these can impact on their social identity in the United States of America.

Scholars point out that Nigerians are one of the most successful immigrant communities in the USA (Onyejekwe, 2018; River, 2012). Roberts (2005) also claims that the number of Africans who arrived voluntarily to the United States, since 1990, doubles the number that arrived as slaves. Other scholars claim that African immigrant population has grown over 40-fold between 1960 and 2007, with much of the growth occurring since 1990 (USA Census Bureau, 2002; Konadu-Agyemang, & Takyi, 2006; Terrazas, 2009). Going by the 2005–09

United States Census American Community Survey, Nigerians constitute the largest community of immigrants to have emerged from Africa based on 191,203 foreign-born Nigerians in the United States of America. Also 42,216 persons born in the USA claim Nigerian ancestry and they constitute the second-generation (USA Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2010a; USA Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2010b). Balogun (2011) estimates the numbers may be as high as double the official count. According to the United States Census Bureau, 4% of Nigerians hold the Ph.D. degree compared to 1% of the general US population; 17% of Nigerians hold a Master's degree while 37% have a Bachelor's degree. The contributions of this appreciable number of educated youths to America and indeed global civilization cannot be easily quantified. Elsewhere, Harris (2006) observes that 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).

The figures above demonstrate Nigerians' interest and desire to live outside their home country. Whether one calls it adventure, tourism, search for greener pasture or the Golden Fleece, what is clear is that there is hardly any country in the world where Nigerians do not form the majority of the African population (Agugua, personal interview). It needs to be pointed out clearly that this situation existed long before the years of austerity and economic downturn in Nigeria as observed by Iwuagwu (personal interview). However, there is no doubt that the slide in the country's economy accelerated the pace of youth emigration in particular.

This emigration has a probable impact on youth knowledge of the Nigerian homeland. For instance, in Nigeria, several sources of information are used in the teaching of history, civics and current affairs in primary and secondary schools. This has helped to ensure that Nigerian children are fairly familiar with events and affairs that shape their country and it motivates national identity. The average Nigerian school children are aware of nationalists like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and Sir Ahmadu Bello. There are school songs, in different dialects, praising these nationalists for their role in Nigeria's independence. This knowledge is required and is part of the local school curriculum which encourages children to learn about nationalists in order to pass examinations. But the American school system, obviously, does not require a second generation Nigerian to know about Nigeria's cultural history.

To reiterate, numerous studies have tried to investigate the media consumption of Africans in the diaspora (Fortunati, Pertrera, & Vincent, 2012; Mustapha and Wok, 2015; & Sanyu, 2018), but only Alakija's (2016) work focuses on second-generation Nigerians' use of homeland media.

Theoretical Explanation

This is obviously the era of multimedia; therefore, second generation Nigerians would have alternate choices to satisfy needs for a cultural identity. For instance, recent studies such as Korhan and Ersoy, (2016, p. 1804) 'showed that younger and older generations have different tastes of social network site application use and different preference for the functionality and usability factors.' This is the case of the second generation African in the diaspora sourcing for cultural identity via the multi-available media platforms that are functional and available. That is why Jenkins' (2008) definition of identity is helpful. He defines social identity as

> The human capacity-as rooted in language-to know "who's who" (and hence "what's what"). This involves knowing who we are, knowing who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on: a multi-dimensional classification or mapping of the human world and our places in it, as individuals and as members of collectivities. (p. 5)

Ledbetter, Taylor, and Mazer (2016) in their study of communication medium effectiveness reveal the fact that communicating via an unsatisfying medium may hamper continuous usage of such medium, especially by youths. In a related study of media choices and uses by young people, the cultural factor of individualism–collectivism had a positive impact on adoption of social network sites. Students from more individualistic cultures selected medium for usage based on peer group (Ifinedo, 2016). This phenomenon is related to social identity applied to the second generation Nigerian in the diaspora and their use of communication media. Recent studies also point to multiple sources of communication channels that are available. Therefore, communication choice and preference are a function of what the young people want in a medium and gratification, which may include social identity (Sehee, Jinyoung, & Heeseo, 2015; Dolan, Conduit, Fahy, & Goodman, 2015).

