‘Touching the sore’: Older Caribbean women’s memories of migration, kinship and settlement in England.

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Preface (Declaration)

The research and writing included within this thesis are all my own work.

This research received ethical approval from the University of Derby (*please see Appendix 1*).

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Abstract

Literature on migration has until recently, marginalised or overlooked Black and migrant women's experiences. Neglect of these perspectives extends to first generation African Caribbean women. African Caribbean women have grown old in Britain and now face the end of their life course in their adopted country. They are passing away and taking their stories with them.

The study seeks to explore the narratives of a now aged group of African Caribbean women and to explore their experiences of migration, family separation and reunion during the Windrush era. Some African Caribbean mothers were reunited with their children after a short time, whilst for others the reunion took many years later. Some of the women successfully achieved family reunification but for other families this never took place. The process for many women and mothers was traumatic and fragmented. The project draws on semi-structured interviews with 12 participants featuring life histories and stories of mothering, childcare and work during 1950 and 1960s England. The analysis shows the prolonged stresses to which Black women and mothers who migrate are exposed. As visible minorities, this includes negative 'race'-based experiences, and the thesis explores the women's responses, strategies and resiliencies.

The findings highlight the intersectional lives and identities of Black women and mothers who migrate for work. The themes of gender, 'race' and ethnicity are presented along with the constraints and opportunities migration brings for women. The study explores and re-imagines mothering, family and belonging, in the context of families separated by migration. The study's conclusion is that the constraining and enabling factors for migrant mothers include navigating both personal racial hostilities and those enacted by the state, compounding their traumatic stress of loss and family separation. It argues that the public sector is part of the system responsible for pulling migrants to Britain and therefore it should act to enhance the support available for women and mothers who migrate.

Chapter 1: Introduction

'we are daughters, reweaving our mother's stories into our own'
(Springfield, 1999, xii)

Introduction

The subject of this research project is the exploration of the migratory experiences of African Caribbean women and the impact of migration on mothering, family relationships and family reunification. The thesis is interested in exploring the experiences of migration, family separation and reunion. In particular the historic accounts of migration, loss and separation, resettlement and reunion experienced by African Caribbean women, many of whom were mothers who left behind children as well as families in the Caribbean, to come and work and live in England after the WW2. Some families were reunited after a short time, whilst for others it was many years later that their families reunited.

For some women, the process of family reunification never took place, or if it did, the process was traumatic and fragmented (Lashley, 2000; Arnold, 2006; Pratt, 2009). Many of these women are now elderly, they are passing away and taking their stories with them. It was some of this still untold and neglected story that I sought to capture from the 'first generation', those who left their families and homeland for the 'mother country'. The voices of these women in this thesis give space to some of those who are not traditionally heard, and whose stories have only been partly heard.

Denzin (1989) points out that the researcher's choice of topic is often a very personal one. This topic had a very personal appeal as it sought to give meaning to my own personal and family history, as a woman of African Caribbean descent born in England. It would not be possible for me to write an account of this study from a distance, as if I had no autobiographical presence, therefore in situating myself, ethically I have reflected on my particular situation and locate myself as:

> 'self-knowing and responsible, rather than detached observer' (Fook, 2000, in Powell, 2002, p.28).

In doing so, I acknowledge that different types of writing style are appropriate in the context of this research. Formal academic third person writing is conventionally necessary to report on certain kinds of factual knowledge, however its exclusive place within this thesis is challenged as, '*facts never speak for themselves'* (Webb, 1992, p. 749). In addition, subjective writing about lived experience is at one level, a decolonial act and a response to historic trauma and oppression (Gordon and Zukowskil, 2023).

Nelson and Castelló (2012, p.38) assert that different '*discursive resources'* are suitable for different relationships to '*one's data, arguments and audience'*. These different writings involve a variety of voices that all shape such literatures, especially interdisciplinary writing. They include an authoritative scholarly voice, an authentic, reflexive voice that it situated within and related to the author's identity. Cultural voices are also drawn upon as these emphasise the customs, languages, spirituality, and traditions that are passed down from one generation to another and act as protective factors against colonial practices (Gordon and Zukowskil, 2023).

Therefore, the thesis begins with a fictionalised narrative of my mother's story. The fictionalised biography is of my mother's migration, child and family separation. It is used to illustrate particular aspects that pertain to the project, the commonality of child shifting in the Caribbean, the lack of agency of children, the anguish of child-parent separation and the challenges of family reunification.

My own mother was a first-generation African Caribbean woman, a mother, who came to the UK in 1957, bringing some of her children with her and leaving others behind. It was many years later that she returned to her birthplace of Jamaica to be reunited with the children and family she had left behind. My mother spoke very little about that time in her life and it was something very difficult for her to talk about it. From my personal experience, I knew of other African Caribbean women who had had similar migration journeys.

Yet, the subject of African Caribbean women's experiences of family separation has been missing from the stories, formal or otherwise that have been told and passed on about their migration experiences. It is not discussed within many families. There is a sense that it is in the past and best forgotten and so it has remained relatively

unspoken and untold. Within my family, there were only a few fragments of information and glimpses into these experiences and the emotions generated, short answers to questions bluntly communicated and then shut down. It was never possible to explore these further or to ask more questions.

I decided to write a fictionalised version of my mother's story during the closing stages of my thesis, after the data had been collected. Although I had not intended to feature her life story in such a significant way within the work, it felt right that I give space to her story, as it seemed to be to be unusual in certain respects.

Having written her story very quickly it was important to consider where to place it within the thesis. The place I chose would have significance, whether at the beginning, to frame the whole thesis, or at the end, as a coming together of all that had gone before. Both positions had merit, but in the end, it was placed at the beginning to provide a contextual metaphor for the stories and themes within this thesis.

My mother's story was the cause of some deep reflection. I worried about what my family would think and feel about my inclusion of her story. I discussed these matters with my closest family. It generated a long and intense but mostly very productive discussion in which we explored our thoughts and feelings. My family recognised the ethical need to treat my mother's story with respect, to honour the dignity of her personal story. Therefore, I fictionalised the story to interlink with wider themes explored in the thesis.

Some scholars identify this kind of '*imaginative as-if story,'* as fictionalisation, it is a form of enquiry that provides researchers '*with a way to understand their experiences, to become an active part of their own story and the stories of others'* (Eliastam, 2019, p.19).

Writing someone else's story is not just emotional but raises ethical issues. It raises questions about ownership, truth, interpretation and perspective. I tried to provide a truthful, accurate narrative, but it is ultimately not truth but a fictionalised account based on real events. It is also presented as a coherent story, as though her life experiences took place in a stable, logical manner that is far from the reality (Strawson,

2004, cited in de Fina and Tseng, 2017). It is recognised that this is one version of her story. It is incomplete and appropriated. The story is told below.

1.1 Betsy's story

Once upon a time, there was a young woman named Betsy. She was born in Jamaica during the 1930s. She lived with her mother but spent most of her early life with her Grandmother. It was a happy childhood, though there was much to-ing and fro-ing from her mother's house to her mammy, as she called her Grandmother. There was just her and her Mammy. Her grandfather had gone to fight in the war and never came back.

Then one day, when she was 9 or 10, her mother took her to live with her Godmother. This lady had no children of her own and Betsy's mother had five other mouths to feed and no decent man to help her. It was a common thing for such women, who had money but no offspring, you know, to harvest the children of other women. "Give me one of yours nu?" they would demand, "you have plenty, plenty…3…4…and…is that one more I see growing in your belly?" "Don't be mean! Look what I have! Look, what you have!"

And so, Betsy went to Miss Lillys to live. Miss Lilly never worked, not like her mother, but you know Miss Lilly was a cold, hard woman, little love to give poor Betsy. She was warm and fed but she shed silent tears at night, missing her only brother and her mother, though she often heard "what have you to cry for? You are so lucky to have all this!"

She went to school, learnt Spanish, and dreamt of being a teacher. Only Betsy had a problem. She was a beautiful girl. Coco brown skin, shining dark eyes, with a woman's figure by the time she was 15. So of course, the men came. Old, young little and large they came, they eyed her, slyly at first, then accosted her boldly, putting question to her…"Oh, mi like you, you know," they said.

"Get away, get away", Miss Lilly told them, "she is not for you". She said, "You are too good for these dark men Betsy. Look at your pretty light brown

skin, straight nose and good hair". "I want to be a teacher, Miss Lilly", Betsy said. Miss Lilly just kissed her teeth.
Then, one day an old man came, Mr Knight. Plenty of money he had. Miss Lilly all smiles now. "*Betsy, you must marry this man. You are so lucky! Look what he has! Look what I have done for you!*"

So marry him she did. She was 16 years old, her dreams washed away. A child a year she bore him. This man she did not love, though he was kind. Until one day, a letter from her mother came. "*I'm in England*", it said, "*come to me*", it said. "*England streets are paved with gold. England is our Mother country. Come, come nuh?*". What about my children? Betsy thought. How can I leave them?

"*Leave them*", said the letter. "*Leave them with Miss Lilly. It's only for a little while. You will soon come back*".

"*Bye then*", said Miss Lilly holding onto the eldest, a boy. "*No!*" cried Betsy. "*Alright,* said, Miss Lilly, "*give me the other boy*" and then snatched the eldest girl too, quick time. Betsy looked again, only the oldest boy, Finlay and the baby girl, Deedee left to hold onto.

Leaving was hard, so hard. All by herself with just the two little ones. Nobody knew about the one she carried in her belly, just as well. The ship set sail for England. England! So far away! How would she ever get back? When would she see the children again? They didn't even come to see her off, Miss Lilly saying "*there's no point upsetting them*". As she sailed away, Betsy watched the land grow more distant till there was nothing to see but the vast ocean, the salt spray splashing her face and hiding her tears.

Having the children to keep her busy helped but the voyage was a blur. Betsy kept to herself, avoiding the faces of the other women, where she could see the same grief she wore on her own face. She set her face. It was a face she was to wear throughout her life, though she would laugh and enjoy a joke, Betsy's features acquired an air of sorrow, her gaze and mouth downturned, even when she smiled.

On arrival in England she was met by her mother and step-father. Her mother took one look at the children and scolded her, "*you should have left them...it wasn't going to be for long. How you going to manage them? You come to work not look after children!*" Betsy looked at her mother, this near stranger to her and wondered "*could she not see the pain in my eyes?*"

"*Leave her alone.* Her stepfather said, eyeing her. *"Such a pretty girl, she'll find a man to look after her."* And she did. The men came quickly as men do when they see a young pretty girl by herself, vulnerable, open to exploitation. Lots of them were married ones, who wanted something on the side. Then there were the single ones who wanted her but not the children.

Her fifth child was born in England on Christmas Day 1957. Betsy worked in a laundry until she was too big to walk. They didn't keep her on afterwards but she found more work when her daughter was 6 weeks old. Factory work - her dreams of teaching gone forever, for who could train for such a profession with so many children!

Lord, England was hard, hard! The racism from the white people, No Blacks, No Dogs, No Irish. That's what the signs said, everywhere Betsy go. No Gold on the streets, just dog mess. Doors slamming in her face, none of them want to look after her kids. They look her up and down when she walk into church or go into the shop like she going to steal from them, you know. She get serve last and they touch up the food with their hands, then call her a dirty black bugger.

Betsy missed the sun on her face every day, and the soul food that tasted of sunshine. Her skin and hair became dry and dull like the English weather. She couldn't keep warm and the paraffin heaters they used in the house poisoned the air. She couldn't dry the baby nappies properly. Betsy missed the children so much, so badly you know. Lord she missed Jamaica! The sunshine! Her grandmother who had loved her, her sister, she had left them behind too.

At first Betsy wrote the children every week, "*My dear children, I hope these few words find you in the best of health*" ...she long to see them. She send a little money when she can for them but Miss Lilly don't bother much to even

let her know how they going on. One letter every few months, no photographs, though she ask her to take some snaps of them and send to her, she never does. Betsy's brother came to England, but she didn't know him and he never live with her. He live in London with his expensive wife and they buy a house with garden, while Betsy still living with her mother.

Then Betsy meet a man. A nice, quiet man, Jayston. They took to each other straight away, both quiet like. He had a beautiful deep speaking voice like on the radio. Betsy fell for him and then quick time, she fell pregnant again. What a trial! But Jayston came every day and played with the children and so she went to stay with him and things work out for a while you know. At the weekend, they take the children to the field and play rounders and cricket.

Back home Jayston was a carpenter but here he can't get such good work, they won't take him on. "Them's white man's jobs," they said. "You lot cum 'here to drive buses and trains, clean factories and toilets." Jayston was a fine cook too, could have been a chef. "Not for you mate," they said, smiling in his face. He and his friend would cook for people at the Blues dances and later they got a little club in the back corner of town and Jayston would cook, play cards and drink 'till all hours.

On Sundays, the girls go to church and then go do chores for their grandmother. They all got Godparents from the church, some even got white ones. After church, the children would go and visit them, eat fairy cakes and drink pop, while the white people smiled at them.

She and Jayston renting a place but it's too much money, you know, full of roaches and damp. They sharing a bathroom and kitchen with too much other people, sometimes fight breaking out over the stove and the hot water. Betsy have to wash the clothes in the bath or walk to the laundry with the children on her back. In the winter, it is so cold in the room, one of the baby catch pneumonia and nearly die. Then the drinking and the violence start up and she have to run back to her mother's house.

"Told you so," said her mother. "Never mind, I never liked him anyway. You can stay here with us" said the stepfather, eyeing her.

She went back to Jayston after he promised he wouldn't beat her again. He promised he would help with the kids and help her to bring her children over. Betsy wrote and told them she was trying to get the money to send for them, like other women were slowly doing. Miss Lilley never reply to that. Then more children start to come, faster and faster, seem like no sooner she drop one than she pregnant again. Oh Lord! The more children Betsy have, the worse Jayston get. The nice kind man turn into a monster that like to beat her and frighten the children. Every time she has another child, they sack her from her job and she have to start again somewhere else. They treat her like dirt but Betsy hold her head up. "*I am married you know*", she tells them. "*my children have a father*", she says, when they call them her bastards.

She took the children back to her mother again, only this time her mother said, "*Give me one of your pickney, you have so many, I have none.*" Her mother snatched the baby boy from Betsy's arms. "*Peter?*" She scorned, "*What kinda name is that? I'll name you Clive, after you father,*" she said handing him over to her husband.

Betsy took the rest of the children and ran. She ran to London to her brother and his wife. Sorry they said, "*you can't bring your bastards here, there's no room. You can sleep on the floor for a day or two, then you must go back to your man.*" A woman friend from back home she knew offered her a room in her house with her white husband. It was a nice place and she was safe, for a while, 'till the husband started watching her and her friend stopped smiling at her, eyeing up her children instead.

No money, no help. So back she went. The promises followed by the beatings from Jayston. Her mother and stepfather eyeing up her children. Every week they went to church and prayed to God *like good Christians, nodding and smiling with the white people who said, "Ooh, look at the pretty coloured girls. All neat and tidy in their white socks and dresses, hair plaited and combed, skin shining with Vaseline.*" While they looked her up and down and whispered, where's her man?

Then one day a phone call from Jamaica! Miss Lilly said, "The children wish to speak to you".

"Good day, Mother," said the boy.
"Good day Mother," said the girl.
"We are very well and learn our lessons and go to church. We love our Miss Lilley and we never want to leave her," they said.

"Oh," Betsy said. Her dreams of being reunited with them shattered, while the kids talking excitedly about their brother and sister from 'bak a yard'. You know, it would be years before she saw them again.

Then one time, Jayston went too far, and police came and locked him up. They would have let the white man off with a caution, like the Irish family who lived next door, but they send Jayston to prison.

Still, for the first time in years, Betsy felt free. They took her to the Council and they gave her a house. Just for her and the kids, though it was too small for all of them and the kids still had to share beds. Finlay left to join the army, followed quickly by Deedee, the first two she had brought with her gone into the world never to return. The others all moved up into the space like bird chicks, mouths still wide open. The oldest one she had left now she called Delicate, after she survived the pneumonia, and she had the sickle cell too. The next one down was her right arm, Leena. Anything Betsy need her to do, Leena would do it. After she came Audrey, then Kattie, then Celie, then her only boy left, Gladstone and then the baby Junie. So many of them!

So, life went on you know. Betsy got a job in a factory, two bus each way just to get there and back, she leave 6oclock a morning. Miss Lilly finally send a photograph of the children back home. So grown up now. Betsy would stare at them and wonder what they thought of her, they seem to stare back accusingly. She put the photographs in the album next to the pictures of the kids in their school uniforms, past and present, side by side and closed the book.

One day, there was a strike at the factory where Betsy worked but she couldn't afford to strike you know. Not with so much kids to feed. They called her black scab and threaten her and other black girls there so Betsy had to leave. She found another job in a biscuit factory, they would collect the girls from town in a coach at 6.30 a morning and take them to the factory. It was a long way every day, but it was work. The kids would get themselves up and ready for school. Thank the Lord, she had the free school dinner for them though the house still had the 'roaches and the outside toilet.

They all had their chores, one do the hovering, one sweep the stairs, one clean the bathroom and one do the kitchen. Then when Betsy come from work, everyone in the kitchen peeling potato and washing dishes. Once a week on Friday night, they have fish and chips and Betsy bring the food home on the bus. The kids all come flying down the road to them up the seven bags from her. Life was hard but it was good too!

Sometimes Betsy had to beat them to get them to listen to her. She made them hide the marks from the teacher in case it bring trouble to her door. She mostly tried to use her look on them, just a look, to say, "*mi na tell yu again. You must listen when mi speak to you.*" Then, clap them if they don't heed you!

Time passed. She made a few friends on the street. There was a few other black women on their own with children. They looked down on her and Betsy was a proud woman. She still called herself Mrs Knight from when she married back home, even though she had no husband and had divorced the man years before. Not many were without husbands even on the council estate and so they always looked hard at Betsy, because she was still beautiful, and their husbands knew it. She didn't do anything to attract them, she didn't need to.

She mostly kept away from them, although with a houseful of females, having a handyman around was welcome, she and the children learn to do much for themselves. And though Jayston was still about the place she never went near him again. Betsy told the kids he was the Boogieman, so they were scared of him and would run away if they ever saw him in the street. "*Never take money from him,*" she said, "*never trust him.*"

Still one man, Gilbert, came close. Betsy never lived with him, but she would go and stay over at his place at the weekend and he would come round in the week. Gilbert wasn't a violent man, but he was a miserable one. He had money, a good job and a nice house but still was quarrelsome and stingy with his money. If Betsy needed to borrow a little from him, he never let her forget it. "*Neither borrower, or lender be*," he quoted at her. Such a short-arse little man!

They argued constantly because Betsy would not be told what to do by him. She would not give up her independence to him. And her girl-children, unlike his meek-and-mild daughters were just as loud and opinionated as she was. That didn't stop him from walking in on them in the bathroom when they were bathing and putting question to them.

"*Stay away from him*," Betsy said to the girls when they complained about him. She tried to keep them from going alone to his house, but sometimes it couldn't be avoided. She didn't stop seeing him. She needed the little support he gave her to help her manage. And he knew it.

Still, the children got paper rounds and Saturday jobs to help out. Delicate got a little job for herself in town when she finish school. Then Deedee have her first child, then the second. One girl, one boy. They move away for years but Betsy never forgot their birthdays and fussed over them whenever Deedee brought them to visit. She was determined to remain in their memories as their Grandma. Finlay had his family too. When she could, she would make the trip to see them and spend a day or two. He was doing well, earning good money. But he beat his girlfriend too.

It was 1980 or so when Betsy returned to Jamaica for the first time. Over twenty years since she had left her island home. Her mother and stepfather had retired and gone back the year before and so Betsy finally journeyed back to see the family she had left behind so long ago. Deedee came with her. Lord, the smells!! The roasting heat! The mosquitos! They bite her up from morning 'till night! The taste of breadfruit, mango and sweetsop! She could never have enough of it!

