Gender, Spatiality and Motherhood: Intergenerational Change in Greek-Cypriot Migrant Families in the UK

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Abstract

There is growing interest in geography in the intersections of age, family and the lifecourse with migration. This paper furthers this work by focusing on the themes of intergenerational relationships and transmission within migrant families that have three generations. Using a case study of Greek-Cypriot families living in the UK, specifically the paper explores the experiences of second-generation and third-generation women, as young adults and as mothers, within the context of their relationships with their family members who were born outside of the UK. The gendered networks of power within Greek-Cypriot intergenerational migrant families are examined, with a particular focus on how these impact young women's everyday spatialities and influence their own experiences and practices of motherhood. The paper shows how difference is brought about, played out, contested and accepted between women. Through examining changing ideas of gender and motherhood, we reveal how these differences are negotiated by different generations of women.

Key words: Intergenerational transmission, motherhood, gender relations, migrant families, family relationships, Greek-Cypriot

Introduction

Migration can put pressure on familial relationships, raising expectations for individuals to maintain close relationships with family members within and across national borders (Anthias, 1992; Zhou, 2009). Migrants are often expected to conform to familial structures and practices that reflect cultural ideas, gender roles and power relations. These expectations are frequently placed most strongly upon women and girls (Dwyer, 2002; Espiritu, 2001; Gedalof 2009) and are heightened if they become mothers (Dwyer, 2002; Ehrkamp, 2013; Simonsen, 2018; Wolf, 2002; Ziemer, 2010).

Matrescence – the process of becoming a mother – is life-changing. A woman experiences multiple changes – physiologically, psychologically, biologically and neurologically – and gives birth, not only to a child, but also to a new identity of 'mother' (Stern, Bruschweiler-Stern & Freeland, 1998). While some work has focused on mothers who

are separated from their children (often transnationally) or on mothers within the context of family migration (Gilmartin & Migge, 2016), less is known about the significance of parenting practices and motherhood to later generations of women in migrant families (Foner & Dreby, 2011). In this paper, we argue that the event and practices of motherhood are significant to the way that women position themselves, or continue to be positioned, in relation to the relational familial structures that, in turn, influence the identity and status of women.

To do this, we focus on the experiences of second-generation[i] Greek-Cypriot women who are mothers and the ways in which they navigate familial expectations regarding the reproductive work of parenting. Despite a burgeoning literature on the second-generations' early experiences, particularly during childhood, less is known about their experiences of motherhood and parenthood, or the subsequent experiences of their children – the third-generation. This paper has two main aims. First, it explores the social and spatial relationship of second-generation women with their own parents, especially their mothers. We trace how they navigate intergenerational pressures and conflicts during their late teen years and early adulthood. Second, we examine the impact of these practices on the women's own experiences of becoming mothers, and the extent to which gendered parent-child relations persist among the third-generation. The concept of intergenerational transmission (Platt & Polaviej, 2016) – the idea that cultural values and identities are transmitted from one generation to the next – is utilised to examine how the childhood experiences of second-generation women influence their choices as mothers about which values they transmit to the third-generation.

Migrant Families, Gender and Intergenerational Transmission

The concept of transnationalism theorises migration as a 'complex set of processes that involve multiple, interacting and perhaps conflicting layers' (Wolf, 2002, p. 257). Research has shown that, although young people from immigrant families may be born and raised in one country, their home life is often largely shaped by the social and cultural norms of their parent's country of birth. Michail and Christou (2016a) note how migrant parents utilise dynamic, unfolding and fluid practices to mobilise transnational cultural resources, such as kinship and family, to accrue added value to different aspects of their children's lives, particularly their education (Erel, 2012). For example, studies with Turkish families living in Germany show that the transmission of collectivism and achievement values from the first-

generation to their children are crucial in supporting family adaptation in the migration context (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). This finding challenges the dichotomy of origin and destination (Ho, 2008), meaning that young people live their lives between different cultural fields rather than having to choose between two dichotomous life trajectories and identities (Visser, 2017). It also means that individuals are situated between a number of competing 'generational, ideological and moral reference points' (Levitt, 2009, p. 1238) that influence the transmission of cultural norms and values from one generation to the next (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Mohammad, 2015).