Therefore, looking at Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity theory which defines what identity is and how people come about those identities on one part, this study is about the homeland ethnic identity consciousness and social identity of

second generation Nigerian in the United States of America while, on the other part, this study seeks to find out how these channels of communication aid in their homeland ethnic identity formation. According to Hornsey (2008), social identity approach, comprising social identity theory and self-categorization theory is a highly influential theory of group processes and intergroup relations having redefined how we think about numerous group-mediated phenomena, such as second generation Nigerians in the United States of America who form a subgroup or an intergroup of Africans in the diaspora. Therefore, the social identity theory is apt for this study.

The Burden of First Generation Immigrants

Beyond theorization, there are several studies of second generation immigrants and their consumption of certain media for cultural identity. For instance, Balogun (2011) describes the chances of second generation Nigerians learning the Nigerian culture via any channel of communication as very slim. In her words, "There are many children of Nigerian migrants who are married to citizens of the country they live in today. It will be much more difficult for kids produced from such marriages to learn our culture because in such homes, Nigerian language will almost certainly not be spoken" (Balogun, 2011, p.437).

It is not surprising that a Nigerian newspaper, The *Punch*, writes that first generation Nigerians in the United States do not bother to teach their children Nigerian culture and historical heritage (2018). Hernandez (2015) posits that many Nigerians in the USA suffer limitations that affect their ability to teach their children Nigerian history and nationalism. According to him, these limitations range from demanding work schedule, pressure of paying bills and other social pressures. Therefore, it is imperative to learn the sources that second generation Nigerians use in getting information about the homeland. Separate research studies by Adeniyi (2007) and Suleiman (2017) also provide support for this research study. Adeniyi (2007) and Suleiman (2017) seem to hold a common view as they focus squarely on the essence of Nigerian nationalism abroad. They state that some Nigerian-American parents in the USA keep large stocks of Nigerian cultural movies, music and literature in their homes as tools needed in getting their adolescent children to embrace Nigerian culture and history. They also believe that the rise of Nigerian religious houses, dance and drama groups in the USA contributes in promoting Nigerian history and culture across the Atlantic. How can we adjudge this to be true if the second generation Nigerians

(i.e. children born to these set of Nigerians abroad) are not personally interviewed?

Naturally, anyone who finds himself in a strange land and wishes to settle there might wish that children born to them in the diaspora learn and imbibe the cultural behaviors of their homeland, and they don't mind their children knowing the culture of the host country, but they would prefer the cultural identity of their homeland to be imbibed by their children for posterity sake (Iwuagu, 2018 personal interview).

Second Generation Immigrants and Interest in Homeland Ethnic Identity

Development entails the study and knowledge of one's origin in order to position oneself to understand one's present circumstances and prepare the fellow to face the future (Elias, 1998). This being the case, it is expected that second generation Nigerians would be acquainted with aspects of their family and national history. While several studies explore the interest of first generation Nigerians in consuming news about their homeland, not much has been done investigating if second generation Nigerians develop such curiosity about the history of their parent's homeland via any information sources.

Interestingly, Gilroy (1993) argues that the African diasporans cannot retrace their historical journey and make their way back to the points of origin. This is because "diasporic identity was irrevocably altered by the experience of slavery and has been transformed too extensively to be returned to a state of cultural purity" (p.115). Austin Anene (personal interview 2019), a Nigerian based in the United States of America, affirms this in an interview: "It is not common knowledge that most Nigerian American parents in the USA do not attach much importance to this role (of teaching their children about the African homeland)." Many of them simply believe that their children are full-fledged American citizens and have no need to bother about on-goings in the homeland. In essence, second generation Nigerians may well be faced by this problem of transformation which Williams (2013) had also described as "cultural intermixture."