And the children. Or adults, for they were now full grown and the girl, Janet, had four children of her own. She was fine and dark looking like Delicate, though smaller in size. Clancy, the first son, was the spit of Finlay. A Rastaman! He spoke little, just look at Betsy like he could smell shit. Miss Lilly still alive, though ailing some now and they fussed over her like she was their real mamma. Fetched her tea and her stick and her glasses so she could look Betsy up and down. "*See what I have, see what I took*," her smile told Betsy. They took a walk out, just she and the first two, "*Is everything alright with you?*" Betsy asked them. "*Do you need anything?*" "*No Ma'am. Selassie give we everything we need.*" Clancy said.

"*If you have a little dollars for me Ma'am, I will be grateful,*" said Janet. "*Food here is so expensive and I'm not working right now.*"

Betsy pushed the money into her outstretched hands. It was the least she could do. "*I wanted to come back for you before now, I tried but...I didn't know it was going to take so long to come back.*" She struggled for the right words but none came.

They stood as strangers, trapped together only by bonds of blood. Separated by too much time and space. It was the most painful experience of Betsy's life. They turned back together walking slowly back to the house to re-join their families. She never saw Clancy again. Although Janet came to England years later, there was another awkward reunion with Betsy and the children. Curiosities satisfied, no-one wanted to repeat the experience and there was a sense of relief when Janet faded away back to Jamaica.

When her stepfather died. Betsy didn't go to the funeral but some of the children went to pay their respects. Her mother sent her a letter cussing her. She didn't let it mind her. Betsy was living her own life. She had a few friends, she had her job and she had her children. Gilbert had gone too, no hardship there either. She never did marry him. More and more of the children left the nest and would come back and spend a little time, drop off a little money for her or something.

Leena went to University, the first one in the family. Lord, that was a proud day! Audrey get a degree too, but she started with the children too young and struggled in poverty. Cassandra and Junie followed her. Delicate went too. London called them all but Kattie and Gladstone stayed nearby. Clive, who had been left out of the fold for so long, he too went and studied. He would drop by to see her, and their broken bond slowly healed. Her children had flourished.

1.2 On Race

This opening chapter presents the rationale for the thesis and provides a brief introduction to the themes explored within the study. The interdisciplinary nature of the topic is outlined, highlighted by the wide range of literature, alongside an overview of the many contexts of studies that relate to African Caribbean female migration.

In introducing this topic, the thesis avoids use of the term race. It is problematised on the basis of flawed and contested descriptions of the concept. It has been used historically to attempt to biologically and even genetically differentiate human populations based on skin colour and other physical characteristics and cultural differences (Blank et al. 2004). Rex (2009) points out that it is not biology or genetics that determines the disparities in rights and equality of opportunity, it is the political and economic environment that creates and maintains those disparities. So, race is a constructed category, on which claims to inferiority and superiority are made. It has a negative and exclusionary dimension as this thesis will demonstrate. Bhopal (2018) adds to this point, that Black and ethnic minorities are positioned as outsiders in western societies as racially different and are consequently subject to exclusionary practices that privilege whiteness. It is not just whiteness that is favoured, it is the idea of Britishness as an exclusive white racial identity.

Race was used in post-war England to explain the presumed and perceived human differences between the newly arrived Caribbean and Asian populations and the majority population (Bivins, 2017). Various legislative attempts were introduced to uphold the idea of an exclusively white British identity that was different and of course superior to the non-white, i.e., Black Commonwealth British, and this particularly applied to Caribbeans, Indians and Pakistanis. These groups were the subject of immigration controls that restricted their right to live and work in England (Cohen, 1994).

For some groups though, like African Americans, race is central to their sense of identity. The term Black is capitalised and used in the thesis to refer not just to colour, but to a history and a collective as well as a personal identity. In its time it has been used politically to signify all non-white people (Bhopal, 2003). In America, Black has become synonymous with race and with African people. Decades of policy and research into race has followed centuries of oppression, segregation and unequal treatment for the Black people of America.

Black Americans, and by extension African Caribbeans/ Black Britons, share a strong sense of connection and identity, due to their common ethnic and cultural heritage (Cox and Tamir, 2022). This has partly manifested in collective resistance to their personal racialised experiences, where their ethnicity places them in a minoritised position. The Black Power and the American Civil Rights movement during the 1960s and 1970s are noted as major influences, as men and women from across the African diaspora have fought discrimination and inequality. This radical political and economic empowerment movement has striven to bring about change in the social and economic conditions under which many Black people live.

Eriksen (2002) highlights that in contrast to race, ethnicity often infers a positive group identification, and a basis for shared social identity. Ethnicity refers to distinct groups who share a similar heritage, it encompasses language, culture and nationality, that together shape relationships, common values and behaviour (Connolly et al, 2006). Yet ethnicity is not a clear-cut concept either, it can be vague and ambiguous in interpretation (Bhopal, 2003). Research and policy have seen the term BAME (Black, Asian & Minority Ethnic) become popular.

The thesis therefore recognises there are debates and issues with the use of this and other terminology in this thesis and that this has impact on the way such concepts are understood and analysed. The concluding point here is that race, ethnicity and by extension culture are emmeshed and intersected concepts, often based on stereotypes that complicate our understanding of the particular dynamics and outcomes for different groups and communities.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the study.

The study seeks to capture the stories and experiences of older African Caribbean women and to explore their narratives of family separation and reunion following migration to the UK. The aim is to record and analyse the narratives of African Caribbean women to understand their experiences and capture deeper aspects and contexts of family relationships following migration.

This topic is interested in exploring the lived experience of African Caribbean first generation women who migrated to the UK. Using a broad interdisciplinary framework, the project aims to record the narratives of a small group of African Caribbean women in the East Midlands and to enquire into their experiences of 1950s and 1960s migration to gain deeper insight into the impact of migration on ethnic minority families. The thesis aims to enhance insights into migrant family history to more fully trace the impact of separation and issues of reunification for African Caribbean families. One of the main objectives is to understand more fully how migration affected the family relationships of African Caribbean people. As the first generation of African Caribbean migrants age, return to the Caribbean and pass away, there was a strong need to record their migration experiences and stories as well as to advance existing knowledge and research on the African Caribbean diaspora.

Research Questions:

a) *How did African Caribbean women manage family separation and reunion?*

b) *What are the historical and contemporary contexts of African Caribbean female migration?*

The research focus is on developing a greater understanding of the major themes relevant to Back female migration, these include the impact on family relationships, the role of work and mothering and kinship care.

1.4 Background and overview of research problem

According to Census data, the immigrant population in England and Wales has risen from 3.6 million in 1991, to 4.6 million in 2001 and to 7.5 million in 2011, with immigrants accounting for 13% of the total population in the latest Census (Office for

National Statistics, 2019). Of those who were not born in the UK, Indians and Pakistanis form the largest ethnic groups, after which are Africans, Caribbeans and Bangladeshis – most are concentrated in the large cities and towns across the UK (Asari et al. 2008). England is now characterised by many ethnic and migrant populations and the proportion of those of retirement age or older is increasing.

Much of the mainstream literature on migration, globalisation and mobility has marginalised and excluded Black and migrant women's experiences. Black feminist scholars have highlighted the structural, material experiences that have been invisible to both mainstream feminist researchers and migration scholars (Hill Collins, Lutz, 2008). Indeed, Bressey (2002) highlights the forgotten histories and lives of Black women and mothers within the national consciousness of England.

Consequently, until recently there has been little dedicated research into the migratory experiences of the pioneering, first generation African Caribbean women in England. This neglect extends to their mass migration to England over sixty years ago. Some of the exceptions to this lack of attention include work by Foner (1979); Chamberlin (1995, 2010); Arnold (1997, 2006); Reynolds (2005); Phoenix, 2010 and Flynn, 2011). Much of the scholarship of African Caribbean experience has been confined to historical descriptions of settlement and acculturation in the UK (Patterson, 1963; Panayi, 1999; Thomas-Hope, 1988; McIvor, 2013, McDowell, 2013). Alongside other non-native populations, Caribbean women have grown old in England and now face the end of the life course in their adopted country.

Literature on Black family life has sought to provide theoretical understanding and context for analysing Black families (Staples, 1971, 1987; Nobels, 1978). Documenting African Caribbean experiences of racism and discrimination in housing, employment and education have subsumed women's individual migratory experiences. It is Caribbean men of the Windrush era who are mostly celebrated and remembered (Bressey, 2002). The voices and stories of the Windrush women have become interwoven within the generalised history of Black settlement in England and elsewhere, the specific transnational experiences for this now aged group of women are being lost.

The tendency to focus on the recent history of African Caribbeans in Britain is misleading and ignores the complexity of imperialism's long past in shaping relations with its subjects (Black, 2019). This legacy of Empire resulted in migration to the Mother Country, during which Britain's non-white citizens were rearticulated as immigrants (Patel, 2021).

History shapes not just the past, but helps makes sense of the present (Reddock, 1985). It may be explored through multiple and interconnected perspectives, personal, economic cultural and social. In this thesis, these aspects together help to provide a more integrated portrayal of the lives of African Caribbean women and mothers in England, that include their past and more recent history of mothering, in the context of slavery, colonialism and migration (Mirza, 1997; Crenshaw, 1991; Smith, 1998; Berg, 2002; James, 2012; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016).

The thesis is influenced by the concept of African or Black Diaspora, and it is used to underpin discussion of the impact of the historic displacement of people from Africa and their subsequent resettlement within the Americas and Europe (Gilroy, 1993; Cohen, 2008). The long colonial relationship between Africans and Europeans is embedded in past social and cultural relations and in the historic economic and institutional structures and practices. It also situates the continuing legacy of gendered and patriarchal attitudes towards women of the African diaspora (Beckles, 1998; Wardle and Obermuller, 2019).

Migration and diaspora are therefore interconnected concepts (Goulbourne, 2002). Centuries of colonialism, imperialism and industrial capitalism have laid the foundations for the 'age of migration' in which millions of poor people move from the global South to reside in the cities of the rich North (Miller and Castles, 2009).

The thesis discusses different forms of migration including labour migration, which is a distinct form of migration that has seen unprecedented growth in modern neoliberalist countries. It is underpinned legally and policy by governments, through social and economic policies that recruit migrant workers from across the world, yet these same policies but impose restrictions on migrant citizenship, rights and residency. It is a socio-economic '*system of apartheid'* (Sharma, 2002, p.18). Migration

has consequently become one of the biggest social and political issues within Western countries (Andall, 2003). A very wide range of literature exists dealing with different aspects, including labour migration (Massey, 2003; de Hass, 2008); diaspora (Cohen, 1995, 2002); citizenship and nationality (Hartnell, 2006), welfare and policy (Williams, 2001); theories and definitions of migration (Erdal, 2017); Messer et al. 1993) assimilation and integration (Berry, 1983; Rudmin, 2003).

Migration poses as well as responds to questions of cultural identity and belonging, leading to questions such as: *'Who are these migrants?' 'Where have they come from?' 'Why have they come here?'* and *'Do/how do they belong'*? The answers to these questions are important for two reasons, firstly, they respond to the implicit and specific concerns of host nations and communities into which Caribbean women migrants entered (Patterson, 1963). Secondly, they underpin aspects of inquiry that this project has sought to address, namely:

a) What have been the major discourses on Black female migration?
b) What new forms of thinking and practice can be produced which challenge the traditional understanding of Black female migration?

The story of the Windrush Generation has been frequently told and is often presumed to be the starting point for the Black presence in England (Williams, 2017). The story of their arrival onto the Tilbury docks in 1948 is forever preserved in archival images and photographs as a symbol of post-war migration and settlement. Most of these collections display groups of Caribbean men, wearing hats and resplendent in their best suits, white shirts, and ties.

The well-known arrival of over four hundred people on the ship from the colonial British islands of the Caribbean on 22nd June 1948 failed to mark the fact that the men and women from the then West Indies, were not the first major group of African Caribbeans to move to live in England.

There were African women and children in England well before the European wars or the Windrush generation. Bressey (2002) provides such an example in her account of

the experiences of three ‘*woolly black heads*’, English born Black children, and their widowed mother, Elizabeth, rescued by Barnardo in the 1870s and 1880s.

The almost unknown story of Amelia King reveals the colour-bar racism towards Black people in England. She was born in 1917 in London and was a third-generation British-born, African Caribbean woman. Her father and brother had both served in the British Army but in 1943, when she applied to join the Women’s Land Army, Amelia was turned away, due to the colour of her skin (Douglas, 2020). It is another example of the long history of racist attitudes to Black settlement in England that has been hidden within English history (Olusoga, 2018).

Notwithstanding the Black presence that had existed in Britain over many centuries, thousands of colonial men and women had served in the wars in Europe. Torrington (2018) notes that 4000 Caribbean men and women had settled in England after the Second World War. Like the First World War, it was a war they had been called upon to fight and die in as members of the colonial armies, enduring trauma, racial abuse and segregation. Still, like other colonial ethnic groups, thousands of African Caribbeans arrived in England. According to Peach (1991), between 1948 and 1968, around five hundred thousand unskilled and skilled men and women came to England in response to active recruitment from the mother country. Following the introduction of the British Nationality Act in 1948, all were British subjects with unrestricted rights to work and live in the UK (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Although Panayi (1999) disputes that most Caribbean migration was formally driven, many scholars reiterate that recruitment was government sponsored, fuelled by the need for cheap labour shortages in manufacturing, transport and public health services (Reynolds (2001).

There is an argument that England drew on its African Caribbean citizens because of the demand for labour, however this only partial explains their migration. For instance, Louden (1975) maintains the view that Caribbean migration is not a new phenomenon and there has been extensive Caribbean migration to both America and Canada (Ho, 1993; Boyce Davies, 2007, Mullings, 2017). Indeed, Lowenthal (1975, p.5) drew attention to the ‘*customary emigration’* of Caribbean people, pulled by the attractions of economic and personal betterment. The thesis therefore explores this contention

and examines the evidence in support of the notion that this was another factor which influenced the migration from the Caribbean.

An additional assumption that the thesis explores is shown by the picture above. It concerns the assertion that the men came first, followed by women and children (Phillips and Phillips, 1998). Safa (1995) points out that African Caribbean women's past economic and social roles has given rise to an independence of character, the result of this is that African Caribbean women have often sought migration in their own right and not necessarily as a dependent of their male kin (Thomas-Hope, 1992; Peach, 1968).

As this thesis proposes, the African Caribbean women have an long history of having responsibility for the economic life of the family as well as their role as mothers and wives (Stuart, 1996). Class, colour and socioeconomic realities have meant Caribbean women have been accustomed to working for economic survival and have increasingly found financial independence for themselves and their families outside their households (Ellis, 1986; Reynolds, 2005; Yelvington et al., 2011).

1.5 Gaps in the research. Impact and implications for policy and practice

Migration increasingly raises issues of transnational parenting and family practices (Parrenas, 2005; Phizacklea, 2003; Kofman, 2004). There has been a lack of acknowledgement of the impact of family separation for AC women Transnational families are often headed by women and mothers, therefore migration is a gendered event. It is migrant women, many of whom are mothers, who both create and maintain much of the socio-cultural, economic and familial connections between their homeland and the host setting (Phizacklea, 2003).

The *'feminisation of migration'* (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1994, cited in Cooke-Reynolds and Zukewic, 2004, p.24) is an important concept. It is based on the analysis of the experiences of Black and minoritised female migrants, who move from poor, developing countries to rich, developed countries, often without their children and families. The phenomenon of gendered migration has also entailed analysis on the changing ideologies of parenting and mothering (Dağdelen, 2018; Hofmann, 2014).

As gender and migration have become central themes of analysis, increasingly, it is recognised that migration involves women and mothers as active agents and decision-makers (Donato and Gabaccio, 2015). The transformation of sex, identity and kinship roles and family relationships are all part of a wider, commodification of care work that female migrants face while, *'living in contested transnational spaces'* (Chikwira, 2021, p.2; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Aviva, 1997; Silvey, 2004; Theobald and Luppi, 2018). The thesis recognises and highlights that these issues have existed for Black and migrant women such as African Caribbean women for decades. Their stories '*function as evidence*' (Pratt, 2009, p.4). Until recently, the principal role played by women in migration has been understudied (Lutz, 2008; Haagsman and Mazzucato, 2014). Contemporary research has examined the impact of transnational family separation, in particular the children of the migrants (Suárez-Orozco, et al. 2002; Jones, 2007; Smith, Lalonde and Johnson, 2004; Pottinger, 2005; Hernandez, 2013).

Research and analysis on transnational family forms and practices is still a developing field with differing methodological, theoretical and policy-orientations. Yet, the body of this literature on transnational family experiences has provided multi-layered insights into the lives and practices of migrants and their families in the Americas and across Europe (Kofman and Scales, 2001; Reynolds, 2005). More recently, gaps in research have begun to address African female labour migration and their specific transnational experiences (Adem, 2021).

Some studies have captured the accounts of the migrant women themselves and their stories of family loss and reunion (Arnold, 1997, 2006; Reynolds, 2005; Foner, 1979; Chamberlin, 1997, 2010; Baldassar, 2008; Fog Olwig 2010; Phoenix and Seu, 2013; Sharma, 2002; Goulbourne et al. 2009; Reynolds, 2010; Dreby and Adkins, 2010; Parreñas, 2005; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001 and D'Emilio et al. 2007). The narratives of migrant mothers are full of trauma, loss and disappointment (Arnold, 2006; Pratt, 2009). These powerful stories also Pratt (2009) suggests there is also the potential for exploring the personal narratives as 'evidence' of the wider structural conditions under which migrant women and mothers are exploited. Making links between personal experience and structural realities is something that this thesis actively seeks to investigate.

This study therefore adds to the literature on migrant family life, family resilience and adaptation. Such studies highlight the multiple factors involved in family separation and loss, adaptation and coping (Boss, 2016). These impacts have significance for both adult migrants and migrant children (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995). The project aims to review and evaluate the key themes from the literature on migrant cultural experiences and to consider the specific contexts for African Caribbean women. By recording of social and cultural history projects of Black people in England, the project addresses several themes, from the inclusion of marginalised voices to the counter-narratives and resistance to dominant heritage narratives (Flinn, et al.2009).

There has been little research into older migrants (Norman, 1985; Bryon and Condon, 1996; Becker, 2003; Warnes and Williams, 2006). There has been even less exploration of the older female migrant's experiences of family separation and reunion (Mullings, 2017). Gardner (2002), Cook (2010), Saltus and Pithara, (2014) have all highlighted a gap in research into older women migrants and as a consequence of the growing number of older women, some of whom are Black and minority ethnic migrants, the study attempts to bridge these gaps in knowledge.

There have been studies of older ethnic groups living in urban places that have generated themes that have relevance for understanding the meanings older migrants who live in these spaces give to home and the implications of this for their identity (Becker, 2003). Gerontologists have focused on the impact of urban environments on the health and wellbeing of older people, some concluding that this has brought about a '*disembededdness of individuals and families from a stable community existence'* (Phillipson, 2007, p. 323). Whilst, this may be true for members of a majority white community, older migrant women living safely within a stable community in England is questionable. Their relationships and history within their local communities cannot be said to have been a stable one, especially where those histories involve traumatic experiences such as racism, social exclusion and family separation.

The thesis must also give attention to the fact that 22nd June each year is Windrush Day, an annual day of celebration that began in 2017. The Windrush 70 commemoration and Windrush Foundation illuminate the seventy years since the

arrival of the Empire Windrush and the beginning of African Caribbean settlement in England (Torrington, 2018). Olusoga (2021) states it is also a day for remembrance, not just of the achievements of African Caribbeans since their settlement, but the story of that settlement becoming part of the national history of England. This pertains to the potential benefits of the study for local heritage, community and mainstream archives.