Yet, as successive generations grow up in a different socio-cultural context to the one in which their migrant parents were socialised, the values and beliefs of their parents may hold less adaptive value (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Often, the values held by first-generation migrant parents are viewed as backward and synonymous with patriarchal principles by new generations (Michail & Christou, 2016b). A growing number of studies in the USA have suggested that these values manifest themselves through parental worries about the corrupting nature of mainstream American culture (Espiritu, 2001); parental pressure to marry within the ethnic group (Foner & Kasinitz, 2007); high academic expectations of parents, reported most often in research on East Asian families (Zhou, 2009); and the dependency of non-English parents on their children to be cultural brokers for translating and interpreting (Tyrrell, Guijarro-Fuentes & Blandon, 2014).

Parenting is a key factor in the negotiation and transmission of cultural values and identity, yet only a small body of work has explored the transmission of parenting and childrearing values across the generations (Citlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008; Glassman & Eisikovits, 2006). However, evidence shows that parental attitudes and behaviours – that is, what they *say* and *do* – influence children's perspectives (Platt & Polaviej, 2016). Mothers in particular have been shown to distinguish their parenting practices by emphasising an ethnic element (Citlak et al., 2008; Idema & Phalet, 2007), emphasising that gender and ideas of motherhood play a key role in transmission. As other papers in this journal have shown, the everyday social spaces of home, work and community (Castro, Brady & Cook, 2020; Gilmartin & Migge, 2016) are particularly significant to practices of mothering and the 'local, daily practices and constructions of spatial norms' (Sniekers, 2018, p. 1076).

In this context, the home is an important space for the construction of family relations (Mohammad, 2015). The gendering of domestic spaces (Ahmed, Castañeda, Fortier, &

Sheller, 2003) means that the home has come to be seen as a site of 'both containment and potential liberation for women' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 214). For example, Thompson (1994) shows how, for Arabic, Greek and Vietnamese immigrant women in Australia, the home is a space where difference can be displayed and acted out. Here, the first language can be safely spoken while the internal decoration can freely reflect their cultural and religious heritage. Relatedly, women are often (but not always), seen as responsible for the preparation and consumption of food within the domain of the home. Practices related to food are a central aspect of diasporic and transnational home-making, as food is recognised as a medium through which self and community identities can be reconstructed (Bell & Valentine, 1997). Where women are responsible for shopping for, preparing and cooking 'proper' meals for the family, food becomes an important element in the construction of gendered ethnic identities (Kneafsey & Cox, 2002). These practices are some of the ways in which perceived ethnic values and identities are transmitted from mother to child.

The home also reflects the intersection of public and private spaces (Blunt & Dowling 2006). Behaviour in public space is expected to reflect values cultivated in the private space of the home and, equally, public spaces may challenge the boundaries and bonds of the home. Women in migrant families are required to negotiate everyday public spaces in ways that both challenge and affirm the patriarchal and gender norms imposed on them by their families in the home (Ehrkamp, 2013; Ziemer, 2010). In these cases, fear of embarrassing their families and being the subject of gossip among older women in the community may deter young women from behaviour which could be deemed as 'inappropriate'. What happens outside the home deeply affects relationships inside it and, at the same time, the home shapes how family members, particularly women and girls, live outside it. The influence of values and relationships developed within the home are even more apparent in spaces such as ethnic churches (Kallis, Yarwood, & Tyrrell, 2019), workspaces and language schools (Leung, 2004), where surveillance is intensified and there is greater expectation for public conformity.

However, women in migrant families are not merely submissive and passive recipients of hegemonic ideology, but agents of change and resistance. As Ehrkamp (2013, p. 21) observes, 'the spaces of everyday life are central to understanding the intricate workings of power and resistance'. 'Third Culture Kids' (Kwon, 2019) grow up developing a range of skills and assets that allow them to traverse linguistic and cultural borders on a daily basis as informed actors who are capable of making their own decisions (Michail & Christou, 2016b).

Thus, in order to understand the modes of agency and resistance young females employ, we must look closely at their day-to-day spatial and social practices (Klocker & Tindale, 2019).

While many studies have explored the effects of these competing influences on the lives of the second-generation, less is known about the experiences of the third-generation. This is a curious omission as a focus on the third-, as well as the first- and second-generations, is crucial to examine how people are both subject to and subjects of parenthood: they are influenced by their own parents and, in turn, become parents themselves.

Research on the third-generation has mainly focused on intergenerational language use (Kim & Yoo, 2015) or economics (Hammarstedt, 2009), but less is known about the extent to which these individuals experience and navigate different cultural fields. One could speculate that the third-generation are exposed to an even greater variety of social and cultural reference points due to the growth of marriages crossing ethnic and racial boundaries among the second-generation. However, questions remain about these experiences and their impact on third-generation members' early senses of self and belonging, as well as the extent to which they shift from specific ethnic familial practices to more normative or mainstream familial practices. Scrutinising parenting practices provides a lens to examine these issues and learn more about intergenerational transmission.