But the studies done by Chacko (2019), Heyd and Honkanem (2015), Nwagbara (2017), and Ogunyemi (2018) disagree with Gilroy's assertion that Africans in diaspora cannot retrace their historical journey back to the African homeland. Those latter scholars demonstrate the quest of young second generation Nigerians in the United States of America for identity with the homeland. Also, numerous

studies have shown that diaspora, homeland transnational citizenship and transnationality history should be of concern to any first- and second-generation migrants (Halualani, Mendoza, & Drzewiecka, 2009; Brubaker, 2005; Blunt, 2007) for posterity sake.

Influence of New Media

There have been loads of academic studies on diaspora identity focused on the impact of mass media channels, including new technologies of communication such as social media use among established diasporic groups. Some clear examples are, South Asians (Vertovec, 1999), Filipinos (Ong, 2009; Ong & Cabañes, 2011), Greek Cypriots (Georgiou, 2006, 2001), Punjabi South Asian youth (Gillespie, 1995), Turks (Robin & Aksoy, 2000), Iranians in London (Sreberny, 2000), Greeks, Cypriots and Turks (Madianou, 2002, 2006) and other minority groups living in Britain and elsewhere. However, we find no study that measures consumption of media content such as music or movies and how that consumption helps us to understand the role of class differences (Ong, & Cabañes, 2011). Hence this study is important in addressing such a gap.

Newbold and Campos (2011) note that in the past few decades, electronic media have stepped to the forefront of communication, and diaspora communication has evolved to reflect this. Many channels of communication can be used for diaspora communication - newspapers, direct mail, booklets, television, radio, and the Internet, among others, especially with online newspapers, online radio and television, among others. Importantly, the reach and frequency of media exposure are predictive factors of message acceptability (Noar, 2006; Hornik 7 Kelly, 2007). As Harrison (2000) suggests, "media users may be affected by what they view, but they also selectively expose themselves to media content that is congruent with their existing worldview" (p. 138).

Media and migration scholars reveal how media channels help migrants and their children to stay in touch with homeland and help them build social identity in tandem with the native homeland (Johnson & McKay, 2011; Ong, 2009; Madianou, 2005). Numerous studies such as Oh (2012), Christophe (2012) and Croucher et al. (2009) surveyed Korean American youths, second and third generation Turks in Germany, and first and second generation French Muslims respectively and found that the preference for ethnic media has 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 & Arnold, 2006). Karim (1998, 2003, 2006 & 2012) has severally researched into various aspects of the use of communication technologies by members of diaspora for news needs on the homeland. Their yearning for information and entertainment, he observes, has 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 (Alakija, 2016).

Identity formation and the media have been extensively researched. Regarding identity, the influence of media on identity formation and nation building has been established by previous studies (Dayan, 1999; Anderson, 1993). Alonso and Oiarzabal (2010) believe that with the coming of social media, ethnic groups in the diaspora would lose touch with native homeland. That is why Web (2012) researched how second-generation Portuguese residents in Port Elizabeth, South Africa use the media, and the findings show that the new media helps them stay informed about their native homeland. The findings of both Abu-Lughod (1993, 1989) and Mitra (2001) are also instructive on how migrants use the media to negotiate social identity to their advantage. They notice that previous research neglects the nationalities and ethnicities of the participants and gives little attention to factors such as gender, age, class and the text itself (Madianou, 2002, pp. 80-81). They conclude that media usage by migrants depends on their cultural background and ethnic experiences (Morley, 1980). Faist (2010) is of the belief that agelong generational media consumption habits and other social practices could inform the diasporic experiences. Studies such as Madianou (2005), Silverstone and Georgiou (2005), and Schlesinger (2000) also demonstrate how media provide symbolic space for articulating identity. According to Aksoy and Robins (2003), this contradicts the notion of "banal transnationalism" and the ordinariness of media consumption by migrants. Their findings from an examination of the second generation's media consumption especially for the purpose of getting awareness on homeland ethnic identity is similar to those of Adeniyi (2008).