The key contribution of this introductory chapter lies in its presentation of insights into the recovering and reconceptualisation of Black women's history as background for the study. The findings of this chapter help to establish that there has been an absence of academic work into Black older women's experiences and that the life-course experiences of African Caribbean women provide important themes for research and analysis. In the chapter I present fictionalised and factual work and make the case for multiple ways of making meaning, so, including the fictionalised life story of my mother, as well as the traditional academic and formally written text.

In the chapter I have presented and summarised themes including the globalised world, black and transnational motherhood, African Caribbean diaspora and African matriarchy, as critical aspects of the black female migration experience, alongside contemporary notions of citizenship, identity and belonging, all of which lay the foundation for new methods of inquiry into the experiences of migrant women and mothers.

The findings of the present study aim to provide knowledge that could be utilised by policymakers in planning strategies to help the adaptation and integration of migrants and their families, thereby assisting in improvements in healing interventions of traumatic experiences of family separation and reunification among migrant families (Flinn et al. 2009; Pratt, 2009). It is informative for clinicians and practitioners who treat and provide interventions with migrant women, such as social workers who work with family and personal issues.

Women's organisations and community services supporting migrant women facing these challenges can also benefit from the study. The focus on women's narratives will contribute to the study of women's history, Black women's studies and migrant family studies. These findings are also compatible with the 2030 UN Sustainable

Development Goals for humane treatment of migrants and the promotion of the well-being of women (Birchall, 2016; Fredman et al. 2016).

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

The review has been organised to answer the key question of how the topic of African Caribbean female migration and family relationships has been studied and what the major themes have been. As this research question is broad, it is appropriate to present an overview of a large and diverse body of literature pertaining to a broad topic (Pham et al., 2014). To look at existing evidence and map the themes, clarifying key concepts, identifying key characteristics and identify and analyse knowledge gaps (Munn et al., 2018). The methodology of a scoping review is based on a framework that identifies five key phrases, identifying the research question, identifying relevant studies, study selection, charting the data and collecting and summarising the results (Pham et al., 2014).

It aims to summarise the central findings and evaluate debates that have underpinned the study of African Caribbean women's migration. Gray (2014) explains this entails detailed evaluation of the contexts of migration and an analysis of the main disputes within the field, alongside an integrative discussion of findings from multiple, relevant research studies and a critical exploration of the relationships between these ideas (Randolph, 2009). Literature from various disciplines are drawn together to develop a framework that takes into account a range of contexts. I review some of the ideas that contribute to reflexively answering the main question, identifying the key findings and linking these to wider debates and questions. Finally, I summarise the main themes from this chapter in order to show the diversity of women's migratory experiences.

Cooper (1985) refers to the different types of synthesis and analysis prevalent among literature reviews. Booth et al., (2022) also highlight that within qualitative projects, there are different types of literature synthesis. The chapter therefore also clarifies the purpose of this narrative literature review as identifying and analysing existing key knowledge and research methodologies that have reported scholarship relevant to my topic, and interpreting such literature, with the goal of setting out the key issues and developments, and drawing conclusions from it (Cooper, 1985).

Conn et al. (2003) emphasise the need for a clear procedure for conducting a comprehensive literature review and managing the literature search process. Therefore, I used a literature review protocol that assists in structuring this approach (see Appendix 2) (Maynard and Purvis, 1994). The procedure is used to evaluate some of the main perspectives and issues underpinning the field of migration studies and to synthesise some of the main research studies that have generated important themes relating to African Caribbean women's migratory experiences, particularly those relating to family separation and reunion. I begin with the implementation of the standard protocol template as part of my search strategy (Booth et al., 2016).

2.1 Recapping the Research Aim

The primary aim of this scoping review is to analyse theoretical and empirical literature on African Caribbean female migration, family separation and reunion. The literature review research question is: how has the topic of African Caribbean female migration and family relationships been studied and what have been the major themes?

- Studies of African Caribbean children's experiences
- Studies of African Caribbean men's migration experiences
- Intra-Caribbean migration studies
- Studies of Caribbean student migration
- General studies of international migration
- Studies of child migrants, refugees, regional, global migration

2.2. Types of Studies

- Qualitative studies of adult African Caribbean/ West Indian female migration and family separation and /or reunion
- Qualitative studies of adult African Caribbean/ West Indian older women's migration or return migration
- Qualitative studies of black female migration and family separation and /or reunion
- Qualitative studies of older black female migration
- Qualitative studies of older black African Caribbean or West Indian women's experiences

- Qualitative studies of transnational mothering
- Theoretical papers of qualitative studies of adult African Caribbean/ West Indian female migration and family separation and /or reunion
- Theoretical papers of studies of adult older African Caribbean/ West Indian women's migration
- Theoretical papers of studies of adult older black female migration
- Theoretical papers of adult or older adult African Caribbean or West Indian female migration and family separation and /or reunion
- Theoretical papers of adult or older adult black female migration
- Theoretical papers of transnational migration
- Theoretical papers of African Caribbean/West Indian family organisation

2.2.3 Setting/context

- England
- Caribbean
- USA
- Canada
- Europe (France and The Netherlands).

2.2.4 Search strategy for identification of studies

This covered several key social science databases, whilst also taking a wider perspective. Textbooks and information from key quality websites in the field of interest and grey literature were screened via site searching on Google. My search approach included extracting census data and official statistical records, along with historical documents and archival material as a further means of authentication and triangulation. A snowballing technique was adopted from these sources to locate additional materials.

Reference lists and bibliographies were included in the scoping exercise. I searched the reference lists of the articles I retrieved and identified those that seemed relevant, I then repeated the process until saturation. English language filters were applied. The material was saved as PDFs into a document library and downloaded into the Endnote

reference management system. I used MS Reference manager for managing and keeping track of articles and produced lists of references for each chapter.

Although inclusion and exclusion criteria were devised and the search process was limited by date range and language, from the outset of the project, the search strategy picked up many irrelevant studies. As I became increasing familiarity with the literature, I refined and narrowed the search strategy from the broader terms, adding concepts that are more precise and breaking the topic down, e.g., migrant, Black, West Indian, Afro-Caribbean, African Caribbean, female, women, older women, narratives, life-stories, UK, England. As I explored the databases, there were wide variations in the number of references generated, depending on whether they used very specific subject headings and whether I searched for a phrase. The search terms for each concept were connected with ‘AND’/ ‘OR' operators in the Boolean search language. These terms were used singly and/or in combination, included the truncated terms then combined.

2.2.5 Keywords and sample search strategy

The main literature search was conducted between April and May 2014. I identified relevant studies from several databases. These were accessed from two library Universities: the University of Derby and later the University of Nottingham NUsearch, as I now work at this institution. A comprehensive electronic keyword search, ancestry searching and field searching of key databases was performed, highlighted below (Conn et al., 2003). This covered key social science databases, whilst also taking a wider perspective:

- Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA) 1946-2019
- ScienceDirect
- JSTOR
- EBSCOhost were searched through a combined search:
- Education Resource Information Center (ERIC); published 1970-present, Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL) (1948 to July 2019)
- PsychINFO (Ovid 1948 to July 2019; 2022

- PubMED/NCBI, National Library of Medicine
- International bibliographic of the social sciences, published 1970-present
- Sociological Abstracts published 1970-present
- Web of Science (social science and humanities collections)
- Google Scholar (2014-2022)
- ProQuest Dissertations and Theses (UK) (2000-2022)
- Ethos e-theses online (via British Library) (2000-2022
- British Library collections

2.2.6 Key search terms

V1

1. (“West Indian Women” AND “migration and social mobility”.
2. (“Black family migration”) OR (“black family immigration”) in England /OR (“USA” OR “Canada” OR “Europe”).
3. West Indian Women and family separation in England”) /OR (“USA” OR “US” OR “Canada” OR “Europe”).
4. (“West Indian migrant women OR mothers AND family separa* in England”)/OR US OR USA OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.
5. West Indians OR Caribbeans in England”) OR England OR US OR USA OR North America OR America OR Canada OR Europe.

V2

1. (“African Caribbean female migra* AND family separation in England”) /OR “USA “OR “Canada2 OR “Europe”.
2. (“African Caribbean family separation”) OR “Caribbean women” NOT grandmothers OR children in England /OR US OR USA OR Canada OR Europe.
3. *African Caribbean women AND family separa* AND Caribbean family reuni* in England /OR England OR US OR USA OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.
4. (“Caribbean families left behind”)

5. (“Caribbean Family separa*” OR “Caribbean family reuni*”
6. (“Caribbean mother and child separa* AND migra* in England”) /OR US OR USA OR America OR Canada OR Europe).
7. (“Caribbean mothers” AND “migra” AND “family separa”* in England OR Britain OR US OR USA OR North America OR America OR Canada OR Europe.
8. (“Caribbean mothers” AND “migration AND family reuni”* NOT “grandmothers” NOT “children” in England or Britain OR US OR USA OR North America OR America OR Canada OR Europe.
9. (“Caribbean Migra” OR “Caribbean immigration” in England OR Britain OR US OR USA OR North America OR America OR Canada OR Europe.
10. (“Caribbean female migration” AND “mothering in England” /OR Britain OR USA OR US OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.
11. (“Caribbean family” AND “reuni* in England” /OR Britain OR US OR USA OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.

V3

1. (“Migrant family migration”)
2. (“Migration AND Gender” AND “Caribbean family relationships”) in Britain OR England OR US OR USA OR North America OR America OR Canada OR Europe.
3. (“ethnic minority women” OR “ethnic minority mothers” OR “black mothers” OR “black women*” AND (impact OR effect OR influence) AND (economic OR labour OR employment OR work AND (UK) OR “United Kingdom” OR England OR US OR USA OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.

V4

1. (“Gender AND Family migra* to the United Kingdom OR England”
2. (“Ethnic minority AND women” AND “family reuni*”
3. (“Family separation AND Women AND females AND Migra* in England OR Britain OR US OR USA OR Canada OR North America OR Europe.

V5

1. (“Transnational Families in Britain”) OR US OR USA OR North America OR Canada or Europe.

2. ("Absent AND mothers AND family separa* AND reuni*" in Britain OR England OR US OR USA OR North America OR Canada or Europe.
3. ("Life stories" OR "narratives of Jamaicans" OR "British Caribbeans" in England OR Britain OR US OR USA OR North America OR Canada or Europe.

2.3 Literature search results

Table 1: Literature search results v.1

v 1	**Science Direct (refined by Subject area: Social Sciences; Access type: Open; 1970-2020)**	**JSTOR (refined by Subject - Social Work)**	**PAIS**	**Sociological Abstracts ('*' indicates refined by Subject: Social work)**	**ASSIA ('*' indicates refined by Subject: Social work)**	**International Bibliographic of the Social Sciences *(refined by Subject: Sociology OR Women; Language: English; 1970-present)**	**PubMED /NCBI, National Library of Medicine *(refined by Species: Humans; Language: English; Sex: Female; 1970-2020)**	**PsychINFO *(refined by English Language; Open Access; 1948-2022)**	**ERIC *(refined by Subject: social science research, migration, women, immigrants; 1970-present)**	**CINAHL *(refined by Subject: immigrants; MH: "migration"; Gender: Female; Full Text; Language: English; 1948-2019)**
1	675	19,189 results	325 results	1 result	-	597 results*	-	125 results*	32 results*	70 results*
2	342	16,885 results	266,107	-	-	572 results*	35 results*	240 results*	35 results*	92 results*

			results							
3	14	5,199 results	200 results	-	14 results	66 results*	-	338 results*	56 results*	73 results*
4	195	17	2,535	426*	261*	57 results*	76 results*	202 results*	184 results*	82 results*
5	277 (additionally refined by 'Publication Title - Social and Behavioral Sciences)	93 results	9,128 results	305 results	176 results	97 results*	198 results*	352 results*	64 results*	19 results*

Table 2: Literature search results v.2

v2	**Science Direct**	**JSTOR (refined by Subject - Social Work)**	**PAIS**	**Sociological Extracts**	**ASSIA**	**International Bibliographic of the Social Sciences *(refined by Subject: Sociology OR Women; Langua**	**PubMED/NCBI, National Library of Medicine *(refined by Species: Humans; Language: English; Sex:**	**PsychINFO *(refined by English Language; Open Access; 1948-2022)**	**ERIC *(refined by Subject: social science research, migration, women, immigr**	**CINAHL *(refined by Subject: immigrants; MH: “migration”; Gender: Female; Full**

						ge: English; 1970-present)	Female; 1970-2020)		ants; 1970-present)	Text; Language: English; 1948-2019)
1	11,872 (additionally refined by 'Publication Title - Social and Behavioural Sciences AND World Development)	730 results	-	24 results	14 results	38 results*	1 result*	555 results*	26 results*	21 results*
2	149 results	236 results	64 results	298 results	115 results	37 results*	1 result*	270 results*	43 results*	21 results*
3	95,587 results	5 results	-	542 results	84 results	5 results*	-	283 results*	24 results*	32 results*
4	102 results	65 results	702 results	1,118 results*	27 results*	795 results*	4 results*	332 results*	24 results*	6 results*
5	434 results	108 results	7 results	260 results	43 results	49 results*	1 result*	1421 results*	22 results*	23 results*

6	72 results	1639 results	47 results	1,108 results	154 results	19 results*	1 result*	386 results*	17 results*	26 results*
7	31 results	1 result	-	1,110 results	154 results	49 results*	1 result*	322 results*	28 results*	123 results*
8	3 results	2 results	-	4 results	-	18 results*	-	358 results*	31 results*	35 results*
9	4 results	1,026 results	34 results	8,717 results	1,711 results	209 results* (refined +migration)	43 (refined +free full text)	418 results*	2 results*	14 results*
10	-	-	-	84 results	8 results	8 results*	23 results*	215 results*	4 results*	35 results*
11	38 results	-	-	-	-	25 results*	1 result*	548 results*	1 result*	28 results*

Table 3: Literature search results v.3

v3	**Science Direct**	**JSTOR ('*' indicates filtered by 'Social Work')**	**PAIS**	**Sociological Extracts**	**ASSIA**	**International Bibliographic of the Social Sciences *(refined by Subject: Sociology OR Women;**	**PubMED/ NCBI, National Library of Medicine *(refined by Species: Humans; Language: English; Sex:**	**PsychINFO *(refined by English Language; Open Access; 1948-2022)**	**ERIC *(refined by Subject: social science research, migration, women,**	**CINAHL *(refined by Subject: immigrants; MH: “migration”; Gender: Female**

						Language: English; 1970-present)	**Female; 1970-2020)**		**immigrants; 1970-present)**	**; Full Text; Language: English; 1948-2019)**
1	1,192 results	425 results*	4,545 results	25,582 results	4,671 results	1313 results* (refined +migration +families & family life)	427 results* (refined +free full text)	692 results*	2 results*	496 results*
2	1,906 results	74 results	-	4,184 results	753 results	46 results*	1 result*	716 results*	128 results*	162 results*
3	1,066 results	-	-	17,607 results	4,780 results	105 results* (refined +families & family life)	14 results*	301 results*	62 results*	80 results*

Table 4: Literature search results v.4

v 4	Science Direct	JSTOR ('*' indicates filtered by 'Social	PAIS	Sociological Extracts	ASSIA	International Bibliographic of the Social Sciences *(refined by	PubMED/ NCBI, National Library of Medicine *(refined by Species: Humans; Language	PsychINFO *(refined by English Language; Open Access	ERIC *(refined by Subject: social science research, migration,	CINAHL *(refined by Subject: immigrants; MH: “migrati

		Work')				Subject: Sociology OR Women; Language: English; 1970-present)	: English; Sex: Female; 1970-2020)	; 1948-2022)	women, immigrants; 1970-present)	on"; Gender: Female; Full Text; Language: English; 1948-2019)
1	8,422 results	184 results*	64,411 results	918 results	1,133 results	36 results* (refined +england +migration +families & family life)	46 results*	1129 results*	1 result*	3 results*
2	7 results	563 results	38 results	362 results	273 results	51 results*	-	426 results*	25 results*	27 results*
3	10,563 results	110 results*	31 results	831 results*	943 results*	13 results*	17 results* (refined +free full text)	344 results*	38 results*	47 results*

Table 5: Literature search results v.5

v5	Science Direct	JSTOR ('*' indicates filtere	PAIS	Sociological Extracts	ASSIA	International Bibliographic of the Social	PubMED/ NCBI, National Library of Medicine	PsychINFO *(refined by English Langua	ERIC *(refined by Subject: social science	CINAHL *(refined by Subject:

		d by 'Social Work')				Sciences *(refined by Subject: Sociology OR Women; Language: English; 1970-present)	*(refined by Species: Humans; Language: English; Sex: Female; 1970-2020)	ge; Open Access; 1948-2022)	research, migration, women, immigrants; 1970-present)	immigrants; MH: “migration”; Gender: Female; Full Text; Language: English; 1948-2019)
1	79,585 results	55 results*	1,159 results	90 results	459 results	75 results*	1 result*	519 results*	39 results*	94 results*
2	-	112 results	12 results	17 results	262 results	20 results*	-	467 results*	31 results*	30 results*
3	38,044 results	40 results	-	165 results*	894 results*	18 results* (refined +migration +families & family life)	1 result*	655 results*	90 results*	17 results*

2.4 Literature search narrative

Identifying literature that has answered the research question is problematic, as there is no central theory of African Caribbean female migration. The key themes of female migration are interdisciplinary and crosscutting and have been analysed at different levels, micro, meso and macro. There are also different models of female migration. These fall into two main categories, a stereotyped dependency model that views women migrating as passive dependent wives and partners of a primary male migrant, and the more feminist-inspired model of an independent female migrant, often acting as head of the household (Rowbotham, cited in Sharpe, 2001):

> 'female migration stemmed from the increased viability of independent livelihoods for women and women's ability to develop strategic responses to social change' (Mager, cited in Sharpe, 2001, p.8).

Haagsman and Mazzucato (2014) review five main factors that are noted to impact on parenting when either mother or father migrates away from the family. Gender plays a significant part in transnational migration experiences as research from these authors suggests there are differences in how migrant mothers and migrant fathers are perceived by their family members. In addition, migration alters how mothers are able to parent and mother their children, so '*mothering from afar'* becomes a strategy many migrant mothers adopt (De Guzman, et al., 2018). The frequency of contact and the role of remittances are equally important factors for maintaining family relationships and transnational ties, as well as bringing benefits economically for the children and the family left behind (Levitt, 1998). For children separated from their parents, especially mothers, the age of the child and their age at separation are aspects that also affect parent-child relationships, including family reunification (Haagsman and Mazzucato, 2014; Arnold, 2006).

Scholars acknowledge that migration has long featured as a part of the African Caribbean experience. For many decades, the Caribbean region has been a major exporter of its people to North America and Europe (Thomas-Hope, 1998, 1992; Gmelch, 1992; Ho, 1999; Jokhan, 2008). This displacement and relocation of African people across the world is the Black or African diaspora (Goulbourne and Solomos, 2004):

> ‘Caribbean migrants, even after decades abroad, continue to identify strongly with their homelands’ (Mortley, 2019).

Because of the generations of forced and voluntary population movement that has taken place with people of African descent, they have been described as an ‘*unanchored people’* (Naipaul, 1973, cited Mohammed, 1998, p. 105). Knight’s (1978, cited in Clarke, 1983) analysis though, accentuates the legacy of imperialism and colonialism in making migration and population movement a credible option for poor African Caribbeans. Skilled and unskilled migration away from the Caribbean has been a mainstream part of the economic life of the region since the end of slavery. Male and female ex-slaves actively sought to migrate away from the plantation system, hence such movement became reinforced with each generation. Scarano (1989) notes Caribbean labour systems sought to transform from the sustained dynamics of slavery, however there were opposing interests for the ex-slaves and plantation owners as to how to reorganise the land and economic resources. For the former slaves, there was the chance to gain control over and improve their lives, whilst emancipation illuminated the problem of continuing to maximise profits for the ex-slave owners.