In this paper, we explore how second-generation Greek-Cypriot females navigate everyday spaces as they move through the lifecourse, from childhood to parenthood. We discuss the acts of agency and resistance they employ as they navigate the competing reference points of their parents and grandparents, the wider ethnic community, as well as those of their peers. Moreover, the paper investigates how their experiences during childhood impact their own parenting practices as mothers and the ways they 'do' family as they have children of their own. Their choices have important repercussions for the reproduction, transformation and contestation of gender relations and identities within ethnic communities (Erdal & Pawlak, 2018). In exploring these issues, the paper contributes to wider debates in geography about gender transformations, and specifically, how gender is reconfirmed and reconfigured across migrant generations. It also shows how the 'doings' of family are changing, using different spaces to help understand how and why these changes are occurring at different scales.

Greek-Cypriot Migrant Families in the UK

Historically, Cyprus has been a country of emigration and, as a former colony, many Cypriots

have migrated to the UK (Teerling, 2011). Estimations of the number of Cypriots living in the UK vary greatly, however the National Federation of Cypriots in the UK claims to represent more than 300,000 Britons of Cypriot ancestry[ii]. While early migration to the UK began in the 1930s, the bulk of migration took place during the 1950s and 1960s as individuals migrated to obtain better wages and stable jobs (King, Christou, & Teerling, 2011).

The majority of these immigrants grew up in villages where people abided by traditional sets of social practices that placed high value on family-life and family commitments (Oakley, 1979). Family-based village life was also highly gendered and the regulation of inter-family relationships operated through the concept of honour (Peristiany, 1965). These traditional village-life values and practices were brought over by migrants to the UK (Anthias, 1992; Charalambous, Hajifanis & Kilonis, 1988), thus the arranged marriage system, *proxenia*, remained in use and there was a tendency for brides to move from Cyprus to marry men who had already migrated.

By the 1970s and 1980s Greek-Cypriot women in the UK were granted more freedom by their parents and the community and began to go out to work. While the first-generation commonly worked in the dress-making and catering industries, the second-generation were more likely to be employed in the beauty industry or clerical jobs (Josephides, 1988). The issue of honour became divorced from women's work but was attached to girls going out socially – namely, who they were going out with, where and the time they would come home (Anthias, 1992). However, it is unclear whether these gendered values persist amongst the third-generation and, if they do, their form and effect on young women. To begin exploring this, we first examine the intergenerational pressure and conflict that second-generation women experienced during their late teen years and early adulthood. We then examine the impact of these experiences on these women's own experiences of becoming mothers, questioning the extent to which gendered parent-child relations persist among the third-generation.

Research Design

Forty-eight qualitative interviews were conducted with three generations of Greek-Cypriot migrant families, supported by participant observations, in a large provincial city in England. Cypriots first moved to the city in 1935 and, according to Census data, in 2011 there were 250 Cypriot-born individuals living there. However, members of the Greek Orthodox Church

and Greek School committees in the city suggest there are 400-500 individuals of Greek-Cypriot descent living there.

A statistical classification of "generation" is used whereby the first-generation are those individuals born in Cyprus who moved to the UK and the second-generation are their offspring who were born in the UK (Skrbiš, Baldassar, & Poynting, 2007). The children of the second-generation are referred to as the third-generation. Those classed as the first-generation had all left Cyprus during adulthood or nearer the end of their teen years. While both male and female members of the participants' families were interviewed, the current discussion is based on the narratives of female family members where each generation falls within the statistical classification (33 individuals in total, 20 of whom are female)[iii]. The sample includes both middle- and working-class individuals and, as one may expect among a migrant community, reflects a general trend of occupational and social mobility that emerged over the generations (Table 1). Participants were contacted using snowballing methods initiated by personal acquaintances of the researcher and through contacts made at the local Greek School and Church. All participants were given a choice as to whether the interview was conducted in Greek or English, with an interpreter used for the former.