Methodology

For this study, qualitative data are collected through focus group discussion with a semi structured instrument. Focus group is handy here as it is a "form of group interview that capitalizes on communication between research participants in order to generate data . . . focus groups explicitly use group interaction as part of

the method" (Kitzinger, 1995, p. 299). This gives participants room to express themselves, especially in the midst of their peers. Focus groups are also helpful when investigating subjects like identity (Creese, & Kambere, 2003). The study uses three focus groups consisting of 6 people in each group, thereby involving a total of 18 participants. For gender balance, there is equal number of both sexes represented. The participants are selected using the purposive sampling method. These set of participants are from the age of 18 years and above who attend a church in a major metropolitan area in Eastern part of the United States. Selection were done based on ethnicity, that is to represent the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, which are Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Ibibio, Idoma; Kanuri, Calabari and as well as gender representation. Please see the profile of the participants on Table 1. The focus group discussion took place in the youth auditorium of The Redeemed Christian Church of God, 1515 Kenilworth Avenue, South East, Washington DC. Parts of the questions asked during the session bordered on what sources of communication are used in obtaining information about their homeland ethnic identity; how frequent do they use the medium; in what context do they use the medium; how do they use the information after obtaining it; and what motivates them to seek information about their homeland ethnic identity?

Before each session begins, each participant completed the consent form as well as the demographic survey instrument. Demographic information of participants is included in Table 1. The researcher recorded the focus group session electronically with the use of the researcher's phone voice recorder for transcription. The researcher then facilitated the discussion to be sure that one person did not dominate the discussion and the researcher was also sensitive to follow up questions. During the focus group discussions, participants were asked the same questions about: going back to homeland, social identity formation, sources of communication they use in getting information about their homeland that might lead to their social identity formation with homeland, and how frequent they use it. Each focus group session ranged between 45 to 75 minutes.

Recorded discussions from each focus group sessions are fully transcribed. The researcher uses an explanatory thematic qualitative media analysis approach that was used by Boyatzis (1998) and Macnamara (2005) to analyze the audio recordings from the focus group discussions. This investigative approach is suitable for analysis of media contents such as audio and video recordings (MacNamara, 2005; Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Sociologist Max Weber posits that thematic analysis is crucial as it pictures the socio cultural terrain of a society

it operates from (Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, & Newbold, 1998; Macnamara, 2005). Therefore, thematic analysis aids the researcher to understand broader cultural traits (Neuendorf, 2002; Gerstl-Pepin, 2015; Smith, 2019).

Findings

Alakija's (2016) study on first and second generation Nigerians in Peckham, England has a major limitation because it emphasized mainly Yoruba Nigerians based on their large number and the group's position as the earliest Nigerian immigrants to Britain. Alakija (2016) acknowledges this limitation by noting the changing composition of Nigerians in the diaspora in the hyper mobility of the globalized era. Therefore, this study captures second generation Nigerians from the three major ethnic groups, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo and others. The themes gotten from the focus group discussion are: ethnic identity, sources for information on Nigeria, how information on Nigeria is used, and why second generation Nigerians seek information on homeland ethnic identity. These are discussed sequentially.

Interestingly, two groups of the participants shared similar ethnic backgrounds being of Yoruba extraction, while the others were of other ethnic extractions (Igbo, Hausa, Kanuri, Idoma, Calabari) in Nigeria. These participants self-identified as African-Americans because they are born in the USA and feel related to experiences of this racial group more than to their African ethnic heritage. Sixteen out of eighteen insist that their social identity is more of what they describe in local Nigerian parlance as "Naija Identity" first before being a Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa. For example, some participants feel less attached to their African ethnic identity because they have little understanding of an ethnic Nigerian language, but each wanted to learn their respective languages at some point in their life and want to be known as African. In fact, most of them prefer taking the African social identity than the American social identity. Though they are very vocal about their homeland ethnic identity, each is more proud to be called a Nigerian, or an African than a Yoruba, Igbo or Hausa or an American. Most of them proudly claim that having an African name gives them pride. Tolu said:

> "Of course right from day one my parents have always been telling me that I am an African, Yoruba by tribe in faraway Nigeria. They sealed it by giving a Yoruba name so no matter where I go to in life my name would always remind my grand and great grandchildren where I am from. I couldn't be more proud having to bear my native Yoruba name. I have an

> English name; my name is Mary, and I have never used it. I am more at home with Tolu. But I am more at home being a Nigerian than being a Yoruba."

Tope also added:

> "Yeah, I know I am Yoruba, but I honestly prefer being a Nigerian more than the Yoruba identity because just like America is a global brand, Nigeria is a global brand and Yoruba is not. Tope was given to me by my grandmother at birth and I love the name because it makes me stand out from the crowd in school. Let me tell you, the in thing now in school is that, my Black American friends in school are beginning to adopt an African name to show cultural identity with Africa. Ryan's adopted African name is Kofi, Tina's adopted African name is Tashila which is a Ugandan native name. She adopted the name when she visited Uganda on a vacation with her family."

For Danjuma:

> "My parents drove it into my consciousness that I am Hausa by tribe, but I prefer the Nigerian identity to the Hausa identity. I am an African and not an American, I am an American by birth."

One of the participants by name Uzoma sharply cut in:

> "I am Igbo by tribe in Nigeria, my parents told me that. But I have always loved my Nigerian identity. I have never remembered telling anyone I am Igbo, but I prefer telling people that I am a Nigerian, an African."

Below are findings to the questions that the study investigated.

Sources of Information on Nigeria

Out of the eighteen participants, seventeen of them said they relied on YouTube to gather information about Nigeria. Eberechukwu said:

> "I use YouTube often to find out what's up in my country Nigeria. The reason being that YouTube is very specific in nature. It just pops up the subject you are interested about in a video format. Others are not really like that."

In a different development, Ajala said:

> "Yes I am Hausa, but most times I turn to my mother because her account would be very accurate and objective. My mother has a way of dramatizing stories about Nigeria that you would want to visit the place."

Only a few of them said they ask their parents for information on Nigeria. A majority of them said they don't really bother about news from Nigeria via online newspaper because they believe they are from the United States of America. Nonetheless, they differentiate news from other type of information on Nigeria. One of them, Emeka puts it this way:

> "Why bother your head about (news on) a country you rarely visit? All I do is go to YouTube and search for anything I want to know about Nigeria there. I also watch my Nollywood movies there which I think are all about voodoo."

When asked how often they use these sources of communication to obtain information about Nigeria, a number of them said they use those sources often, especially You Tube, to obtain information about Nigeria. Emeka, in particular, said:

> "Why I like using You Tube is because, it is specific, in that, if you want to know the latest dance steps in Nigeria, you just type it in and it will bring it out for you. If you want to know the latest Nigerian music video or movie, You Tube brings them out for you immediately. I can't do that with Facebook or Whatsapp. That's why I like You Tube. And besides, I prefer to watch things than sit down and read it."

How Information on Nigeria is Used

Participants who use You Tube to obtain information about Nigeria said they use that medium to check out new Nigerian music dance steps and new releases of Nigerian hip hop artistes on You Tube. Fifteen of them said You Tube is their best bet for their entertainment curiosity about Nigeria Akaninyene said:

> "I am from Akwa Ibom State in Nigeria, and my parents rarely emphasize our tribe to us. All they tell us is we are from Akwa Ibom State and we use to follow them to Akwa Ibom meetings and get-together parties. I seek information about Nigeria for entertainment purposes."