During the colonial period in the Caribbean, there remained a, *‘a strongly entrenched plantocracy that sought to retain the political power and social privileges it had acquired during slavery*’ (Heuman cited in Clarke, 1983, p.495). As the plantations crumbled however, colourism continued to dominate politics and society and access to education became the main way of achieving social mobility. This was reserved for the small group of light-skinned elites, who sought improvement for themselves. They were able to embrace many of the approved British behaviours, language and customs of social respectability, such as marriage and nuclear families that gave them more class-based, socially mobile opportunities (Rajack-Talley, 2007). Pearson (2008) and Aronson (1961) argue that in the pre-Caribbean migration to England era, Jamaica was still dominated by traditional rural working practices and small-scale farming. He questions the extent to which the general workforce had sufficient experience of wage employment and industrialised work to meet the conditions of bauxite production, which was developing at that time and his analysis of the labour force in Jamaica, is

that there were limited employment opportunities available to the Jamaicans, especially to women.

The urban and rural poor women across the Caribbean on the other hand had very few prospects for achieving upward lifestyles. Many of them worked from home in precarious occupations as seamstresses and dressmakers (Reddock, 1990; Pollard, 2010). What appears to have existed across the Caribbean at that time were high levels of rural to urban migration, rising levels of education and occupational skills but overall, an underdeveloped workforce (Aronson, 1961). So, the decline of demand for these domestic skills that predominately involved women such as these, helped fuel the flow of female migration to America in the 1930s (Sharpe, 2001).

Flores-Villalobos (2018) uses census data, legal cases, official letters and other documents to trace African Caribbean women's earlier migratory experiences and struggles to build their social and economic freedom across the Panamanian territories. In a discussion of Barbadian women's migration to America in the 1930s, Marshall (1987, p.88) explains that the financing of their migration to America was from '*Panama Money'.* This refers to the large numbers of Caribbean women and men who moved to Panama to live and work building the Panama Canal during the early part of the twentieth century (Flores-Villalobos, 2022). The money they earned from this labour funding the later migration of their female relatives to North America.

As elsewhere, African Caribbean women in Panama were vulnerable to race and gender exclusion, extensive discrimination and segregation, poorer working conditions and wages than white workers, yet, as Brown's (2014) records show, Caribbean women successfully married and raised families. The women were active in influencing the betterment of the migrant communities in Panama and in asserting their agency and rights, accessing the legal systems in respect of their mistreatment (Flores-Villalobos, 2022). Consequently, as Caribbean women and mothers have moved to live across the world, their transnational networks and family caring practices have moved with them (Thomas-Hope, 1998; 2003). Flores-Villalobos' (2022) work does not draw attention to the Caribbean womens' family arrangements. Many would have been mothers as well as workers and partners, so tracing their management of

these caring practices, alongside their work would have provided additional evidence of these experiences and their capabilities.

Because research narratives of the '*idealized migrant'*, are usually male, the experiences of ethnic migrant women, have until recently been neglected and unstudied (McDowell, 1999, p. 21). Women's migration has often been unseen in comparison to male migration, in part because their activities as domestic servants and carers of children have not been regarded as 'real work'. It is also the case that men's experiences and understanding of the world has been dominant and accepted as valid knowledge, it is only within the past decades that feminists have contested and deconstructed the patriarchal ways of knowing and articulated different kinds of knowledge and different ways of knowing (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Tanesini, 1999).

Therefore, Black and feminist research has enabled the experiences of women migrants to be explored and analysed and from this perspective, migration has long been a gendered event (Ravenstein, 1885; Lutz, 2008). The demand for cheap domestic labour in richer countries has often required the '*specific targeting of women from poorer countries'* (Jones, 2008, p. 761). In a globalised world, immigrant labour is now central to manufacturing and service industries (Geraci, 2011). Female migration to these sectors has resulted in an increasingly more inclusive conceptualisation of migration that includes the experiences, transnational lives and practices of migrant women and their families (Crawford, 2004; Phoenix and Seu, 2013). Jones (2008) arguing that scholarship on the '*feminisation of migration'* is shaped partly by the growing numbers of global female migrants but also by an increased understanding of their transnational identities, as mothers as well as workers. Although transnationalism is perceived as a new phenomenon, it is a *'universal tendency'* with a long existence (Lacroix, 2014, p.646). African Caribbean women and mothers are very much a part of this long tradition.

The relevant migrant themes are concerned with betterment, adaptation and settlement, work, identity and ideology. These themes reflect both individual motivation and wider family strategies (Sharpe, 2001). While these are valid for all migrants, female migrants often experience migration differently and so their outcomes are different due to their racial, gendered and transnational positions (Brah, 1994,

1996). For Black migrant women, their status has been defined for them through historic relations, gendered economic structures and ideological representations that have constrained their opportunities, misinterpreted their practices and experiences and left them socially excluded (Scafe and Dunn, 2020; Castles and Miller, 2009; Hickman et al., 2012). Black women and mothers are positioned between race and gender oppression, but viewing each construct independently fails to capture the multiplicity and intersectional nature of their lives and identities (Reynolds, 2005). Black women manage multiple and overlapping roles and identities. Work, family and motherhood are very different experiences for poor, Black and migrant women than for elite white women (Maynard, 1994; Dill, 1979). Therefore, the study of African Caribbean female migration brings the need to enhance these main themes to include those relevant for transnational women and mothers.

A synthesis of much of the literature on migration assumes that migrants are usually young males, who move to the host country alone in search of betterment, with any females following later (Houstoun 1984, cited in Pedraza, 1991). However, this assumption is challenged by historical evidence that long distant female migration has at times equalled or even outnumbered male migration (Bruun, 2016; Richardson, 1985). For instance, the 'Filles du roi,' were a large group of single women sponsored by the French King to migrate to Canada in the 1660s (Wien and Gousse, 2011). In another example, large numbers of Indian women migrated to Surinam in the 1800s, to work as indentured labourers. Widows, mothers, married and unmarried women all left British India for the chance of betterment (Emmer, 1985). Stanley (2013) also uncovered an undocumented group of around 50,000 Commonwealth women who served in WWII - black servicewomen – nurses, army corps, postal workers, previously thought to be exclusively male.

Silvey (2004) is amongst a group of scholars who have examined the politics of gender and migration, highlighting the social and political processes that often impact negatively on women who work across international borders. Exploring the transnational lives of migrants and their families within host and sending countries has been characteristic of several studies (Levitt, 2001; Portes and Grosfoguel, 1994; Vertovec, 2009; Evergeti and Ryan, 2011). Some studies focusing particularly on the

impact of migration on children (Arnold, 2006; Suarez- Orozco et al, 2001; Rumbaut and Portes, 2001; Knorr, 2005; Dreby, 2009, Ensor and Goździack, 2010).

In an explanatory discussion of transnational Jamaican families, Thompson and Bauer (2004) review some of the main literature that has researched on Caribbean family forms and they note that Caribbean family arrangements and transnational experiences have frequently been analysed negatively. For instance, Clarke (1957) was commissioned to study the conditions of Caribbean family life, as part of a campaign organised by the British government against the '*evils of promiscuity'.* (Clarke 1957, xxiii).

Following WW2, British colonialists in the Caribbean faced growing unrest and demands for reform and self-rule. Britain's response to the issues of poor social welfare and opportunities for development was to locate this disruption as problems with Caribbean family life and parenting practices (Bryon, 2016). African Caribbean women and mothers were at the heart of these '*pathological interpretations'* (Barrow, 2001, p.423). Fuelled by obsessive concerns about the family life and household organisation amongst the Caribbean poor, the burgeoning policy and social science field turned its attention to anthropological accounts of West Indian kinship and family life in matrifocial households (US Caribbean Policy, 1973; Hart, 2002).

Amongst the early social researchers of poor Caribbean families were Herskovits (1945); Simey (1947); Rey (1953); Smith (1955, 1962); Smith (1957) and Clarke (1957). Much of this research was conducted using observational methods of poor Caribbean households and living arrangements and perceived these Caribbean families, like African American families, as differing from the European norm, as chaotic and dysfunctionally organised, with high rates of illegitimacy and absent fathers (Moynihan, 1965; Smith, 1963). A 1950s survey on social and family life in Jamaica (Kerr, 1952, cited in Rey, 1953, p.221) concluded that due to the problematic working conditions, Caribbean males were unable to uphold their patriarchal ideals, leaving the mothers to adopt matriarchal family patterns. The inspiration perhaps for Clarke's (1957) book title, *My mother who fathered me*.

Smith (1957) recorded in his observations that the family structure among the lower-class African Caribbeans was disorganised and unstable, however another Smith, a contemporary (1956) showed in his analysis that Caribbean family formations were diverse and functional, with several forms of family union and child rearing practices. Such findings indicate that African Caribbean women and mothers utilise different family
forms, relationships and social arrangements to support their endeavours. These act as
a resource to enable them to make choices and decisions that affect the social structures
to which they are exposed.

While there are pockets of nuclear African Caribbean families, scholars note that a high proportion of African Caribbean mothers are lone parents (Stuart, 1996; Goulbourne, 2002; Reynolds, 2005). The reasons for this *'matricentric family*', is the source of much debate, between those who view this pattern of family organisation as having resulted from slavery and those who argue it stems from early African societies (Smith, 1966, p. 26). This discussion will be addressed further in the next chapter.

It can be established therefore that there are several different types of Caribbean family households (Evans and Davies, 1997). Smith (1996) and Powell (1984) observe that African Caribbean family patterns consist of a mixture of traditional married unions, common law unions and visiting unions, while Stuart (1996) identifies up to six categories of Caribbean family unions sharing a common residence. These different households and unions serve a diversity of purposes for Caribbean women and are an important network of social and emotional support (Anderson, 1986). Some women move progressively through these various kinds of unions, often becoming mothers in the process while still young and many have children from different unions (Evans and Davies, 1997). Some women may never marry or marry later in life and if a woman has no children of her own, she often parents someone else's child (Powell, 1984).

Voland, et al., (2005) for example, bring attention to the enduring mothering role played by older women, such as grandmothers, who are past their fertility yet who continue to mother their grandchildren, thereby enhancing the reproductive success

of their own children. Strong solidarity is expressed through caring for other women's children, often so that the mother can improve her life in circumstances that include migration, '*in just about every family, there is an older female relative who cares for the children*' (Ellis, 1986, p. 87).

It was mainly observational descriptions that characterised the first accounts of Caribbean family life, leading the way for more qualitative studies of Caribbean relationships, kinship and family organisation (Rubenstein, 1977). The beginning of Caribbean intellectual scholarship is marked by Smith's (1955) work on a pluralist Caribbean, especially his reasons of how migration is responsible for the creation of pluralist societies. Writings on Pan-Africanism, colonialism and African diaspora actually started in the 1900s, with the writings of Dubois; Garvey, Padmore and James.

The intellectual heritage of Black women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is forefronted by writings on Black female activism in the churches, and across African American politics and social life (Harris, 2003; White, 2010; Kinni, 2015). Generally, however, scholarship on and by women of the African diaspora appeared more recently. Although migrant and ethnic settlement and adaptation became established concerns, few sociologists focused on the subjective experiences of the migrants themselves or studied the impact of migration on those left behind (Gmelch, 1992).

Literary work written by migrants themselves has gained in popularity and interest. Many of these texts reflect the authors' struggle to with identity whilst assimilating the language and customs of the host country. Some early work featured 'first contact' experiences of discrimination, resilience and adjustment, such as in Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, 1956). A successful novel that showcases the lives of Caribbean women in England is *Small Island* (Levy 2006).

Wilson (1978) was amongst the first scholarly texts written about the immigration experiences of ethnic minority women in England. It highlights key issues for Black women, including marriage and family, motherhood, immigration status and work and reveals their struggles for personal and employment rights. Mirza (1997) is another collection of academic writing that brought Black British feminist scholarship to the fore, and '*other ways of knowing in from the sidelines'* (Mirza, 1997, p.5).

Another important text is by Bryan et al. (1986). The book uses anonymous stories by British Black women, charting the history, struggles and achievements from their roots in Africa to their settlement and socio-political activity in England. Although the storytellers are anonymous, the work is written in the first person and the authors do not separate their own narrative from the voices of other Black British and Caribbean women. These writings describe the discrimination in housing, education and employment and are powerfully written and present shared experiences of resistance, 'fighting back', against the prejudices of employers, trade unions and state oppression.

In the 1970s, a group of academic literature began exploring African Caribbean migration experiences and family relationships, this includes work by Foner (1979); Sutton and Chaney, 1987; McAdoo (1996); Barrow (1996) and Chamberlin (1999). Barrow's (1986) work has contributed to a better understanding of Caribbean women and mothers' experiences and their active strategies to their own and their family's economic wellbeing, both within the Caribbean region and in the host countries where they have migrated. Barrow's work (2001) contests the stereotyped interpretations perpetuated within popular ethnographical studies of Caribbean women as promiscuous and their kinship relations as unstable, stressing the need to listen to the experiences of the women themselves, though the voices of the participants are missing from her paper.

As African Caribbean female migration and family relationships became the subject of more specific attention, Chamberlin (1999) and Fog Olwig (1999) amongst others have specialised in Caribbean studies and have explored experiences of Caribbean female migration. In these studies, interviews and focus groups have been some of the main methods used by researchers to explore African Caribbean female migration. Scholars such as Anderson (1986), Barrow (1996) and Mendenhall et al (2013) all draw attention to the importance of kinship, religion, socio-economic networks and other adaptive strategies in African Caribbean families that enable them to cope with many psychological, and socio-economic challenges such as migration.

Foner and Napoli (1978) conducted an early study of migrant workers from Jamaica to the USA and London, although their work did not feature the narratives of the women. Sutton and Chaney's work (1987) is a diverse collection of African Caribbean migratory experiences in America, in which Foner's comparative work featured. In addition, Sutton's discussion (1987) is particularly interested in exploring the impact of African Caribbean socio-culture and identity and drawing comparisons with the Black ethnic population of New York, though again the voices of migrant Caribbean women are not given prominence.

Foner's (1979) comparative work featured structured, in-depth interviews with several male and female Jamaicans living in London and New York. Her study identifies several themes including class, race, education and social mobility. Gender differences in migration decisions are also apparent, and in particular, she found that women's role and status changed because of migration. Migration helped the women gain more independence and improve their lifestyle and social mobility. Her analysis of occupational status draws comparisons between rural-urban-based migration and differences in the role of work between men and women. Foner's (1979) findings also highlight the absence of kin networks on women's ability to manage the dual responsibilities of childcare and work. Another theme relates to migration being easier for women than men, because they were able to get visas to work as unskilled domestics, child minders or to train as nurses (Foner, 1979; Gopaul-McNicol, 1993).

Foner's (1979) work is groundbreaking in sampling and interviewing African Caribbean participants. She discusses the selection of her sample and problems in the analysis of her data, including definitions of social and occupational mobility, and class and colour mobility, however the study reports broadly on changes in work and education status because of migration, there is little detail on the participants' life history (Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995). Foner's (1979) study has with no thick narratives and there is no strong sense of the participants she studied. Similarly, in another comparison of Jamaicans in New York, Foner's (1998) study did not differentiate between Jamaican men or Jamaican women or address African Caribbean family separation.

Unsurprisingly, a group of literature has examined the acculturation, settlement and social cohesion of migrant communities into the host country. This material has been

concentrated within sociological and anthropological studies (Park and Burgess, 1921; Redfield et al, 1936; Berry, 1988; Gans, 1997; Rumin, 2003; Hickman et al, 2012). Park (1914) and Redfield et al. (1936) were concerned with the acculturation and assimilation of migrants into the dominant American cultural environment and were among the first attempts to develop a theory of intercultural contact and relations.

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The post-World War II years have seen a plethora of studies into 'American life' and intergroup relations, against which ethnic minority groups have been measured against majority ethnic communities (Gordon, 1964). Ethnography and comparison studies analysing social relations between immigrant and indigenous groups have been extremely popular with sociologists and anthropologists (Butcher, 1994; Model et al., 1999; Hickman et al., 2012, Sutton and Chaney, 1987, Foner, 1979).

Acculturation and assimilation models were established methods for studying migrant behaviour and psychological processes, (Berry, 2001; Gordon, 1994; Gabaccia, 1992). Alongside the preoccupation with migrant acculturation has been work that draws attention to issues of migrant family stress, including family separation and reunion (Hill, 1949; McCubbin et al., 1980). A review of some of this literature highlight studies that have researched the psychological impact of migrant resettlement (Rogers, 1976). The impact of migration on individual health and wellbeing has been found to be an important theme in some studies, including those pertaining to Africans and African Caribbean people (Maimon et al, 2010; Lamur, 1975; Littlewood, 2006; Sutherland, 2008; Waite and Cook, 2008; Burke, 2015).

Of these studies, several have concluded that migrants have higher rates of mental illness than within the indigenous population (Lamur, 1975; Cochrane, 1977; Bhugra and Jones, 2001; Reeves et al, 2001). However, many of these research designs can be criticised as essentially involving a one-directional Eurocentric process for measuring the multi-sectional factors involved in migrant acculturation (Padilla and Perez, 2003).

The influential Moynihan (1976) report reinforced the view of female-centered African Caribbean families in the USA and the Caribbean as pathological and unstable due to absent fathers, low educational attainment, high unemployment and illegitimacy (cited

Williams, 1991). The report rests on the stereotyped assumption of a nuclear family formation, in which mothers remain at home caring for children whilst financially supported by well-paid husbands (Hamilton, 2021). Because African American and African Caribbean families do not easily fit into this form, the women heading up their households are censured rather than praised for their adaptive strengths in providing for and resiliencies and sustaining in their families (Mendenhall et al., 2013). Poor white women and mothers have also exposed to this constraining ideological orthodoxy, often lacking the enabling relationships and social networks of groups like those of Black and ethnic minority women.

Alongside the preoccupation with migrant acculturation has been work that draws attention to issues of migrant family stress, including family separation and reunion (Hill, 1949; McCubbin et al., 1980). A review of some of this literature highlights studies that have researched the psychological impact of migrant resettlement (Rogers, 1976). The impact of migration on individual health and wellbeing has been found to be an important theme in studies that have researched the psychological impact of migrant resettlement, including those pertaining to Africans and African Caribbeans (Maimon et al., 2010; Lamur, 1975; Littlewood, 2006; Sutherland, 2008; Waite and Cook, 2008; Burke, 2015).

However, such methods have also been used to study Native American and African American acculturation, focusing on these American-born communities as immigrants, and applying the measures only to these ethnically Black and brown groups as opposed to other white ethnic populations. These research designs can be criticised as essentially involving a one-directional Eurocentric method for measuring the multi-sectional factors involved in migrant acculturation (Padilla and Perez, 2003). Thereby, maintaining an illusion of white groups as homogenous, whilst perpetuating ideas of difference and 'foreignness' of indigenous Black and ethnic minority groups (Hoffman et al., 1985; Henrich et al., 1990; Landrine and Klonoff, 1994; Klonoff and Landrine, 2000).

Basch et al.'s (1993) findings attribute great importance to remittances for Vincentian and Grenadian immigrants living between New York and their Caribbean homes. The authors argue that the flow of material objects helps to maintain important connections

across international borders and provides evidence of the sustainability of the transnational networks created by migrants. This area of research has drawn attention to the impact of migration on migrant families and groups. Studies into family migration have often included a focus on all the individuals within the family structure (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995). It has included both understanding the role that remittances play in migrant wellbeing, as well as exploring the transnational nature of the support networks amongst migrant families (Levitt, 2001; Portes, 2008). As these gaps in evidence began to be filled, migrant decision-making emerged as an important research theme (Root and De Jong, 1999; De Jong, 2000).