Table 1 Participant Socio-demographic Details

	First-generation	Second-generation	Third-generation
Number of participants	5	8	7
Age range	64 to 81 years old	Late 20s to early 50s	5 to 38 years old
Education	All participants had completed primary and secondary schooling in Cyprus, but had no higher qualifications	In addition to primary and secondary education, three participants had university degrees and three had vocational qualifications	Five participants were still at school/college, one had a university degree and one was completing a foundation degree

Occupation	The majority were retired, however they had mainly worked in the sewing and catering industries (often within family businesses)	Participants were employed in a range of professions including care and beauty and store management. One participant was a housewife	One participant worked as a professional and another in caring services

The interviews were not only held with participants from different generations, but with participants from different age groups. Thus, young people were able to talk about growing up in the present tense, whilst discussions of childhood were more reflective for adults. This approach contributed to the intertextuality of the sample, yielding rich and detailed accounts of past and present lives (Lieblich, Rivka, & Tamar, 1998). Narrative interviews were conducted with adult participants and they were asked to recount their life stories. The interviews with children were more structured and they also had the opportunity to take part in some drawing activities to enhance engagement.

The interviews were supported by ethnographic observations which were carried out over a year at the local Greek Orthodox Church and adjoining Greek School. The ethnographic observations involved regular attendance at Sunday services, helping out with Greek School classes on Saturdays and attending other events organised by the two institutions, as well as visiting family homes for dinner/birthday parties on invitation. These occasions offered an insight into some of the social practices and interactions taking place among the local ethnic community, and provided a more in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of individuals. While the school and church are the only formal communal organisations of the ethnic group in the city, there are several Cypriot restaurants and it is recognised that different data could have been yielded if observations had been conducted at these locations. However, several males who worked/had worked in the catering industry were interviewed and a concerted effort was made to speak to those who had little or no engagement with the above organisations.

The importance of both positionality and reflexivity are now well established in geographical research and were key considerations throughout the process of data collection

and interpretation. The issue of positionality is of particular significance as the primary researcher and lead author is a third-generation Greek-Cypriot female who grew up in the city where fieldwork was conducted. This background meant that she had experienced many of the issues that were discussed and was simultaneously seen by participants as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider', depending on who she was speaking to. Being viewed as an 'insider' was beneficial in terms of persuading some individuals to participate, particularly elderly participants who were more inclined to speak to someone from the ethnic group. Simultaneously, there were times when some participants may have feared the researcher was 'too' close to the group and chose not to disclose certain details (see also Pustulka, Bell & Trąbka, 2019). There were also some participants who expressed that their upbringing had been very different from that of the researcher and inferred that she would not be able to relate to their struggles, thus highlighting the fluidity of insider/outsider status (Carling, Erdal & Ezzati, 2014).

The following sections analyse data from these interviews and observations. Our findings focus mainly on the experiences of second-generation women and their relationships with the first- and third-generations. First, the relationship of second-generation participants with their parents is considered before, in turn, considering their own experiences as parents and their relationships with their own children. Particular emphasis is placed on the space of the home – both as a place where females negotiate their identities and as an imagined space that influences how women engage with public spaces. In these ways, we trace the significance of parenting to intergenerational change.

Second-Generation Children: Family Honour and Spatial (Im)mobility

The majority of second-generation females commented on the pressure that was placed on them to uphold family honour and, like young women from other migrant communities (Espiritu, 2001; Michail & Christou, 2016a), they perceived that they had experienced greater intergenerational conflict than male relations. The females were very restricted in terms of what they were allowed to do, where they could go, and who with:

My parents were very strict and they wouldn't let us go anywhere, not even to children's birthday parties […] *it's a shame really, and at school, especially when I went to secondary school and I realised a bit more, if my friends asked me to join in with swimming at the weekend* […]*...I had a friend who enjoyed dancing and wanted me to go with her to learn, but I was never allowed to go.* (Anthea, 56 years old, second-generation female)

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Despite being one of the older members of the second-generation (reaching adulthood in the late 1970s), Anthea's description of the spatial restrictions she experienced was closely aligned with those of the younger second-generation women (reaching adulthood in the 1990s and later) and demonstrates how her father's control permeated her social life. This parental control continued throughout her childhood and, as the extract highlights, she did not become fully aware of this until she attended secondary school. She commented elsewhere in the interview that the increased levels of parental control made her feel very 'different' to her English friends. This feeling of difference was added to and exacerbated the difference these young girls *already* felt due to their appearance and their inability to speak English when they began school or pre-school. The way in which these females compared themselves to their English friends draws attention to the *relational* nature of identity, the affirmation of which is dependent on the social and spatial context of the individual at a particular moment in time (Fincher, 2011). As she navigated through different settings, Anthea's life was characterised by internal and external contradictions; namely, the traditional values of the family and the ethnic community, and the more liberal social values of British society (Kefallinos, 2012).