Moses said:

> "I grow up with the mentality that I am a Nigerian. I know I am from Rivers State. My parents don't really tell us much about my tribe which is Calabari. May be because we are a minority ethnic group in Nigeria. It's entertainment that causes me to seek information about Nigeria. I can dance most of the latest dance steps in Nigeria. Though I might not know the names, but I can dance them. I watch Davido, Burna Boy, Wiz Kid, Timaya, PSquare, Flavour and the rest."

In response to a question on social identity, most of them started dancing and showing off new dance steps from Nigeria they learned from You Tube just to impress the researcher. Chris screamed:

> "Of course yes! This is because some of us now do the Naija swag, Naija songs, Naija praise and worship songs and we are beginning to appreciate our Naija names now. Come on, I am Idoma by tribe in Benue State, but my parents prefer reminding us that we are Nigerians and that is my mindset, Nigeria first before being an Idoma."

Ejike added:

> After learning new dance steps from Nigeria on You Tube, I showcase the new Igbo dance steps to my American friends who would learn it from me. I also use the dance steps learnt from You Tube to do dance in church.

When asked for what purpose they use the information they obtain about Nigeria, Dele responded:

> "The information I obtain about Nigeria on You Tube is purely for entertainment purposes which I use it in school to flaunt my new dance steps and to impress my parents who feel I don't want to learn anything about Nigeria."

Responding to the question "Apart from being a Nigerian, do you identify as being a Yoruba?" Adekunle told me:

> "Even my skin color would tell you that I am a Nigerian, and if you miss my skin color, you cannot miss my Nigerian name, Adekunle. My bangle is the map of Africa and I am a proud African. You know what, in all of these, I am more Nigerian than Yoruba, but I cannot forget my Yoruba tribe consciousness."

The researcher further probed which they would love to be identified with: Nigerian or Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, etc.? Shade responded:

> "All of them echoed, we prefer being one big family, Nigerian. Nigeria is big brand in America, our tribes are not."

Why Second Generation Nigerians Seek Information on Homeland Ethnic Identity

Fourteen out of the eighteen participants said it is basically music entertainment that drives them to source for entertainment information on YouTube about their ethnic identity. Amina said:

> It's purely for entertainment sake, because I believe that the American music industry is beginning to embrace our Naija music flavor. For me, what motivates me in seeking information about Nigeria is purely for social identity in music and attire. I strongly believe if Nigerian youths are making it in the music industry to the admiration of even the Americans, we too could do well in the entertainment industry as Nigerian-Americans. It's the global commercial success story of Nigeria's movie industry-Nollywood and Nigeria's music industry that triggers my desire for seeking information about Nigeria.

Discussion and Conclusion

The result of this study shows that a majority of second-generation Nigerians living in the United States of America between the ages of 18 to 22 years use You Tube to source information about Nigeria. For instance, sixteen out of the eighteen participants agree to have very strong social identity ties with the African identity besides being an American. More so, seventeen out of eighteen of the participants admit that they rely heavily on You Tube to gather information about Nigeria, which is only about entertainment. Fourteen out of the eighteen participants said the type of information they seek about Nigeria online is principally for entertainment purposes - new release of Nigerian music and dance steps for which they use to form their social identity. This is because according to them You Tube is specific in nature than any other media as it groups subjects of interests together. Also, according to them, YouTube gives visual dramatization to any subject they want to learn about online. The result also shows that a good number of them use You Tube and Instagram mostly to source for information about Nigeria because of the visual characteristics of this channel. And when this entertainment information is consumed, they use it to form a social identity that is pan African. Several of the studied participants are interested in Nigerian home-

made music and dance steps online and this motivates them to seek to know about their homeland. This clearly shows that they appreciate Nigerian music and dance steps. It also shows that this category (18 years and above) of second-generation Nigerians in the USA are interested in entertainment. Also, this age group is 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 affirms what Wolf (1997, 2002) as well as Ogunyemi (2012) found common among immigrant children in American society. Additionally, participants prefer You Tube because of its visual attributes (Yarosh, Bonsignore, McRoberts, & Peyton, 2016; Holland, 2016; Dunlop, Freeman, & Jones, 2016; Benson, 2017). Also, according to Lange (2016), young people are easily attracted to fanciful moving pictures. This explains why music producers in Nigeria upload Nigerian music on You Tube because they are targeting youths within this bracket who go to You Tube for their entertainment needs.