Indeed, Ho (1993) issues a reminder that kinship ties are the key ingredients in Caribbean migration and not the exchange of goods. Ho (1993) questioned a group of 30 participants living in America, of whom half were Caribbean women about their family relationships and networks. The role of Caribbean women in '*internationalising kinship'* is a key finding of her participant observation study. Caribbean women muster together an active 'international family', in order to manage and support their ties to their homeland and Ho (1993) uses a network analysis methodology to map the fluid systems of reciprocity and patterns of support provided by such kinship networks. It offers one example of the ways that migrant women find to exercise their own agency, utilising migration as an active strategy for betterment of their own and their family's economic well-being (Jones, 2008):

> The ability to send remittances gives migrant parents the feeling that they are fulfilling their roles as parents and makes them feel involved in the care of their children (Haagsman & Mazzucato, 2014, p. 1681).

Of course, whereas migration is principally a decision made by adults and children are not generally part of this decision-making, Bushin (2009) investigates the role of children in family decisions about migration and suggests parents do consider how their children are involved in the parental decision to migrate. Bushin (2009) argues that involving children as active agents in family decisions about migration opens up the need for new research methods and children-in families approaches that enable all family members to be consulted and included.

Family related studies of migration and family reunification began to be seriously researched in the 1990s. Given that migrants cross multiple identity boundaries, studies of gender, race and class increasingly adopt interdisciplinary frameworks from which to examine connections (Gabaccia, 1992). Within some such studies, these intersections create new openings for the experiences of individuals and groups who have traditionally been marginalised and subsumed within mainstream research to be voiced (Bastia, 2014). Gmelch's (1992) study of African Caribbean migration to the UK uses oral histories to explore the experiences of Barbadians who migrated to England and later returned to the Caribbean. Narrative and life history have been the most popular methodologies employed as can be seen in the works of Pedraza (1991); Chamberlin (1995, 1997, 2009); Suarez-Orozco et al. (2002); Evergeti and Ryan (2011); Hernández (2013); Gmelch (1992); Fog Olwig (1999); Coles (2001); Arnold (1997, 2006); Reynolds (2001); Moorhouse and Cunningham (2012) and Tyldum (2015). Fog Olwig (1999, 2007), Bushin (2008), Waite, and Cooke (2010) have conducted exploratory research relating to emotional belonging and attachment among diasporic African communities.

It is these themes that Arnold's (1997, 2001 and 2006) scholarship makes explicit. Arnold (1997) is one of the first texts to specifically document the issues of separation and reunion for African Caribbean women and mothers and to identify the impacts of separation through migration among the African Caribbean female population in England. Arnold published her Doctoral thesis in 2001, on the broken attachments and experiences of reunion for African Caribbean women who were separated as children from their migrating mothers.

Arnold's (2006) work presents the findings of her study of 20 adult Caribbean women who were separated from their mothers as children. They were interviewed to explore attachment, loss and reunion, using a 3-part interview schedule, covering pre-migration, the migration to England and post migration experiences. Arnold (2006, p.173) adopts a life course approach to interview the women about their separation and reunion experiences, revealing '*painful feelings about the absence of close relationships with them'*. She uses a snowballing method to obtain interviews with the women, and although her discussion of data analysis was limited, her content analysis

yields several major themes, including maternal caregiving, family reunion, low self-esteem and resilience among the women.

Chamberlain (1998) is amongst a group of scholars who have researched the changing political and academic discourses of Caribbean migration, from an early preoccupation with assimilation, to themes of gender, citizenship and identity. Chamberlin's (1997) analysis of gender and migration does not specifically focus on mothering, however her discussion makes it clear that even in the language used, migration is viewed differently by Caribbean women as opposed to Caribbean men. Importantly, in their decision to migrate, the women often consider and include the views of other family members, whereas Caribbean men appear to treat migration as an autonomous decision.

Chamberlin's (2010) work dwells on the usefulness of a life-story approach in revealing the complexities of Caribbean migration for individuals and their families. It was based on a large sample of life-story interviews with three generations of Caribbean families who migrated to England in the 1950s and 1960s. She explores the way that '*family stories'*, can be used to provide insight into transnational relationships, arrangements and experiences (Chamberlin, 2010, p.254). The strength of this study is the inclusion of the women's voices from outside London, in addition it uses narratives not just to derive vital information, but also recognises narratives as important meaning-making devices, enabling the participants to express their feelings and experiences. However, though the article is based on a sample of 180 informants, yet there is limited detail on this large number of individuals, nor does the article address the gendered nature of Caribbean migration.

Fog Olwig's (2014) narrative study adopts a life-story interview with 35 Caribbean female nurses, who migrated to train at British hospitals from the 1950s to the 1970s. The study identifies several themes, such as the lack of personal and social opportunities for educational mobility, personal freedom and professional and career ambitions available to Caribbean women (Fog Olwig, 2014). These aspects were limited to the middle and privileged classes in the Caribbean and socially stratified by race and colour differences (Rajack-Talley, 2007).

Flynn (2011) similarly drew on an intersectional framework to situate African Caribbean women's gender and racialised testimonies of home, paid and unpaid work, migration and belonging in Canada. She conducted 22 oral history interviews with Caribbean-born and 13 Canada born nurses that connect several themes focusing on the ways the migrant women forge alliances, develop resistances and gain identity and belonging, through work, family and community relationships.

Reynolds (2001) examines UK African Caribbean women and mothers' role as full-time workers. Her retrospective work explores the issues of mothering and work for 20 Caribbean born women. Her sample was drawn from a wide age range and across twenty-year time period (1950s to 1970s) and her findings establish that their status as workers is as central to their lives and identities as being mothers. Reynolds (2001 p.1061) concludes they possess a dual '*mother/worker*' status. Being a mother and worker is for many Black women, an *'interlocking and interdependent function'* (Reynolds, 2001, p. 1054).

In their study, Duncan et al., (2003, p.313) further developed this idea through their concept of '*gendered moral rationalities',* referring to the decision-making different groups of mothers undertake about working and mothering. The 56 women interviewed all had partners and children and were grouped according to class, ethnicity, sexuality and conventionality. Their model showed different positions, '*moral rationalities'* held by the different groups of mothers, across a spectrum from '*primarily mother'* to *mother/worker'*, and the authors findings reinforce the notion that for African Caribbean mothers, working forms a major *'built-in'* component of good mothering (Duncan et al., 2003, p.315). It is unclear whether the alternative/conventional views about mothering and paid work were held by the women before they were interviewed, so it is difficult to substantiate the extent to which this was a real difference between the women. However, the paper also reports that for African Caribbean mothers, '*individualized independence'* is a norm and not a changing cultural practice (Duncan et al., 2003, p.325). in other words, their independence and motivation to work was a normal behaviour rather than a new practice they had adopted.

In Reynolds (2005) study, she interviewed 25 first and second-generation Caribbean mothers living in the UK. Her research into the mothering and work experiences of

Caribbean women adopts an intersectional lens from which she analyses their identities and explores their '*gendered moral rationalities'* (Duncan et al., 2003, p.313). Her research reveals the diversity of their experiences. Reynolds' (2005) highlights mothering and work as equally fundamental identities for African Caribbean women and exposes the differing socio-cultural contexts and political ideologies that Black women in England encounter. The work explores both how the women perceive these identities and how their mothering is perceived within these wider racialised and gendered policy and social contexts.

Swenson and Zvonkovic (2015) adopt a social constructionist perspective to exploring family perspectives on mothering when the mother works. They followed a grounded theory framework in analysing their data, reporting several inductive themes including women's breadwinning as an element in contributing to family life, the renegotiation of work within the family, the role of family communication and children's independence. Their findings indicated that gender norms around family work remain, even when mothers are absent due to work.

In an earlier ethnographic study of transnational mothering amongst South American female migrants to North America, Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) found similar challenges to the orthodoxy of mothering. Through their snowballing sampling approach, they conducted interviews with 26 women and mothers. In addition to this, they carried out a survey with 153 domestic workers to investigate their transnational arrangements. The authors' findings show that forty- percent of those surveyed had '*at least one child back home'.* Performing domestic and care work in the US… '*Initiates separation …from their communities of origin, homes children and sometimes, husbands'* (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997, p. 553).

The authors discuss how the active recruitment of Latino transnational mothers to the US, forces them to break from their traditional gendered roles and re-form notions of motherhood. The mothers redefine motherhood in several different ways, often in ways that encompass breadwinning and earning income qualities (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997, p.554). Latino migrant women and mothers undertake a plurality of mothering practices that have helped to shift orthodox views of mothering, although the realities of transnational mothering remain steeped in gender inequalities.

Whereas Moorhouse and Cunningham (2012) adopt a multiple case study methodology for their study exploring the self-perceptions and identities of women and mothers who had migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Moorhouse and Cunningham (2012) use a convenience sample frame to explore the identities of migrants before, during and after migration. They conducted nine in-depth unstructured interviews exploring how reunification of the family is negotiated. This study highlights the gap in research on how reunification of the family is negotiated. Of relevance is their small sample, which includes women who had left children behind and others who had no children but who had left behind other family members, including husbands.

The findings reveal something of the transitional phases undergone by the women. Their identities shift and their mothering practices adapt as they move from their initial pre-migration experiences, through the process of adjusting to their own absence from their family, to their perceptions of life post-migration, including returning home. The women spoke of the longing and yearning for their children, which sometimes manifested physically as well as psychologically and it is possible to identify themes such as sacrifice, and '*double othering'* experiences affecting their psychological wellbeing from the study's discussion (Moorhouse and Cunningham, 2012, p.502). The women experienced a hostile, xenophobic environment in their host country, alongside derogatory and judgmental attitudes from other migrant women who had their children with them.

Several relevant issues can be summarised from this wide range of research. Firstly, African Caribbean and other migrant women and mothers do not fit the traditional 'trailing wife' model of migration. Their economic, socio-political, personal circumstances make traditional mothering and family caring impossible and impractical. African Caribbean and other migrant women's mothering practices challenge traditional views of gender, caring and mothering. Because of their transnational practices, the traditional roles of breadwinner and caregiver are in flux and can no longer be taken for granted as embedded gender norms.

Migrant women and mothers balance several issues in respect of the benefits and disadvantages of migration as a strategy for improving economic wellbeing of the family. On the one hand, female migration disrupts family life, results in changes in family relationships and gender roles. Equally, the research themes highlight the important role of migration in creating new opportunities for the women, enabling remittances and in supporting positive educational, health and family outcomes back home.

Thus far, when reviewing the research, there appears to be a high level of reliability in how these socially sensitive topics have been studied. '*Reliability is referred to something that can be measured consistently'* (Fritzner, 2007, p.776). The chapter has identified several important themes common in the research studies, including the importance of transnational bonds and continuing family ties and how migrant women and mothers consider their family life and mothering roles in the context of their worker/mother role. Creating a sense of belonging and connection for themselves and their families in a new and unfamiliar land is another important theme. Maternal sacrifice and family reunification are crucial subjects that have been highlighted in many of the research studies.

The themes show it is possible to belong to more than one family for transnational groups such as African Caribbean women. However, in critically reviewing many of the studies, the smaller sample sizes mean that results may not reflect reality. The studies had different aims, methodologies, reflecting different disciplines and research traditions. This means that there are challenges to create homogeneity in findings, the inconsistencies between studies brings into question whether results can, and should, be collated together.

This review now moves onto discuss the wider context of migration including the different types and forms of migration that have been studied. This has relevance because these examples vary widely, encompassing the historic and forced movement of people, as in the case of enslaved Africans to the Americas, to the international economic migrant who crosses borders (Koch-Schulte, 2008; Martin and Tirman, 2009). Many kinds of migrant exist, including economic migrants, highly skilled

migrants, voluntary migrants, exiles and refugees and even those who move within a country (Gheasi and Nijkamp, 2017; Sabates-Wheeler, 2009).

Migration studies have been concentrated into three areas of research. The first group of studies researches the causes and effects of migration (D'Andrea et al., 2011). Migration scholars typically use traditional designs and quantitative methodologies to produce comparable data and generalisable results. These designs analyse formal documents and records and use statistics to help make sense of the socio-economic impacts. One of the earliest, Ravenstein (1885) proposed several economic 'laws' of migration. His analysis of British Census data led the way for subsequent studies and models of migration.

Classic explanations of migration conceptualise migration as having a single cause and mainstream migration scholarship emphasises migration as driven principally by economic, push-pull factors (Stark and Bloom; Castles, 2007; Castles and Murray, 2009). Migration scholars assert that migrants from poor countries are pushed out from their respective countries by poverty and lack of opportunity and pulled to the richer countries by the prospect of higher wages (Windzio, 2017). Demographic studies of migration frequently undertake large-scale quantitative governmental studies on the costs and impact of migration (Herlitz, 2006; Nathan, 2011; Cohen, 1995; Dobson and McLaughlan, 2001). For example, Latin American and Caribbean migration to the USA has featured prominently in American migration research. USA migration policy has been the source of multiple studies (Aquila et al., 2012). The recent 'migration crisis' across Europe has also brought unprecedented public and political attention to migration. These new patterns and forms of migration have in turn produced new research and analysis of the socio-economic and political contexts that mobilise people to migrate (Favell, 2008; Cummings et al., 2015).

Quantitative studies treat migration as a fixed variable, therefore it is often undefined and uncritically considered. Yet, migration has no official definition and can denote several different but related events. The concept is often used interchangeably with other types and forms of population movements such as '*exile and dispersion'* (Becker, 1930, p.148; Fairchild, 1925, in Petersen, 1958).

Haq (1979) points out that the lack of an agreed framework from which to theorise the concept, makes the study of migration problematic, migration data from such sources are often difficult to compare because of differences in data collection methods, methodological techniques and definitions. The lack of an agreed, precise definition and terminology afflicts the literature. Migrants and refugees are often conflated terms, both equally 'aliens,' and 'foreigners'. Nash (2017) comments on the difficulty of distinguishing different groups amongst the plethora of terms now utilised including, 'temporary labourer', 'economic migrant', 'illegal immigrant', 'international migrant', 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee'. Although there are distinctions between these diverse groups, the differences between them are often unclear and this has been the subject of major criticism (Horst, 2006).

The classification of both forced and free migration together, results not only in undifferentiated outcomes in relation to income, employment and housing, but also contributes to the notion of the 'good/deserving' and 'bad/undeserving' migrant (Kofman and Sales, 2001; Sabates-Wheeler, 2009). For those others labelled as labour or economic migrants, the perceived voluntary nature of their exit from their country of origin has major consequences for inclusion, rights and protection.

Among a group of studies are those that attempt to define and differentiate migrants and migration (Becker, 1930; Printz, 1948; Boyle, 1998; Kok, 1999; Baker and Tsuda, 2015; Manning, 2017). There is a very wide range of literature on the different ways that migration can be defined, theorised and understood (Richey, 1976; Massey, et al.,1993; Castles, 2000; Erdal and Oeppen, 2018). Massey et al., (1993) examine the dominant migration theories and models, highlighting that most of these early causation explanations view migration as the supply and demand flow of low-wage labour from poor countries to high-wage earning countries. The underlying conceptualisation of migration rests on the notion of a cost-benefit, choice model, in which migration is a personal decision, carried out by rational actors (Haug, 2008).

Explanations of large-scale human migration however vary and include climate change, environmental catastrophe as well as economic stagnation (D'Andrea et al., 2011). Population movement at the individual and meso levels occurs frequently as people move within and across local boundaries, i.e., from rural to urban areas.

Human outward migration is characterised by size, scale, duration and distance and migrants frequently move across large geographical boundaries, in contrast to '*intra-urban short distance relocations'* (Fielding, 2012, p. 4).

Gheasi and Nijkamp (2018) present a concise review of existing theories of migration focusing on contemporary European migration. The paper's analysis is divided into direct and indirect and micro and meso/macro effects, demonstrates the complexity of the migration phenomenon. There is agreement that receiving societies remain highly dependent on migrants to carry out their low-paid, low-skilled work, the analysis highlights that migrants vary in their age, gender and skill level, consequently their impact on the host country will be different. Migration therefore involves many factors. Thomas-Hope (1992) among others has criticised the dominant economic paradigm within which migration has traditionally been theorised and studied, arguing that historic, structural and psychological factors have often been absent from its conceptions. This emphasises the view that population movement is complex and demographic methods can only answer certain types of questions. Some scholars therefore study the individual migrant or migrant community in depth, focusing more subjectively on the socio-cultural experiences and structural realities that many migrants encounter (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2011; Reynolds, 2005).

These scholars often provide more nuanced conclusions about migration as involving a complex mix of micro, meso and macro factors (Castelli, 2018). Both push and pull factors can be seen in respect of the desire to migrate away from poverty, repression, natural disaster and war, towards the imagined hopes and dreams of a better and prosperous life (Cohen, 1995). The economic and structural dynamics that 'pull' migrants towards new destinations are completely interconnected with the socio-economic and environmental circumstances that actively 'push' those same individuals to migrate:

> the movement of people across significant socio-cultural, political, or environmental boundaries, [that] involves uprooting and long-term relocation (cited in Baker and Tsuda, 2015, p.19).

Tsuda's (2015) definition sees migration as a disruptive process. For the migrant, this disruption can take place gradually, or can suddenly impact their social and physical environment, each bringing a different level of disruption to the receiving population (Maupin, cited Baker and Tsuda, 2015). For the receiving community however, a negative response is usually felt to the presence of migrants, they are often perceived as a threat, evoking fear, anxiety and producing prejudice (Bauman 1997).

For the migrant, migration incorporates many factors, including cognitive, behavioural, psychological, legal, cultural and social, these all working and interacting dynamically. It is at one level, a logical set of reasonable decisions, but it is also an emotional one. Migration embodies many positive and negative emotions, including loss, anxiety, uncertainty and fear, anticipation, excitement, hopefulness and happiness for the individual who uproots to new lands. For the migrant, such mixed feelings are often managed simultaneously with the practicalities of resettlement and acculturation (Louden, 1975).

Louden (1975) makes an important argument that conceptions of migration rest on the assumption of an existing stable and integrated society into which the outsider, the migrant, enters and disrupts. Such a construct presents migration and migrants as a negative social problem, disturbing an existing societal harmony. From this perspective, migrants are clearly strangers who are different and their entry into the existing society disrupts the safe, ordered world in which the host society reside.

Establishing this point, scholars have noted that long before the Caribbean nation states were formed, African traders, soldiers and professionals crossed the oceans (Fryer, 1984; Mtubani, 1984). These were freemen, who had worked on merchant ships, as servants, and lived in the cities and ports of Britain (Akenson, 2011). There have been centuries of African migration to Europe and to Britain well before slavery, the industrial revolution, or mass population movement by African Caribbeans. It substantiates the claim that the Black presence in Britain is not recent, and it can be traced back to the Romans (Bartells, 2006; Fryer, 1984). There are even declarations that African heritage existed within British Royalty long before Meghan Markle. Queen Charlotte, the seventeenth century wife of George III of England was allegedly described as 'mulatto', with dark skin and curly hair (Jean-Phillippe, 2021). So, long

before Margret Thatcher in 1978 claimed Britain ‘feared being swamped’ by Commonwealth immigrants’ (Runnymede Trust, 1968-1988; Bartells, 2006), Queen Elizabeth I allegedly complained about there being too many ‘Blackamoors’ in England.

Even before their mass recruitment, African Caribbean people had served Britain in both World Wars, enduring racist attacks and open discrimination (Solomos, 1993). They worked and lived in the ports and cities of England, often in the most deprived areas, where they received unequal treatment and citizenship under the colour bar (Sherwood, 2003). Solomos, (1993) notes how legislation after WWI set about preventing British subjects from settling in England and then justified discriminatory practices against non-white workers, who received different pay according to their race.