Some of the participants revealed how their parents would allow them to play out in the street with friends during their childhoods, but only so long as they stayed within their parents' sight:

I was allowed to play outside in the front of the house where there's the big green, I was allowed there and that was it, I wasn't allowed anywhere other than that green [because] my mum could see from the window exactly what I was doing and where she had bushes at the front of the house she went and cut holes in the middle (laughs) – *I kid you not, I was like "mum, what are you doing?" How embarrassing is that?* (Melanie, 36 years old, second-generation female)

Here we see how difficult it was for the young girls to escape the watchful gaze of their parents as Melanie's mother went to the extreme of cutting a hole in the bushes so she could watch her playing. The tight-knit form of the family combined with their parents' attempts to control their actions meant they had little privacy whilst growing up. We also see how, outside of school hours, parents were keen for their children to remain within the boundaries of the home. Although this boundary expanded slightly as they played out in the street, it always remained in view of their parents. This visibility continued into early adulthood and parents were keen for their daughters to remain geographically close. For example, one participant explained how she had trained to join the police and expressed an

interest in joining a force in another city. However, her parents had dissuaded her from doing so and encouraged her to wait until the local force was recruiting, or to apply to work in London where they had relatives.

Nevertheless, there were several ways in which the young women attempted to resist the cultural ideologies and associated spatial restrictions of their parents and family. They achieved this resistance by manoeuvring spaces in order to develop strategies to escape social controls. Some individuals lied to their parents about their whereabouts in order to attend social gatherings and events, while a number of participants recalled they would be allowed to go only if they were accompanied by their brothers. They maximised such opportunities to chat to other youths or have a drink. In some families, it did not matter if their brothers were older or younger; as Perry recalls, his older sisters would take him and his younger brothers out in order to gain some freedom:

We were escape goats [sic] *for the sisters a lot [because] they used to say "we're taking out the boys" and then they [would] go talking to the boys with us, so they used to use us as excuses.* (Perry, 52 years old, second-generation male)

These small acts of resistance, which superficially appeared as compliance with their parents' rules and regulations (Ehrkamp, 2013), would open up new opportunities for these young women. Ehrkamp (2013, p. 24) argues that these acts 'open up the possibility of much deeper transformations than open confrontation and defiance'. As they negotiated their spatial autonomy by choosing when to conceal information, the young women subtly contested the gender identities and ideologies that were imposed on them (Erdal & Pawlak, 2018).

As these women became parents themselves, they were able to exert a form of 'ethnic choice' (Sullivan, 2012; Waters, 1990) that sometimes reflected an explicit rejection, or partial rejection, of these values. For others, parenthood was an opportunity for cultural practices to be taught to their own children. Thus, parenting not only allowed values to be transmitted, but also was an affirmation of the parent's own identity. The following sections first illustrate these issues in more detail and second, give voice to the third-generation by tracing the significance of intergenerationality on their lives and identities.

Second-Generation Parents: Experiencing and Practising Motherhood

Mariotti (2012) suggests that women's maternal identities are linked to their own mother's parenting practices and that women have the opportunity to repeat, or not, what they experienced. Most of the second-generation mothers were insistent that they would parent

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their children differently so that their own children's experiences would be different. In particular, they did not want to subject their children to the same levels of social control as they themselves had experienced:

Now I've got my own children I understand why she [mother] *was like that, but you've got to let them go a little bit to allow them to be the people that they're going to be, you know, because you can't wrap them in cotton wool forever…they've got to be able to see the bigger picture I think and the dangers and things like that – they won't learn if you don't show them and they've got to make their own mistakes as well so that they learn because that's how we learn isn't it?* (Melanie, 36 years old, second-generation female)

Melanie's perspective on parenting is significant as it exemplifies attitudes changing across the generations; as these second-generation women became mothers, they made a conscious decision to parent more permissively, allowing their children more freedom. The greater freedom offered to the third-generation provided them with the opportunity to learn from their own mistakes. Although some second-generation mothers found this hard, they were insistent that their children should be able to exert some degree of agency over their own lives. Thus, this desire of the second-generation not to replicate the gendered parenting style of their parents was one of the key drivers of intergenerational change in relation to parenting practices. Like the second-generation Albanian youths living in Greece in Michail and Christou's (2016b) study, the young women avoided backward and patriarchal practices in order to help close the gap of inequality.