Remarkably, the motivation of this age bracket to seek information about Nigeria is not a sense of patriotism or nationalism; rather it is driven by hunger for 'black culture and entertainment.' According to Bisi, one of our respondents, "It is the Nigerian entertainment industry like Nigerian musicians and home movies that is making most of us become interested in Nigeria, and even some of our American friends love our Nigerian music, and I am proud that I am from Nigeria." In essence, her comments go a long way to show that it is the entertainment industry that is putting Nigeria in the global map and not politicians.

Overall, second generation Nigerians in the US use media in diverse ways that both affirm and challenge their connection to homeland and host country. This finding affirms what Johnson and McKay (2011) found, in the context of Filipinos diaspora, that media expands national identifications and the definition of home. This was also observed in Nigeria's second generation collective celebration of, and sense of national pride in, popular culture and artefacts from their parents' homeland and country of heritage.

According to Alakija (2016), this revalorization, as exemplified in the second-generation participants' new found identification with the global positioning of local artefacts such as clothing, shows how hybridity is not a seamless fusion, but disassembles and reconfigures in diasporic space. It is subject to negotiation and renegotiation. These findings as well as those by Alakija (2016) and Madianou

(2011) affirm Barker and Jane's (2016) proposition that hybrid identities are useful for recognizing new formations of identity and culture. Although hybridity, in this context, has facilitated the articulation of identities around the global positioning of these local artefacts and within the milieu of diasporic experiences of the second generation of participants of this study, it has also validated the claims that essentializing the African fabrics they wear points to identity (Madianou, 2011, 2002). The study also points to media providing the symbolic space for articulating identity (Madianou, 2005; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Schlesinger, 2000). The particularity of diasporic media and the affordances of digital media facilitated a "double consciousness" and homeland consciousness (Gilroy, 1993, 1987; Du Bois, 1986) that enabled the second generation to look outward to the homeland, inward to the host and around to global imaginaries (Alakija, 2016).

Most of the findings are in line with Hall's (1992) and Alakija's (2016) postulation that identity is never something inside us as individuals, but is filled from outside by the ways of what we pick from our outside world. For instance, Alakija (2016) found that the second generation, as carriers of cultural difference, negotiate a diasporic identity that is developed relationally in the context of a host, which positions them as minorities. Kelly (2015), Georgiou (2006), Georgiou (2006), and Baileys et al. (2008) similarly find that second generation migrants develop social identity from what they gather from homeland media. Second generation Nigerians in the US have a consciousness of their homeland, and this is in agreement with Kalra et al. (2005), Georgiou (2006) and Ang (2005).

Notably, this study fails to support Tölölyan's and Gilroy's claims that although the second generation migrants are aware of an ancestral 'homeland' and diasporic identity, they do not fully acknowledge a diasporic identity and might not trace their way back to the homeland. However, this study found that a majority of the study participants would love to visit their homeland because of their cultural identity. Ayankojo's (2010) study in Toronto explored how the Internet and new technologies 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 (Alakija, 2016). This means that the social media are mostly used by second generation Africans to negotiate cultural identity. The role of You Tube is

immense. During the focus group discussion, Bola said: "My parents were always worried that we were not interested about learning about Nigeria, but when we start going to the You Tube to play Nigerian songs and watch Nigerian movies, they are happy and less worried." This is in line with Alakija's (2016) assertion that this would help arrest and calm fears expressed by some of the first generation parents that their children were not interested in the home country. This research supplied data to demonstrate that their fears are groundless.

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