After the Second World War, the main wealth of the Caribbean, its population, migrated to the Netherlands, France and of course to the Mother country, Britain, in search of betterment. So to be labelled, as ‘migrants’ is an inaccuracy that has fed into the racialised narratives of outsider and unbelonging (Bleich, 2003; Grosfoguel, 1999; Philips and Philips, 1998)

At the same time, Home Office and War office documents reveal that Europe was already awash with millions of displaced persons in the aftermath of the World War II. There was a surfeit of refugees in Europe, including those who could not return to their homelands and those who refused to be repatriated (Kay and Miles, 1988). Britain was able to take full advantage of this. The response was the Displaced Person’s Scheme, a Government programme that took in thousands of ‘*ideal immigrants’* to meet the labour and reproductive shortages (Kay and Miles, 1988, p. 216). Hansen (2003) notes that Britain was among several European countries that drew on its imperialist past to offer residency in return for labour. Active recruitment took place in the Caribbean for the extensive amounts of labour needed to rebuild Britain and Western Europe.

British Caribbean citizens responded to the severe labour shortage. As British colonial subjects, they were entitled to full political and civil rights, including the right to work. Yet, while migration to Britain offered freedom and betterment from the restrictions of

colonialism, which denied African Caribbeans equality of citizenship, the British government maintained the ‘colour bar’, ensuring discrimination in employment, working conditions, wages and housing (Sherwood, 1984).

As more Caribbean families claimed the right to enter the UK and join their relatives, they faced overt racism, fuelled by anti-immigrant rhetoric, in addition to the denial of decent housing and jobs (Philips and Philips, 1998; Rodrigues, 2015). In his ‘rivers of blood’ speech, British MP Enoch Powell openly promoted racist fear and anti-immigrant sentiment, resulting from government and popularist concerns about social cohesion and welfare dependency (Hickman et al 2012; Powell, 1968).

Sociological work has theorised on how Europeans invented race (Winnart, 2000), creating a hierarchy of human privilege and status based on skin-colour, with whites at the top and Blacks at the bottom. Gorosfoguel (1999) refers to the construction of a racialised ‘imagined national identity’, separating those who can belong from those who are excluded. It can be seen in the policies of the British government who enacted a series of anti-immigration legislation on the basis on this notion that shut down migration from the Caribbean. The 1962 Commonwealth Act, restricted immigration to Commonwealth dependents and shifted the flow and form of colonial migration from adult men to women to dependents and children (Bleich, 2003; Bayers et al, 2009). Mass Caribbean migration ended following the restrictions imposed by Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 (Peach, 1991).

The 1968 and 1971 Immigration laws were key legal strategies adopted to restrict rights to security and settlement for Black and minority ethnic Commonwealth citizens. The 1971 Act introduced work permits, whereby people from the colonial Caribbean, Asia and Africa, no longer had the right to freely enter Britain, to live and work with their families (Bleich, 2003). For Commonwealth citizens seeking to bring their families to the mother country, this jeopardised their opportunities for settlement in England. The rights of migrant workers and migrant women were thus restricted. The 1971 Act in particular had a direct impact on African Caribbean women, who were more likely to be sole parents, with no husbands to form part of their claim for settlement. The 1971 Act had the effect of preventing single women from bringing their children into Britain and restricting their reunion with their husbands and families (Wilson, 1978).

Smith and Marmo (2011) expose the intersectional violation undergone by Asian women coming to join their fiancés during the 1970s, when they were subject to virginity testing by UK immigration officers. The common practice was part of a wider context of the state's efforts to restrict 'undesirables' from settling in Britain.

> Migration has been structured by capitalist, wage-labor systems, modern nations states and their immigration policies… (Tsuda, 2011, cited in Baker and Tsuda, 2015, p.4).

Critics of the anti-immigrant legislation argue that it aided a post war racism that began with '*a profound historical forgetfulness about race and empire*' (Hall, cited in Duncan, p. 204).

It is undisputed that mass African Caribbean migration to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s originated from a distinct group of Caribbean colonial islands. Of the major island populations, largely Jamaicans of African heritage migrated to Britain. Of course, Jamaica was not the only Caribbean Island that mass migrated to England. Men, women and children from across the Greater and Lesser Antilles and the Windward Islands of Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, St Vincent, St Lucia, St Kitts, Dominica, Nevis, and Antigua formed much of the Caribbean dispersal to Britain.

Sutton (1987) suggests one of the reasons for this high proportion of Jamaicans to Britain could be due to Jamaica's ethnic homogeneity. The population in Jamaica is predominantly African and their cultural similarity more likely resulted in group members influencing each other. In contrast to other islands, with a greater mix of ethnicities in the populations and so perhaps less cultural influencing among the different ethnic groups. This point is argued by Lee (2022) for instance, who notes that 95% of the Haitian population identify as African, yet Haitian migration to Britain has been negligible in contrast to their migration to the Americas, so Sutton's (1987) claim that African Caribbean migration to the UK was an ethnically led preference cannot reasonably be explained in this way.

Furthermore, self-reported data shows the majority of ethnicity in Cuba to be European (Muscato, 2022). Yet, Cuban migration mostly taken place to North America rather

than Britain. This raises a question as to why people from the largest of the Caribbean islands, with European heritage, have not migrated to their original homelands in Europe and Britain in large numbers?

A type of 'skin-colour' migration has however been seen to take place in Britain. Following the collapse of apartheid in South Africa, thousands of white South Africans migrated seamlessly to Britain. Census data (2011) indicates over two hundred thousand South Africans are resident, a '*privileged migrant group'*, interestingly with no disruption to the indigenous population (Halvorsrud, 2017, p.100). But, this type of migration cannot account for why certain Caribbean populations were pushed or pulled to Britain rather than the Americas.

Mintz (1975; Smith, 1955) highlight the diversity of Caribbean societies and the heterogeneousness of their cultures, arguing that across the Caribbean, social structures feature a high degree of '*economic individualisation' and 'sharply differentiated access to land, wealth and political power'*. Louden (1975) too asserts the Caribbean is a creole culture, formed of a mix of African, Asian, European and vestiges of the original Indian tribal groups. African Caribbeans are an example of an ethnic group who have many characteristics in common, within which there is also heterogeneity and hybridity (Lovejoy, 2000). The amalgam of ethnicities, cultures and identities, who have different histories, religions and cultural practices, represent a hybrid, rather than a homogenous African Caribbean identity (Hall, 1993). Thus, there are methodological problems in an essentialised concept of African Caribbean ethnicity and cultural identity. Arguably, there is no single African Caribbean culture from which to make full claims as to women's migratory experiences.

The literature review makes clear that a study of African Caribbean older women's migratory experiences includes an analysis of the dimensions of gender, 'race', class and ethnicity. Class differences has meaning as it is mostly people from poor communities, who lack resources and social capital, for whom migration exists as a material strategy. An analysis of gender is relevant as it is a form of social relations through which males and females are differentiated, allocated, freedoms, rights and resources. Race and ethnicity are also applicable to these discussions, as such migrants are visibly different from the majority of those who live in the rich host nations

and so are frequently ascribed a lesser status, treated in ways that accentuate and encourage differential treatment. The next chapter takes up the issues of why African Caribbean women came to the ‘Mother Country’, where the ‘streets were to be paved with gold’.

2.5 Conclusions

From the critical review and analysis of empirical studies and literature, the findings of this chapter address the marginalised academic work into Black older women’s experiences and so contributes to answering the research questions posed by the thesis. The literature firstly confirms that African Caribbean female migration is a long-established practice. It is both a common and intentional strategy adopted by poor black and ethnic minority women with limited opportunities for betterment and upward mobility.

Secondly, the review's significance lies in the evaluation of scholarship challenging the historically negative interpretations about African Caribbean family and kinship forms, emphasising instead more intersectional conceptualisations, that highlight such diversity as an adaptive approach for improving economic wellbeing. The findings contribute to contesting classic social representations and traditional discourses on black female migration as a primarily dependency model and emphasise instead the active agency of black women and mustering systems of kinship support for betterment. The contribution here adds to current feminist analysis on social representations, and the ways in which women’s social identities are negotiated through social interactions and practices.

Thirdly, the literature findings reveal micro and macro complexities involved in black female migration. As the chapter highlights, African Caribbean migrant women are frequently mothers and this knowledge contributes further to understanding that migration involves a shift in identity for such women, as their traditional gender roles become disrupted and family relationships destabilised.

Finally, the chapter provides further insights into unaddressed themes in transnational mothering, such as mother-child attachment and separation, family reunification and trauma in the postcolonial space.

Chapter 3: Black Women, Motherhood and Mothering

Look how long Black 'oman
Mada, sista, wife, sweetheart,
Outa road an enna yard deh pon
A dominate her part!
(Louise Bennet, cited in Bryan et al, 1986, p. 187)

Introduction

Although, women's identities have been traditionally theorised and conceptualised in relation to their roles as mothers, their roles as workers has been less analysed (Hynes and Clarkberg, 2005). This has implications for African Caribbean women's experiences as they have frequently occupied multiple roles over the life-course, consequently their lives and experiences have lacked holistic analysis and there has been limited space for theoretical analysis, interpretations and knowledge development.

The mothering practices of the African Caribbean women in my study have long been neglected. The social and cultural context of these practices is the focus of this chapter. It concerns both motherhood and mothering, as these concepts involve a set of ideas and practices that shape both the personal behaviour and social activities for all women, but particularly for mothers. As many African Caribbean female migrants came to Britain as mothers or became mothers within a short time of their settlement, they were acutely exposed to these ideals. The chapter therefore outlines the orthodox view of motherhood in Western capitalist societies and considers the implications of this Westernised view of motherhood for Black and other, non-Western mothers such as African Caribbean women.

I analyse some of the ways that Western motherhood is distinguished, including its biological roots, archetypal manifestations and idealised notions of motherhood embedded within Christian doctrine. As motherhood under patriarchy involves

obligatory roles and behaviours for women, the chapter explores several issues that are raised in respect of how differences in sanctioned and unendorsed forms of motherhood are supported within British cultural and economic life. It discusses the impact of these differences for Black mothers and Black mothering. The chapter establishes that the historic and intersectional experiences of African Caribbean motherhood have been devalued and undermined in preference to other dominant forms of mothering. Utilising feminist and Black perspectives of mothering, the problematic nature of the Westernised model of motherhood is critically examined and the impact of its (neo)liberalist underpinnings on Black motherhood and Black mothering is deconstructed (Hamilton, 2021).

I contextualise African Caribbean motherhood, family and kinship forms within their historical setting, which is African matriarchal and matrilineal family structures. African Caribbean family forms originate from these ancestral customs and consequently are assumed to be disorganised and even uncivilized as they do not typically follow Westernised patriarchal forms of kinship and family. These family and kinship arrangements balance the triple roles of mother, wife and worker often occupied by Black women. African Caribbean women and mothers have long been able to benefit from family structures and social networks that enable them to act as both economic providers outside the home and primary nurturers within their families. In legitimising this position, it is necessary to acknowledge the 'history of negation', that people of African heritage have long experienced in the world and in response to this Eurocentrism, the necessity for '*a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person'* (Asante, 1991, cited in Adeleke, 2015, p.201/p.204).

My perspective follows Black feminist and Amadiume's (1997) analysis, my reasoning here is to centralise Africa's partially buried history of matriarchy, to better position African Caribbean matrilineal and female-centred family structures. Considering this, I also adopt Oyewumi's (2002, p.5) critique of the universalisation of the nuclear family as a unit of analysis, highligfindhting its limitations in conceptualising mothers and constructing motherhood as '*subsumed under wifehood'*. Following this, I argue that the historic forcible removal of Africans from their homeland and relocation in the foreign lands of Caribbean and the Americas did not just change the history of

relationships between Africans and Europeans, it forever altered the nature of the migrated Africans' culture and identities.

The enforced separation of African women from their men and children during slavery, changed the interpersonal and family dynamics between African women, children and men. Consequently, I summarise the historic enslavement of Africans and its part in the evolution of African Caribbean societies. In doing so, I argue that this migration brought with it the African womens' history and memories of their female-centric family relationships and kinship ties. I also expose the racialised ideologies that supported and perpetuated slavery, to give honour to the millions of long dead enslaved African men and women who are the ancestors of these modern female African Caribbean migrants.

I explore mothering and child rearing in African Caribbean families and re-examine the legacy of the deficit model of the African Caribbean family alongside contemporary views of the Black family. The chapter includes a discussion of the impact of migration on Black female mothering, arguing for more emphasis on the broader cultural and ecological context of family relationships that incorporate life-course, transnational and intersectional perspectives. As Liu et al (2017) notes, there is an increasing need for recognition of cultural variation in notions of mothering that move beyond nuclear-based family relationships.

> 'If one seeks to understand the social dynamics of today one must trace the major processes of history' (Manley, 1974, cited in Arnold, 2012, p.8).

3.1 Motherhood

Motherhood has been subject to changing historical and cultural definitions, understandings and practices (Foucault, 1976), yet at the core are a set of assumptions. Principally, that motherhood is the fulfilment of womanhood and of a woman's identity and the mothering role is the pinnacle of a woman's social and cultural identity (Phoenix, Woolett and Lloyd, 1991). Across many societies, the mother is idealised as the principal carer, '*symbolising familial ties, unconditional love and loyalty'* (Oyewumi 2003, cited Moorhouse and Cunningham, 2012, p. 494). Many religions and cultures accord a high place to motherhood and Christianity, whether

Protestant or Catholic, has long shaped attitudes towards women and mothering. The Bible is littered with allusions to the ideal, feminine virtues and character that women and mothers should aspire to (Beattie, 2002).

Motherhood embodies notions of selflessness (Gunderson and Barrett, 2015). Mothers provide the essential physical, emotional and social nurturing to their offspring, teaching them the knowledge, skills and values for successful adult socialisation:

> *'The successful performance of intensive mothering…by the primary caregiver, usually a woman, yields "the finished product of the mother's labour, and a reflection on her worth and ability as a woman" and ensures the continued existence of the family as institution'* (Hay, 1990, cited Moorhouse and Cunningham, 2012, p.497).

Writers such as Geary (2006) have argued that men's dominance and control over women is embedded within biological sexual selective behaviours. Such reasoning maintains that women's reproductive and childbearing capabilities are natural and instinctive to women (Hall, 1988). Yet, the notion of motherhood as the natural prerogative of women has come under major challenge from feminists. The socially constructed nature of male and femaleness was established by De Beauvoir's statement that *'one is not born, but rather becomes a woman'* (Amelina and Luts, 2019, p.3). Blaffer-Hrdy (1999) equally contests the notion of an essentialised mothering female. Critical of the overemphasis of the biological basis of mothering that denies women's varied role in parental care and mothering, Hrdy (2009) also asserts that motherhood depends on the environmental and individual circumstances in which each woman finds herself.

There is a belief that all women become mothers has been revealed as a culturally embedded construct (Roberts (1993). Feminism has provided a critical framework for scholars to deconstruct the biologically determined arguments and patriarchal, religious ideologies of women as natural mothers. Feminist critiques of idealised mothering have highlighted the patriarchal nature of social systems, state policies and religious beliefs about gender that have restricted the lives of women and mothers (De

Beauvoir, 1949). Lesbian women have begun articulating their mothering rights (Gumbs, 2016) these narratives adding to an increasingly contested perception of a heterosexual, maternal mother. In summary, purely biological or evolutionary explanations fail to address the importance of culture, environment and social learning in influencing evolutionary sexual behaviour (Dogo, 2014).

Gumbs (2016) writes of a distinction between motherhood and mothering. She maintains motherhood is a historically legal status assigned to the wealthy, elite class of women by the patriarchal state, most often these are white European women, whilst the latter term refers to the *'nurturing work'* undertaken by often poor, immigrant women (Gumbs, 2016, p.22). Mothering is a form of labour often performed by one class of women for another (Romero, 1992; Jackson, cited in Richardson and Robinson, 2008). Such analysis may be considered meaningful in framing the experiences of African Caribbean women.

So, for Black mothers, these ideas are also very troubling. They have been defined by dominant European Christian ideologies and uphold a traditional belief in an orthodox nuclear family and a fixed gendered role for women, predicated on white middle-class maternal women (Lienesch, 1993). Black mothers encountering these '*controlling images*' and concepts have struggled to relate to and identify with them (Hill Collins, 2000, p. 174). For Black women, mothering is an activity that is frequently undertaken by different women, it involves mother each other's children, rather than completely individualised mothering and this representation is counter to dominant cultural ideologies of motherhood in Western societies, therefore it is assigned an inferior status (Reynolds, 2020).

Yet, conversely, the orthodox values and beliefs about motherhood are also important to women of African descent (Hill Collins, 2000). Black women across the African diaspora value marriage and children as equally as their white counterparts, though interestingly they often marry later than other ethnic groups (Lloyd et al. 2021). Black motherhood in America the Caribbean and Britain encapsulate the same problematic archetypes of self-sacrifice, devotion and '*superstrong*' female endurance (Hill Collins, 2000, p.174).

3.2 African mothering

Before moving on to examine these archetypes and their impact on Black mothering, the discussion moves to explore and re-establish the cultural legacy of African matrilineal and matriarchal mothering in African Caribbean families. My reason for this is to argue that the African Caribbean women and mothers who migrated to England, carried with them a female-centric heritage that strongly supported their socio-economic activity in society. This originated in African in matriarchal societies. It has been memetically transmitted, through socialised practices including oral traditions such as language. This heritage has survived slavery and colonialist brutalities and has enabled African Caribbean women and mothers to undertake multiple roles and responsibilities.

Writers such as Bush (2010) provide evidence that the mothering and childrearing practices commonly practiced amongst pre-industrial African societies were valued and central to the flourishing lives of those societies. These practices encompass communal care of children and a large extended family that provides emotional care, economic and social security to kin (Adinlofu, 2009). Prior to slavery and colonialism, African women enjoyed status and power as women and as mothers within their families and communities and have long been able to benefit from family structures and social networks that enable them to act as both economic providers outside the home and as principle nurturers within their families. Their family and kinship arrangements enable them to balance their triple roles of mother, wife and worker (Bush, 2010; Abdullah, 2012). African Caribbean family forms originate from these ancestral customs and therefore do not typically follow Westernised patriarchal forms of kinship and family, consequently they are assumed disorganised and primitive in comparison (Moynihan, 1965).

African motherhood existed at the centre of a wide kinship network that saw the collective care of children and a strong role model in the mothers and grandmothers of children, who provide them with resources as well as socialisation (Bush, 2010; Deybey, 2012). Such ideas illustrate that Black women have historically long occupied a position of strength and power within their families.

Motherhood in African culture is strongly linked to notions of the sacred and has often had a revered status, giving women authority and power within their families and communities (Akujobi, 2016). Davies (1986, cited in Olayiwola and Olowonmi, 2013, p.143) points out that:

> 'In many African societies, motherhood defines womanhood…and is crucial to woman's status'.

Within many African societies therefore, a profound respect for the mother exists and a high status is accorded to the mothering role (Ellis, 1984). Mothers have a leading role as the bringer of life, the principal caregiver who is responsible for providing physical and emotional care to children and adults within the family unit (Evans and Davies, 1997). African motherhood strongly promotes ideologies of motherhood as a woman's central function, maternal bonding between mother and child is encouraged even before birth, as well as rituals to ensure safe pregnancy and birth (Hall, 1988). Akujobi (2016, p.3) identifies that in Africa '*there is no worse fortune for a woman than being childless'.*

The origins of Africa's matriarchal practices might lie in the spirituality of Africans. As elsewhere, Africans worshipped many different gods and goddesses, and practised complex rituals and ceremonies to gain protection, kill enemies and heal themselves (Coleman, 1997). The power of African goddesses were not restricted to mothering and fertility, they included a variety of complex responsibilities, including control over fertility, agriculture, law, warfare and the weather (Stuckey, 2005). Pre-colonial Africa's beliefs systems included various and often central social and cultural roles for African women who participated in many spiritual narratives and practices as leaders and priestesses (Coleman, 1997; Okome, 2002, cited in Dogo, 2014).