As well as allowing their children more freedom, second-generation mothers also aspired to encourage and support their children's education more than their own parents had. Unlike in other migrant groups (Wolf, 2002), the second-generation women had not felt an intense pressure to succeed academically in mainstream education whilst growing up. In fact, several of them spoke of how their parents did not take a great level of interest in their school work or check that they were doing their homework. This neglect was largely due to a language barrier as many of their parents could not speak, read or write English proficiently and, as is common in immigrant families, the parents relied on children for assistance (Tyrrell et al., 2014). The level of education that parents receive has also been shown to influence their attitudes towards their children's education (Platt & Polavieja, 2016). The majority of the first-generation had only completed very basic schooling in Cyprus and as they attempted to settle into life in the UK, the academic achievement of their children was not always a high

priority. Additionally, the desire of the first-generation to control their daughters' activities surpassed concerns about their educational achievement (Wolf, 2002).

The local Greek School was viewed differently to mainstream school by first-generation parents however, and they placed great emphasis on their children's attendance and success there, which they attended during the evenings and weekends. The Greek School was seen as pivotal in transmitting cultural knowledge and promoting the maintenance of the ethnic identity among successive generations. Erel's (2012) work with German migrant mothers in the UK shows how the language of the first generations' origin country is viewed as a valuable and useful cultural resource and mothers often take responsibility for enabling their children to access it. Thus, parents were more encouraging of their children in this educational setting, where they had a greater understanding of the language and processes.

On the one hand, parents could be viewed as broadening the boundaries and allowing their children to spend time in another environment beyond the space of the home by encouraging them to attend the Greek School. On the other hand, the Greek School could be seen as extension of the home, particularly as members of the ethnic community would often help out and children would not be left unattended.

In contrast, second-generation mothers focused more on supporting their children in the mainstream school system:

I always encouraged my children because I thought, that's what was lacking in my life and […] *they should have opportunities and do what they wanted to do and it was a good thing, it's not a bad thing.* (Anthea, 56 years old, second-generation female)

Some members of the second-generation revealed how they had been encouraged to work in the family business from a young age, and subsequently, had missed out on the opportunity to participate in higher education. Again, working in family businesses offered another opportunity for young women to remain under the watchful eye of their parents and other members of the family and ethnic community.

In contrast, Anthea's daughter had left home for university and other members of the third-generation, although too young to attend at the time of the study, spoke of their aspirations to go and how their parents actively encouraged this. They also revealed how their parents took an active interest in their school work and would often check if they had completed their homework. Second-generation parents were more capable of doing so than their own first-generation parents had been due to their proficiency in the English language and also because they themselves had grown up having to learn the social, cultural and

educational milieu that their third-generation children were now navigating (see Rezai, Crul, Severiens, & Keskiner, 2015). This finding highlights the influence that acculturation and education had on second-generation mothers' socialisation goals (Citlak et al., 2008). Their own experiences of growing up led them to place higher value on the education and independence of their children. It also highlights how the third-generation were granted more freedom spatially, as their parents encouraged them to attend university in different cities.

Despite changes in parenting approaches towards education and social activities, gender differences still persisted in parents' expectations in some areas. In particular, third-generation females expressed some resentment at the way they, rather than their brothers, were expected to help out with domestic tasks:

Even stuff like when guests would come over, it would always be the way that […] I would be seen to be the one that would obviously have to go and help and make the tea and hand out the cakes and stuff, the boys didn't have to do any of it and I picked up on all of it from a really early age and I remember just consciously making a point of it all the time, like even when guests were there, just saying "ah the boys can do it! Why can't they make a cup of tea?" and things like that so…it just makes you worse I think (Tina, 36 years old, third-generation female)

In this extract the space of the home becomes significant in the construction of family relations, as the gendered nature of transnational home-making emerges (Ahmed et al., 2003; Thompson, 1994; Walter, 2001). Families maintained these gendered domestic practices across the generations to uphold 'traditional' family structures (Walter, 2001) and some of the females expressed some resentment towards this. The young women commented on how they were expected to help out with the housework and food preparation, and when guests were round, they were the ones who would be asked to attend to them. This finding was supported by observations conducted at participants' homes where young women would be asked to serve drinks and help clear the table, rather than their brothers. The families wished to present an ideological image to their guests with the females conforming to a traditional version of femininity, while the males were served by them and able to relax.

In this way, the family both demanded and was a means through which collective belonging to the ethnic group was reproduced as parents ensured that 'traditional' gender roles were adhered to (Ziemer, 2010). The contradicting practices of the second-generation also illustrate how, on one hand they had shifted away from the traditional values of their parents, while on the other, there was evidence of value continuity (Idema & Phalet, 2007).