The diversity of religious and spiritual practices that have existed for African women include ancestor rituals, the honouring of elders, numerous magical practices and the worship of multiple deities and spirits for protection and wellbeing (Coleman, 1997). Sheldon (2017) and Amadiume (1997) indicate that African women ruled as Queens and Empresses across the continent. Female-led, mother-focused societies and woman-centred communities have been active features of African human life for

thousands of years (Sheldon, 2017; Amadiume, 1997; Allen, 1986, cited in Caputi, 2004).

Within such social systems, African women played a central role in family life, but controlled goods and resources, undertaking economic as well as socio-political decisions (Goettner-Abendroth, 2004; James, 1993; Sheldon, 2017). African women and mothers held decision-making power in these female-centred social systems, they owned the homes the family lived in and their and reproductive rights were protected (Amadiume, 1997; James, 1993, Sudarkasa, 1989). Such communities were widespread across Africa and under these arrangements, there were few restrictions as to the role and status of women (Dove, 1998; Sheldon, 2017). Goettner-Abendroth (2012, cited in Dipop, 2018) and Sanday (2008, cited in Dogo, 2010) confirm that matriarchies are a balanced social system and both sexes hold leadership roles. Female-male relationships were able to, '*work together in all areas of social organisation'* (Dove, 1998, p. 520; Njoh, and Akiwunmi, 2011; Chuku, 2009).

Diop (cited Amadiume, 1997) and Dipio (2019) argue evidence exists that humans developed not one, but two distinct and independent social structures, agnation and enation. Patriarchal agnation-based societies were established across the northern hemisphere by male-dominated tribes aided by their warrior deities and domesticated horses (Dove, 1998; James, 1993). Africa, meanwhile, was the source of female-dominated, enation matriarchies, based in southern, agrarian-based societies. The two systems plausibly evolved separately and for different purposes under specific materialist and socio-economic conditions (Amadiume, 1997).

Patriarchy is defined here as broadly referring to the control of women by men, such control including women's reproduction and sexuality to assure paternity (Rothman, 1998). Western patriarchal models of family place women and mothers under a nuclear family structure with a male head of family, who possess full authority, rights and privileges. It would appear that European women had no access to a strong matriarchy and were therefore denied economic and cultural power by the 'male-gendered power structure' (Amadiume, 1997, p. 112).

Whereas diverse matriarchies existed across the African continent. Various types have existed, from economic '*societies of reciprocity'* to those based on kinship, clan-marriage, egalitarian or consensus-based matriarchies, and the sacral/sacred based societies (Goettner-Abendroth, 2004, p.5). Evidence that matriarchal and matrilineal societies existed especially in African societies, is supported (Goettner-Abendroth, 2004; Sheldon, 2017; Jones, 2011). Africa was both matriarchal, in having female rulers and leaders and matrilineal, having a system of female inheritance and one in which the:

> 'position of every individual, men no less than women, is definable only with reference to females, and the continuity of the society as a whole…must be represented through them' (James, 1993, p. 131).

Paglia (2006) dismisses the notion of matriarchal societies as naïve sentimentalism however according to Amadiume (1997) her analysis overlooks the evidence from Africa. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (1950) argue that their study of African kinship systems is a scientific inquiry of African kinship. However, their introductory discussion is mostly predicated on explaining kinship through males, though they do acknowledge that in some African societies there is a similar system of kinship through females:

> 'With such a system a person distinguishes from the rest of his cognates those persons who are descended by female links only from the same female ancestress as himself. We can speak of these as his matrilineal kin' (Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950, p.14).

Yet, according to Amadiume (1997) from their early history and development, Western models of kinship, socio-cultural and political systems have been patriarchal in nature. For this reason, it can be supposed that patriarchal social structures are inherent features of human society (Maine, cited Powell, 1885). Centuries of tradition and religious practice in Europe consolidated the power of '*father-rule'* (Timm and Sanborn, 2007, p.2).

In most societies across the world, men and women are placed in unequal roles. Patriarchal social systems ensure men enjoy the highest status, legal and socio-

political power within the society (Dogo, 2014). Although the model varies across the world in its permissiveness, women's freedom to marry, to mother and to work are mostly subject to patriarchal approval. Together, capitalism and patriarchy have become the accepted social order, natural components of the social and economic development of Western societies, almost exclusively controlled by men. So, for many critical and feminist scholars, power and oppression are manifested through the dual relationship between the ideology of patriarchy and the economic system of capitalism (Gordon, 2015; Eisenstein, 1979).

African feminist scholars have deconstructed the patriarchal nature of many of the practices surrounding African motherhood. For a variety of reasons African Caribbean women and their families have maintained independent, female-headed households, where their agency in accessing the wide network of family and kin than is provided for under a nuclear family model, is central (Dipio 2019). Affirmations about matriarchal societies are important for supporting arguments that humans have also evolved complex psychological and social mechanisms, such as group co-operation, that equally enable them to participate in successful social relationships and social systems (Buss, 1995).

Significantly, it can be observed that men continue to determine African women and mothers' social acceptance and worth, through for instance, the rituals and practices of motherhood that include methods of control of female sexuality (Akujobi, 2016). It must be acknowledged that traditional African societies with male heads of households have long exercised authority and control over land, household and gender roles (Dogo, 2014). Although nineteenth century European colonial rule saw some patriarchal customs such as child-pledging and forced marriage weakened, other customs such as '*bridewealth became increasingly commoditise*d', reinforcing the tribal authority of African male chiefs and elders (Schmidt (1990, p.635).

Africa and its diaspora has still been deeply rooted in patriarchal systems that have constrained African women's lives and development (Gordon, 1996). The reality is that the exchange of women is one of the major factors in the evolution of patriarchy (James, 1993, cited Amadiume, 1997). Even today, across the world women are given away in marriage, they are bought, sold, traded and exchanged.

Still, many scholars agree that the imposition into Africa of the Western patriarchal system led to the erosion of many political gains for African women (Amadiume, 1997; Schmidt, 1990; Chuku, 2009). The African matriarchal system was transformed by religion and invasion (Diop, 1989; Dove, 1998). Firstly, over the centuries, Asian, Arab, and European conquerors sacked the continent, bringing with them patriarchal Islam and Christianity, '*masculinization and militarization'* (Amadiume, 1997, p.60). Njoh and Akiwumi (2011) argue that under Islam, the ancient indigenous gender relations were displaced, affecting the rights and roles of African women:

> 'Allah will not tolerate idolatry…the pagans pray to females' (cited in Dove, 1998, p. 522).

So, the right or not of African women to marry, bear children and to move freely within society, these freedoms were redefined, firstly according to patriarchal Islamic doctrine. Secondly, by Christian missionaries, who '*invoked biblical passages specifically designed to promote women's cultural subordination'* (Njoh and Akiwumi, 2011, p. 7). African indigenous religions and cultures were denounced and womens' active role within African society diminished (Chuku, 2009).

It can also be underlined that the history of Christian orthodox religious and socio-cultural history has suppressed the contribution of women (Rosen, 2017; Jenkins, 2018). This absence of women's perspectives has resulted in a biased representation of Christian womanhood, on which men have largely constructed their own notions on the mothering role, eliminating the active leading roles women played in the development of human society, in Africa and elsewhere. European womens' religious authority and leadership was effectively erased, in order to further embed patriarchal power and leadership within Western socio-cultural and political systems. Furthermore, it is invariably the case that the major religious and social institutions have used such reconstituted knowledge to ascribe specific conventions and behaviours to women as to their conduct as mothers.

Williams (1944, p. 201/202) documents the role of the church in the widespread involvement and support for the slave trade. Ideology, beliefs and behaviours were used to justify and rationalise the social practice of racism. '*Black inferiority was*

legitimised, laying the foundation for the praxis of race'. In order to justify the transatlantic slave trade, it had to be established that the African was inherently inferior and could not be accorded the same equality of treatment with the European (Yeboah, 1988). For this theory of inferiority to be upheld, it had to be given legal/moral legitimacy, the indisputable views of law, science and religion. Christian missionaries smoothed the way for the transition from slavery to colonialization.

Still, Christian religion continues to be a powerful cultural connection for Black and white women, 'u*niversalizing women's experiences across space, time, and culture*' (Weisenfeld, 2013, p. 136; Musgrave et al. 2002). At the heart of Christian attitudes to motherhood lies a mix of Puritan, Victorian and post-war ideologies in which the male acts as the supreme authority, legitimised firstly by God, but also by his physical, biological and psychosexual difference (Lienesch, 1993). Women on the other hand are predisposed to be mothers and are subordinate, to be ruled by their husbands.

Such religious doctrine supports and validates control by men of women's rights, choices and actions, directing mothers as to their social role. The Christian church and other patriarchal institutions then have long sought to construct and categorise motherhood and to impose these notions on the behaviour and lives of women across the Western world. Violating them can represent a major challenge for Black women and here are multiple and negative outcomes for women and mothers who do not naturally follow such established practices or who cannot easily share those values (Fonza, 2013).

Yet, despite Christianity having come to dominate African and African Caribbean religious practices, it is significant that parts of the Caribbean have retained elements of African religious traditions that continue to empower women such as Kumina (Stewart, 2004).

3.3 Slavery and mothering

African slavery in the Caribbean and Americas irreconcilably altered the ancient social and family arrangements and many matrilineal patterns of African mothering and kinship became lost (Abdullah, 2012). Yet there is debate on whether these practices

and behaviours have been entirely lost to the descendant. Frazier's work (1939/1966, cited in Barrow, 2001, p. 421) claims that African family patterns were totally disrupted during slavery, '*leaving only scraps of memories'* in Black family life. For Frazier, the African American matrifocal family arose from the conditions of slavery (Frazier, 2001, cited in Hunter, 2006):

> 'Black mothers' bonds with their children have been marked by brutal disruption, beginning with the slave auction where family members were sold to different masters' (Roberts, 1995, p.146).

Herskovits (1941, cited in Barrow, 1996, p.5) disputed Frazier's view. His research in the Caribbean found that African cultural family patterns had survived the impact of slavery and still existed '*beneath the surface'.* Certainly, as Davis (1970, p.3) asserts, slavery had a '*memetic*' impact on the African Caribbean psyche, causing psychological trauma as well as the physical fragmentation and disruption of family and parental bonds.

Matriliny, the existence of women-only households and the absence of men or fathers in parenting and family organisations, is noted to be particularly common amongst poor people in the Caribbean (Mulot (2013). Arguably these matrilineal forms are transported through the migration of Caribbean women and mothers and so this helps to explain their continuance in other countries. For many writers then, the roots of African Caribbean and African American family relationships lie in the fragmentation of the family bonds established under slavery (Mendenhall et al., 2013). Enslaved women had little choice but to assume the breadwinner role as their menfolk were sold away (Anderson, 1986).

Higman (1978 in Jokan, 2008) is amongst those who argue that some African matrilineal and matrifocal family forms continued to exist during and after slavery. Such writers argue that the enslaved women adapted to the constant loss of menfolk by developing more matrifocal family arrangements. Under the slave system, matrifocal families became dominant, especially in the smaller plantations, due to the disappearance and sale of the enslaved men (Florentino and Góes, cited in Lovejoy, 2000).

Davis (1970, p.3) though believes that the African slave women's responses to this loss of kinship were varied and that strong interpersonal and close family bonds '*persisted despite coerced separation*'. Reynolds (2005) also maintains that African forms of family organisation survived slavery and that the core values of matri-lineage, family kinship, and 'blood ties' have continued within the Caribbean descendants:

> 'Since slavery, Black women and Black mothers have assumed multiple roles within society, a housewife, mother, caretaker, breadwinner and many more' (Green, 2004, p.1).

During slavery, the enforced breeding of new slaves was just one of the enslaved women's duties (Green, 2004). From early childhood until their middle-age, female slaves were regarded as both labourers and reproducers (Reddock, 1985). They laboured alongside men in the cotton fields and raised the children of their slave owners but also had responsibility for the socialisation of their own children, as part of '*a generalised ethic of care that extends to the community*' (Hill Collins, 1987, cited in Narcisse, 2012, p. 158).

Slave women were excluded from the 'cult of motherhood', which for white women was represented as a '*pious, pure, submissive, and domestic'* activity (Littlefield, 2007, p .54). Only white women were to be the symbol of pure Christian motherhood and were distinguished by these virtues from African slave women, '*irrespective of class'* (Beckles, cited in Lovejoy, 2000, p.168). To justify their subjugation, a separate ideological discourse was constructed for the African woman, as inherently different from white women, consequently well fitted for hard labour (Woollacott, 2006). It became necessary to justify their exploitation under slavery by developing the stereotype of the Black woman as masculine and dominant (Green, 2004):

> 'Essentially non-feminine, in so far as primacy was placed on her alleged physical strength, aggressive carriage and sturdiness' (Beckles, cited Lovejoy, 2000, p. 171).

The stereotype of the Black woman as (un)naturally strong and powerful was created. Staples (1970) remarks that African women and mothers' active role and power within

the family was devalued and they became reconstituted into such oppressively archetypes as the ‘domineering matriarch’. Slave-owners even objected to proposals to abolish flogging of slave women, arguing it was necessary as: ‘*our black ladies have rather a tendency to the Amazonian cast of character…*’ (Williams, 1944, cited in Reddock, 1985, p. 73).

Their management of their diverse roles helped to crystallise the notion of the Black woman as strong and capable of coping with anything. However, Davis (1970) argues that the image of the ‘heroic’ African slave mother perpetuates the idea that the enslaved mother coped with the loss of her children through some kind of innate female virtue. Such unnatural images reinforce notions of her insensitivity to maternal loss and minimise the reality of the trauma of the forced removal of her children.

Within the slave plantation, slaves were not allowed to marry and sexual, affective and family attachments for enslaved parents and their children were not recognised:

> ‘Conjugal and family relationships [were] disrupted by the sale and transfer of partners, children and other kin…and by the sexual liaisons and abuse of female slaves by white men’ (Barrow, 2001, p. 420).

Bush (1990) notes that enslaved mother’s voices are mostly invisible in official records. An analysis of how these women managed their grief at the loss and enforced separation of their children is offered by Turner (2017, p.235) who remarks that, as disease and high mortality were commonplace, ‘*by limiting affection and attachment, parents could fortify their minds against the worst that might happen’*.

So, for instance, behaviours such as the ‘*nine-day rule*’ may have helped enslaved women to emotionally detach from their new-born babies in preparation for death or being sold. Yet, as Hamilton (2021, p.238) reports in an 1816 description of an enslaved mother’s grief at the loss of her child, the anguish and pain of loss is clear:

> ‘The poor woman was the image of grief itself; she sat on her bed, looking at the child which lay on her side with its little hands clasped, its teeth clenched, and its eyes fixed, writhing in the agony of the spasm, which she was quite

motionless and speechless, although the tears trickled down her cheeks incessantly'.

Essentially, mothering was another coercive '*form of labor, that slave owners required enslaved women to perform'* (Jones-Rogers, 2017, p. 340). Testimonies describe how pregnant slave women were commonly treated with contempt, '*stripped and whipped'* (Woolacott, 2006, p. 16; Reddock (1985). Yet perversely the same disregard for slave women's mothering was at odds with the extensive wet-nursing practices, which also saw them habitually '*bartered as goods'*, removed from the care of their own children to meet the care needs of the female slave-owners and their children (Jones-Rogers, 2017, p. 348; Beckles, cited in Lovejoy, 2000; Cowling, et al, 2017).

It is also realistic to assume that the enslaved women found ways to resist their oppression, as well as to pass on their caring skills and practices. The ways the enslaved women rebelled and resisted their tyranny included taking part in physical uprisings, arson and sabotage within the slave-owner's homes, as well as regular escaping from the plantation (Sweet, 2022). Schwalm (2017) analyses the contribution of enslaved women to ending slavery, which has been overlooked by historians. He utilises secondary data, *'considered highly scientific due to their measures and controlled nature'* (Möller, 2001). Many slave studies were conducted in the USA and so it can be questioned as to the extent to which such studies are universal to other cultures and contexts such as the Caribbean. However, it is established that many ex-slave women and their children escaped from the plantations during the American civil war, working as cooks, washwomen and spies. Another little-known group in the larger narratives of slavery in the Caribbean are free Blacks. An estimated 42,000 were living in Jamaica in 1838, many were women, who played a vital role in creating and supporting the underground resistance to slavery, hiding runaways and building slave networks (Nelson, 2017).

The anti-slavery movement was actually then an alliance of disparate groups and interests working on different fronts. It took the outlawing of slavery in the American South, the emancipation and anti-slavery movements in Britain, the Caribbean and elsewhere and the resistance of Africans, slaves and freed, before slavery in the British colonies was finally abolished in 1833 (Grindal, 2016; Harley, 2011; Skidmore,

2018). Less articulated are the '*acts of protest'* and resistance to the reproductive practices that the women engaged in including, abortion and infanticide (Reddock (1985; Littlefield, 2007, p.58). There is evidence that the women found ways to resist the pronatalist demands for their reproductive labour, for example, through low fertility. Stillbirth and infant mortality under slavery was more than 50% (West and Shearer, 2017). These 'sites of oppression' mark the experiences of women and mothers' of the African diaspora.

The right of African women to be mothers was entirely controlled during slavery and they have been denied access to the socio-economic conditions that enable exclusive, domestic mothering (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). Thus, from slavery through to colonialism, Black mothers have been assigned negative racialised identities that have defined and controlled their mothering (Roberts, 1993; Hamilton, 2021).

Woodward and Mastin (2005) and Abdullah (2012, p.59) discuss several of the myths of Black mothers, noting the many images of the devoted, domestic, asexual '*Mammy*', the exotic '*Jezebel*', the '*welfare mother*' and, of course the '*emasculating matriarch*', that have perpetuated negative cultural and socio-economic representations of Black family life. While these stereotypes may exist for other women, it is the racialised and gendered nature of these myths that have been used by the dominant European culture, within their religious and media representations, against Black women and their Black motherhood (Bryan et al., 1986).

As white women have been positioned in a primarily domestic role, valued for their reproductive duties and abilities, so Black mothers have '*remained profoundly influenced by colonialist assumptions'* (Coles, et al., 2015), devalued for their ability to manage, home and work life. Reynolds (1997) comments how Black men are reported as 'absent' in the lives of their families and Ellis (1986) observes that African Caribbean family practices and relationships are heavily gendered and reinforced through stereotyped social interactions, African Caribbean men often playing a marginal role in child-rearing, child maintenance and family support. Yet, such analysis is challenged by (Heron, 2018, p.44) who points to the '*emergence of increasingly nuanced considerations of fathering/grandfathering across the life-course'*.

It also ignores the discriminatory socio-economic system that since the 1970s has actively produce unequal educational achievement and markedly high unemployment amongst Black men (Claude, 1986). Black men experience continue to experience disproportionately higher unemployment that white men (Manning and Rose, 2021). This is a historic finding and correlates with studies from the 1940s onwards that show blatant wage discrimination against dark-skinned men (Coleman, 2003) and noted preferences for light-skinned people in employment and professional status (cited in Hughes and Hertel, 1990). Instead, Black women and men are blamed for their and their families' social problems. (UK Parliament Research Briefings 2022; Roberts, 1997; Staples, 1970; McLemore, 2018).

What this helps convey is that the installation and perpetuation of white racial superiority during and following African slavery and Caribbean colonialisation is critical for its part in the creation of norms that have regulated notions of natural 'white' motherhood. Black women have been assigned a host of negative discourses, adding to the many adversities faced by the African Caribbean women and mothers who subsequently migrated to Britain.