As a result, cultural models of mothering were both preserved and altered (see also Glassman & Eisikovits, 2006). The following section examines the experiences of the third-generation in more depth.

The Third-Generation

None of the members of the third-generation articulated experiencing a lack of freedom to the same extent as their mothers had. Unlike the second-generation, all of the females in the third-generation emphasised how their parents did not have any problem with them going to friends' houses or birthday parties, and they were much more relaxed about them engaging in social activities. When asked if their parents were strict, some individuals claimed they were not, but that they did not *need* to be because they were well behaved anyway:

I get freedom, but I don't really go out a lot, I'm not like into parties and stuff. (Holly, 14 years old, third-generation female)

The accounts of the third-generation contrasted starkly with those of their mothers' generation. Because they were granted a certain degree of freedom, they did not feel the need to constantly push boundaries as their mothers had. For example, Holly is the daughter of Melanie who previously revealed how her mother had cut a hole in the bushes to watch over her while she played outside. While Melanie claimed it was 'a struggle' to convince her mother to allow her to engage in any social activities, Holly was quite blasé about it when asked and clearly had not experienced the same struggle. These findings about the greater freedom of the third-generation were supported by observations at the local Greek School, where most weeks, students would share their plans to go to a friend's house or out for the afternoon following the Saturday morning class. The third-generation experienced greater spatial freedom and autonomy than their parents had as teenagers. They were able to transgress the boundaries of the home and ethnic spaces in order to experience other areas of the city independently.

The second-generation's approach to mothering, which favoured freedom and independence, was something that their children – particularly their daughters – became aware of:

My mum, she's just laid-back, she was just like "do you know what? It's your life, you live it how you want to live it, as long as you don't do anything bad or anything to hurt anybody else" […] I think because with her life she was sort of forced into corners and stuff

like that, she wanted my – I suppose us to be our own person. (Helen, 38 years old, third-generation female)

Helen's second-generation mother had married an English man, yet she reiterated throughout the interview that her father had been the strict one, while her mother was much more laid-back. Helen later reflected how her brothers and her were 'brought up very English' and how her mother had taken herself 'away from the Greek life' of her first-generation parents. Helen's mother claimed she had avoided mixing with the Greek-Cypriot community in the city and did not enrol her children in the Greek School or the Greek Church. Helen's mother had turned away from the collectivist values of the ethnic community which privileged in-group needs and interests (Citlak et al., 2008) and embraced a more individualistic set of values that prioritised her own personal aspirations and those of her immediate family.

Nevertheless, Helen still expressed a connection with her Greek-Cypriot heritage, which was largely due to the influence of her grandfather. When asked whether she felt any form of connection to her grandfather's homeland she explained:

I think I always felt like I had roots, I think because when we were quite close to grandad as well, I mean he would always […] *tell us about the Greeks and how the Greeks lived and I suppose going over and living with him for like that three weeks each year, we would live in a very Greek way as well, it wasn't like just stay in a hotel and you're eating English food and, you know, you live like a Greek I suppose for that time and when he used to come over and see us and stuff.*

Helen's account illustrates the important role that grandparents play in the intergenerational transmission of cultural practices and values (Sime & Pietka-Nykaza, 2015). Most of the third-generation had spent a considerable amount of time with their grandparents during their childhoods, and subsequently, developed close social bonds with them. Like Helen, they had also learnt about the traditions and language from their grandparents and were proud of their cultural heritage. Often, grandparents would take their young grandchildren to church with them on Sundays and encourage their involvement with the wider ethnic community. As with other migrant groups (Glassman & Eisikovits, 2006; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001) the first-generation expressed a strong desire to hand down their cultural heritage to successive generations. However, the transmission of cultural knowledge and values took a much more passive form with regard to their grandchildren than their own children.

Unlike their mothers, the third-generation of Greek-Cypriots did not feel guilt or anxiety around their conflicting identities, but experienced greater freedom as their ethnic identities were not imposed on them (see also Kefallinos, 2012). Thus, these individuals were able to invoke 'ethnic choice' (Sullivan, 2012; Waters, 1990) and to practise a more flexible form of ethnicity, where the ethnic role was more voluntary than ascriptive and they could selectively incorporate or reject different cultural codes and practices (Kallis et al., 2019; Michail & Christou, 2016b).

In fact, it emerged that some of the third-generation females were over-indulged or 'spoiled' by their parents, and in particular, by their fathers:

I'm a daddy's girl, just to throw it out there – I think since I was really young, like my dad always said "you followed me round everywhere". I just remember like when he used to leave to go to work …I would be like "don't leave me home! Take me with you!" and I used to love it … so I'm really close to my dad I think – I don't know why but we actually get on really well as friends. (Alisha, 17 years old, third-generation female)

Alisha went on to describe how her father would buy her material things and paid for her to go travelling for several months. She was not the only daughter who was described as a 'daddy's girl' and fathers in the study also admitted that they would spoil their daughters. This 'indulgent' form of parenting has more often been observed among migrant mothers (Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, spoiling daughters in a material way is one way in which fathers gain control over them; later in the interview Alisha confessed how her father 'loves controlling' family members and used money to enable this. The daughters were also more likely to do as their fathers wished when they believed they had been 'treated' by them. Thus, this could be seen as a more 'covert' way in which fathers reproduce patriarchal gender relations.

Conclusion

This paper began by using the concept of intergenerational transmission to examine how perceived 'traditional' values and cultures were passed between generations. Our main conclusion is that childhood experience was the central reference point for second-generation mothers. Their upbringing often reflected what was seen as 'traditional', 'cultural' or 'ethnic' by their parents and grandparents. Repeated performances, such as preparing food, learning the Greek language and taking part in customs helped to reproduce these ideas and norms.

The private space of home provided a space for these activities, as did the semi-private spaces of the Greek Church and School and interaction with Greek-Cypriot family members and friends. Yet, interactions in public spaces, for example mixing with non-Cypriot people at school, challenged some of these ideas and, some respondents realised these ideas were not fixed and, as such, could be rejected, negotiated or embraced by individuals.

However, it was the childhood experiences of the second-generation that most strongly influenced their choices. Mothers' decisions to enrol their children into language schools, take them to Greek Church or teach them traditional values were made in relation to whether they saw their own experiences as beneficial and what they deemed as important. These decisions not only reflected changing life circumstances and varying degrees of empowerment, but also emotional or affective engagements with their Greek-Cypriot heritage. For some, fond memories of grandparents meant that they taught their own children Greek to retain a link with their grandparents that could be enacted in their everyday lives, which the children learning the language also valued. Concurrently, frustration or anger at church teachings meant there was a reluctance to maintain religious practices in adulthood or 'transmit' them to their own children.

Scholars have recognised that what is deemed of cultural value to individuals is relative compared to other people and places (Fincher, 2011); we argue that it is also relative to an individual's own memories and upbringing. Therefore, greater attention needs to be paid to childhood experiences in migration studies (Smith & Mills, 2019). The sub-discipline of children's geographies would also benefit from a recognition that childhood does not end abruptly and that experiences of childhood, both good and bad, continue to play an important role in adult life. Cultural transmission does not simply occur between generations but at all stages across the lifecourse. As individuals grow up, are empowered or come into contact with new ideas, they are able to determine their own agency as transmitters.

In light of these findings we propose three ways forward for research. First, greater attention should be paid to the ways in which childhood influences adult lives. For geographers, this means a stronger realisation that time, as well as space, is important to the study of migrants and their families. To better understand this issue, further research on the third-generation is needed, particularly as they enter adulthood and form families of their own. It is important for future studies to consider how the mix of cultural influences experienced by the third-generation influence their own approaches to parenting. Comparative research which explores the potentially differing experiences of third-generation

individuals whose parents marry either 'in' or 'out' of the ethnic community would add important contributions to migration and transnational marriage research.

Second, and related to the previous topic, emotional geographies, particularly linked to memory, should receive greater priority in migration studies (Ho, 2009). Love, hate and loyalty, to name but a few, influence whether and how cultural values are passed between generations. Finally, there is a need to study the extent to which people are able to make choices as they grow. Most obviously, attention should be paid to patriarchal values and the extent to which men and women are empowered to make choices. Attention should also be given to race, sexuality, ability and so on. We might also consider the extent to which people have the power to overcome not only structural restraints, but also the emotional restrictions that may prevent them leading the lives they wish.

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[i] The term second- or third-generation refers to someone who has a bloodline to a grandparent or grandparents who were themselves migrants. The second- and third-generation are born in their grandparent's country of destination and so may also have parents or grandparents from that

destination country. While recognising that people may or may not identify themselves as 'second-' and 'third-' generation, we use the terms as a well-established shorthand (Citlak et al., 2008; Glassman & Eisikovits, 2006) to describe familial relationships to migrant grandparents.

[ii] This total includes those of both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin

[iii] An additional 15 individuals were interviewed, however their migration trajectories do not fall under the statistical classification.