Mothering and child rearing in African Caribbean families is rooted in the historic kinship traditions commonly practiced amongst African societies (Bush, 2010). Until recently, one of the major differences between African and Western parenting models is that African and African Caribbean family structures traditionally include systems for raising children outside of the nuclear unit, with access to multiple relatives who work together as a wider exosystem, sharing responsibilities for nurturing relationships with all children of the family group (Holmes, 1995; Amos, 2013). The African saying 'it takes a village to raise a child' is indicative of this practice (Seymour, 2013).

It can be summarised here that the matrilineal values and family practices of people of African descent including extended family ties and female-centred authority and care, have long been at odds with Western patriarchal models and methods of childrearing and parenting (Wu and Qi, 2005). The result has been that African American and African Caribbean family structures have been compared differentially and detrimentally against the values and practices of white Western families.

3.4 Caribbean families and Caribbean mothering

> 'Caribbean families are highly complex, and many forms exist side by side – reflecting the pluralistic nature of Caribbean societies' (Stuart, 1996, p. 29).

In common with African women, African Caribbean women also place a significant value on motherhood and bearing children (Powell, 1976; Anderson, 1986). African Caribbean children are highly valued and represent an important economic and future investment for parents and for older people (Barrow, 1996; Brown, 2001; Smith and Mosby, 2003) and '*childlessness as an active choice is a mysterious concept to most Caribbean people'* (Barrow, 2008, p.13).

Härkönen's (2016, p.108) exploration of kinship in the Cuban Caribbean identifies how the birth of a child changes social relationships, enabling '*intergenerational care'*, and both creating and extending lasting kinships across the life cycle for many different women and mothers. Therefore, for many working-class African Caribbean women, childrearing is frequently a matrifocal activity, shared amongst many women (Smith, 1996). This is significant because it confirms the assertion that African family and kinship patterns have survived and remain a positive resource and support for African Caribbean women.

African Caribbean women and mothers function as the foundation of the family, providing a major source of emotional and financial support to each other and to their children and family members (Muruthi et al., 2016). Despite the prevalence of patriarchal norms within Caribbean family structures, African Caribbean women and mothers exercise autonomy and decision-making power (Powell, 1986; Reynolds, 2005).

Although there is a diversity of child rearing practises across the English-speaking Caribbean, Phoenix and Seu (2013) draw attention to the practice of 'child shifting' among some African Caribbean populations, whereby some children move to live with other relatives or close friends. This is sometimes so that the parents, usually the mother, can take up paid work. Alternatively, as is frequently the case for migrant women, to enable the mother to migrate overseas for employment. It also becomes

financially necessary to send a child to be cared for to other kin or friends who have the resources to care for them (Barrow, 1996).

Jones, et al., (2004), Arnold (2006) and Pottinger (2005) have explored the impact of child separation and maternal absence on African Caribbean children. These '*barrel children*' who are left behind to be cared for by surrogates, face a variety of emotional and behavioural problems because of separation from their primary parent, especially because of migration (Crawford-Brown and Raffray, 2001, p.109; Pottinger, 2005; Phoenix and Seu, 2013). Child shifting has been associated with a host of negative outcomes including psychological trauma, sexual and physical abuse (Arnold, 1996, 2006; Jones, et al., 2004; Crawford-Brown and Raffray, 2001; Pottinger, 2005). On the other hand, the practice serves many functions, for example, it is also a means to ensure better life chances for the child. In such circumstances, the child may be able to attend school, receive opportunities to learn skills and training (Contreras and Griffith, 2012).

3.5 Caribbean Women, Work and Migration

Managing multiple roles has been a historic as well as an arguably memetic component of African Caribbean women and mothers' experiences. What is meant by this is that for many working-class African Caribbean women, African cultural practices, such as shared care of children, working and mothering roles and household arrangements such as matrifocality, have survived in Black families.

Although Black women are part of a global majority, within Western societies they form an ethnic and racial minority. Consequently, Black women's mothering practices and family networks have been subject to excessive scrutiny and surveillance by the state, these based on Eurocentric beliefs about what constitutes a family and subjective assumptions that assess Black family arrangements as inferior and malfunctioning, for example within some children's safeguarding processes (Kerenga, 2001; Bywaters et al., 2015). Oyewumi (2002) and Sudarkasa (1986) also comment on the distorted and racialised failure to recognise the complexities and strengths of non-Western family and kinship forms, such as those emphasising other attributes such as seniority rather than gender as the '*primary basis'* of family authority (Sudarkasa, 1986, p.98).

For many African Caribbean women, migration to Britain, Canada and USA has been in part a necessity for '*economic betterment'* (Sutton, 1987, p. 10; Crawford, 2004). Writers such as Boserup (1970) and Brodber (1982) have emphasised Black women's economic independence and activity, establishing their extensive economic contribution and bringing attention to African Caribbean women's colonial experiences (Morrissey, 1989; Bush 1990). Reddock (2014) is another scholar who specialises in sociological analysis of Caribbean women's development and empowerment. She emphasises African Caribbean women's historical economic and social activity, highlighting its emergence from slavery's colonial racism.

Yet, alongside this practical endeavour is the political context in which Caribbean migration has occurred. For instance, a series of riots took place during the 1930s across the islands of the Caribbean, as citizens sought to better their living conditions and to end their colonial status (Hart, 2002; Byron, 2015). Their demands for independence grew louder following the end of WW2 as colonial policies to improve healthcare, education, unemployment and poor wages were ineffectively implemented, pushing Caribbeans out to seek opportunities elsewhere (Bryon, 2015):

> 'It was to be expected that it would be menfolk, in the main, who would come in answer to the invitation to fill vacancies which the British themselves would not fill" (Chivers, 1987, p.78).

African Caribbean women came to Britain in their own right during the 1940s - 1960s Windrush era (Sorensen, 2007). Though they entered Britain as full citizens with unrestricted rights, following this, there was a flurry of legislation limiting entry to Britain for people from the New Commonwealth. In practice, this meant the ethnic people of the Caribbean, India and Pakistan. Arguing that such immigrants would impose a heavy burden on the NHS, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act removed the unconditional right of citizens from the New Commonwealth to enter Britain, by imposing a work voucher system (Gish, 1968). This effectively targeted non-white migration, as Caceres (2021) notes, the Act sought to ensure white citizens from the Old Commonwealth were excluded from these new restrictions.

The 1965 White Paper on Commonwealth Immigration additionally reduced the total number of vouchers available to migrants, thereby further limiting opportunities for entry to Britain to only skilled non-white migrants and the dependents of existing immigrants (Caceres, 2021). Britain's 1971 Immigration Act halted immigration from the New Commonwealth, as it gave right of entry only to those who could prove ancestral links with Britain (Dar, 2021). So British state policy reconstructed its social and economic relationship with Black women (Albelda et al., 2005).

Scholars agree that African Caribbean women are a group who regardless of their role as mothers have always been expected to work (Anderson, 1986; Barrow, 1996). As Reynolds (2001) highlights, African Caribbean women have since slavery and colonialism been economically positioned as workers, irrespective of their status as mothers, and consequently work is central in the lives of many African Caribbean women and mothers.

Reynolds (2005) examined the importance of work in the lives of African Caribbean mothers and notes most Caribbean women in the UK with school age children work full-time. For the Black women in her study, the notion of being a 'good mother' involved going out to work to provide for her family. Black women training as nurses in the 1950s and 1960s worked the night shift in order to be there for their children during the day (Grey, cited in Uttal, 1993).

Massiah (1982) and Anderson (1986) explain these dual roles undertaken by African Caribbean women enable them to meet their family and material needs. Anderson (1986) observes that Caribbean women achieve status and influence not only through their domestic and maternal roles but also through their extended and external economic activities. This builds on the evidence that work and mothering are dual roles for African Caribbean women and mothers. It supports the idea that Black women and mothers' value both roles and balance parenting and work responsibilities.

In an investigation into differences in mother-to-daughter transmission of sex-roles between Black and white women, Blee and Tickamyer (1987) endorse the point that Black women often emphasise work to their children more than do white women. Alongside work, are the struggles faced by migrant women in creating and maintaining

family networks. Goulbourne (2002) reiterates the crucial role played by African Caribbean women in maintaining family and kinship bonds, providing care and continuity to their families and communities whilst also managing their role as economic workers. Although the importance of kinship, family and community networks for Black women have often been overlooked, they are central in supporting them with their family responsibilities (Safa, 1986; Evans and Davies, 1997).

Historically, this 'othermothering' and 'community othermothering' have been critical to the survival of Black communities (James, 1993, cited Rodriguez, 2016, p. 68). Such non-traditional aspects of mothering is what Reynolds (2005, p.120) terms '*community mothering'*. Naples (1992, cited in Rodriguez, 2016, p.66) describes *'activist mothering*' as challenging essentialist interpretations of mothering. It extends beyond the familial, benefitting the wider community as a whole and it can be seen in the many social and community organisations established by African Caribbean women and men in the cities and towns of the UK following their migration. This active community mothering is often invisible, ignored and undervalued, yet it has been a vital part of the wider contribution Black women have played in caring for and supporting others.

Included here are the Black Saturday and Sunday schools, the welfare services and church groups that were set up in response to the lack of inclusiveness within such mainstream organisations in England (Lewis, 1993; Andrews, 2014). In addition, Black women's active roles in the many political struggles taking place in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s was a response to the wider ideological and political shift that had trapped them at the bottom of the social order (Harris and James, 1993; Reynolds, 2005).

Authors such as Lawson (2000) put forward how the ideologies and practices of UK state governments resulted in the exploitation of Black women's labour. Webster (1998, viii) highlights how Black women entered Britain at a time when domesticity was '*being reasserted as never before'.* After the great mobilisation of women into the war, came a strongly conservative vision after WW2 and beyond, in which traditional notions of motherhood dominated, and *'the government was committed to putting back the man in his old preferential position*' (Smith, 1984, p. 938).

Webster (1988) reveals the post WW2 government ideological approach to Black and migrant women in Britain, strengthened their negligible and expendable place in the labour market. For example, the post-war British government actively encouraged white Englishwomen to prioritise motherhood and family over work, whilst Black and migrant women were recruited and employed full-time, with no concessions made for their childbearing responsibilities. According to Webster (1998) the reluctance to recruit white women to work full-time largely accorded with their own unwillingness to return to the low skilled factory work and to domestic service, that had constituted their pre-war behaviour. This work was to be filled by Black women from the colonies, citizens of Britain but ascribed an inferior socio-economic status based on a class-colour hierarchy.

According to Roberts (1993) racism complicates motherhood for Black women. Black and ethnic minority women have a long tradition of labouring under capitalism, and they occupy a unique position, being subject to class, sex and racial inequalities (Bryan et al, 1985; Roberts, 1993). Rousseau (2013, p.192) conceptualises the ways in which Black women are located as '*instruments of production'*, within a racialised and patriarchal system of power and status. From their historic forced reproductive labour under slavery, to their domestic and agricultural labour in the Americas and their present-day international services as migrant and domestic labourers, African Caribbean women have endured a '*super exploitation*' (Rousseau, 2013, p. 195; Beal, 2008).

Phizacklea (2003) points out the paradox for many Black mothers who give up their full-time mothering role only to become domestics and carers of the children and families of other elite women. Such an analysis can be seen in the position of Black and minority women who have long worked as nurturing mothers, nannies and cleaners in the houses of elite women (Jackson, cited in Richardson and Robinson, 2008). For instance, Roberts' (1997) analysis of household tasks in the U.S identifies how elite white women allocate themselves higher domestic tasks such as the moral training of their children, whilst assigning poor and minority women the physical and menial duties. These privileged women delegate their menial domestic tasks to minority ethnic women, contributing to a *´racialised hierarchy among women'* (Roberts, 1993, p.22; Stockett, 2009).

Some authors have presented research that concludes modern working mothers are conflicted and overstressed by the personal and social pressures of managing their dual roles:

> '*more than half the women in the United States with children under 18 work outside the home' (*Zambrana et al, 1979, p. 863).

Yet Black mothers have navigated their multiple roles and pressures for many decades and only recently has there been recognition that several types of role strain are experienced by different working mothers, for whom social norms too, differ (Stanfield, 1985). In turn, this has led to better appreciation that the family support structures, and socio-cultural networks of Black working mothers serve as positive strengths and protective factors against the pressures of role strain and other stresses (Anderson, 1986; Mendenhall et al. 2013).

Whereas mainstream feminist analysis of women's experiences has treated work and family as separate spheres of life, Black women's experiences are not so easily divided (Ribbens, 1994). Whilst white women have fought '*the cult of true womanhood*' (Welter, 1966, p.151) and the right to leave the domestic realm and enter the public, male dominated domain, Black women have never had this option. They have historically been denied access to the socio-economic conditions that enable exclusive, domestic mothering and have usually had to work alongside mothering their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997).

Despite the diversity of family forms present in the UK, the nuclear family remains the common unit for the raising of children (ONS, 2019), even though increasing numbers of children are no longer being raised in such families. Bartlett (1990, p.879) states that parenting still has an exclusive status in Western societies, '*only one set of parents for any one child…with privileges, duties and rights that are shared with no-one else'*. The ideologies of white motherhood, traditional nuclear family and patriarchal domestic order that have been embedded within Western state policy and legislation, continue to produce differing opportunities, rights and benefits for diverse groups of women (Reynolds, 2001; Hamilton, 2021).

Black women in their marginalised position have had to fight for the right to be mothers and for an acceptance of broader notions of motherhood that embrace Black motherhood. The orthodox socio-cultural constructions of motherhood have upheld the stigmatisation of Black women and mothers for their lack of conformity to the ideals of mainstream white womanhood and white motherhood (Roberts, 1993; Carby, cited in Webster, 1998).

Beal (2008) is unapologetic in her contention that the socio-cultural and economic exploitation of Black women in America has been politically organised and sanctioned. While Jones (2013) asserts that the many negative discourses constructed to represent Black motherhood have been used to restrict their reproductive and other rights. Yet, mainstream feminist critiques of motherhood and family have ignored and marginalised the intersectional experiences and standpoint perspectives of Black women and Black mothers and the issues of racism, racial oppression and racist stereotyping inherent within the social construction of motherhood (Flynn, 2014).

Consequently, inequalities persist in health, employment and education many for Black and ethnic minorities as Mirza (2003) and Coard (1971, cited Arora and Duncan, 1986, p.84) conclude:

> 'African Caribbean British born children [are] ensured the labour pool from which those in the economic system would do the menial unwanted jobs, at the lowest wages and in the worst housing'.

3.6 Conclusions

In concluding this chapter, I have enquired into the contexts of African and Caribbean family and kinship structures, establishing that this sustained African family life well before the slavery and colonial eras. I have sought to explain that motherhood was revered within precolonial Africa, and I have argued that African mothering took place within an extended kinship network that provided support and holistic care within a collective network. Further, I maintain that mothering and childrearing has long been a shared cooperative activity undertaken by women balancing complex, conflicting

demands and contexts (Blaffer-Hrdy, 1999, 2009,yggh cited Barlow and Chaplin, 2010).

Slavery and colonialism caused major negative effects on these African family forms. Further to this, as it evolved in the Americas and the Caribbean, Black women and mothers have borne a significant brunt of the stereotyped, 'deficit' interpretations and oppressive practices and policies that have been enacted in Western capitalist societies against Black and minority ethnic family structures.

In advancing some of the ideas underpinning African Caribbean and African American maternalism, I have explored their roles as Black mothers and Black workers and endeavoured to analyse these intersectional experiences in the context of the historic, socio-economic and political drivers that impact on their lives. I have outlined how Black women have historically navigated their various roles and responsibilities and utilised their social and familial networks as sources of strength and support.

This chapter provides an analysis of the historical and cultural context of Black women and mother's experiences. Capturing the multiplicities of their lives and identities requires an intersectional perspective (Reynolds, 2005). I also introduce a framework for studying the intersectional experiences of Black women and mothers. Black motherhood is multi-dimensional, it encompasses their paid and unpaid work, and their collective acts of nurturing and caring activities (Rodriguez, 2016) all whilst standing in plain challenge to the two dominant systems of oppression, patriarchy and racism that devalues them.

Black mothers' multiple roles and identities within the realms of family, community and employment do not fit neatly into the prevalent ideological and idealised interpretations of womanhood and motherhood. They require a multidimensional, intersectional matrix of analysis that can simultaneously grasp the complexities of labouring under capitalism, whilst challenging patriarchal constructions of white womanhood and motherhood (Hill Collins, 2000).

My argument has been that the study of Black women and mothers, accentuates their knowledge, practices and activities, and offers to enhance understanding of the

diverse lives and realities of modern migrant women and mothers' lives (Reynolds, 2020). A point that Rodriguez (2016, p.63) captures as she invites scholars to continue to problematise and add new thinking and analysis to Black motherhood '*as a concept, and idea and a lived experience*'.

The key themes of female migration are interdisciplinary and cross-cutting and applying gender analysis at the individual, familial and macro levels has shown how migration can affect women and mothers disproportionately (Tungohan, 2012; Grieco, 2003).

My argument is consequently that all the main forms of migration and population movement, invasion, exile, conquest and colonisation are encapsulated within the context of African Caribbean migration. African Caribbean migration was caused by African slavery and colonialism. The enforced mass human migration of women, men and children from African, marked the beginning of the African diaspora to Britain and across the world. Consequently, African slavery and colonialism provide context for the multiple family forms and socio-cultural arrangements found in many African Caribbean and African American families across the diaspora, such as female-headed households and working mothers.

The key findings in this chapter authenticate a gendered reading of the multiple contexts to African Caribbean women's migration, contexts that encompass the heritage of slavery, colonialism, and capitalism. It illustrates the intersectional nature of black women's lives and identities, as mothers and as workers, leading to more emancipatory knowledge and holistic understanding that thoroughly brings these contexts together. This extends existing understanding of the postcolonial impacts of hegemonic structures of control and oppression and contributes to deeper analysis of the ways they have been specifically enacted to marginalise and control African Caribbean women and mothers' realities. The chapter also establishes that the politics of heritage is more than these ever-present systems of domination, African heritage is centered, reinterpreted, and legitimised as a means to resist oppressive and deficiency approaches to the social relations of black British citizens.

The contribution to filling the gap in knowledge production is made by the repositioning of African matriarchal theory as rightly connected to and intersected with the diasporic realities of the lives of African Caribbean women in England. What this revealed from critically exploring the past and current motherhood landscape for black women is the empowering knowledge of African ancestral cultural practices such as the shared care of children and women's independent economic activity, that has been preserved in the memories, lifestyles and life choices of African Caribbean women and mothers. As with their ancient relatives, balancing societal, community and private obligations is central to the lives of many African Caribbean women and mothers, and the chapter highlights how they have historically created and utilised a range of support networks to help them manage their multiple roles and responsibilities. In summary, the chapter encompasses the material, gendered and racialised realities of black mothering.

In the next chapter, I outline the approach I took to exploring the topic of older Caribbean women and mother's experiences of migration kinship and settlement, including establishing my position as a Black British woman of Caribbean heritage. I justify my approach to the project and discuss issues of data gathering and analysis.

Chapter 4: Methodology Chapter

To know something is to be in union with it, to be within it, to approach it internally. Remaining on the outside, you can never know something in its essence to know things, you have not to dissect them but rather to link them with something else.
(Alassane Ndaw, cited in Föllmi and Föllmi, 2005)

Introduction

To achieve the aim of exploring migration experiences and family relationships for African Caribbean women, my research design is a descriptive and explorative study that is analysed through qualitative methods (Gray, 2014). The research draws on a proposition that migration is a complex human phenomenon involving a range of personal motivations, internal and external factors, social activities and contexts. The project therefore draws on an orientation that recognises the '*multi-dimensional'* and '*multi-ontological'* nature of the world (Lamont and Swidler, 2014; Barnes et al. 2014, p.2).

I firstly describe the philosophical context of my project and then detail the steps and choices taken in designing the study. This includes the methodological issues and approaches that have been used to address the topic as well as the choices of data collection and analysis. I reflect on the '*analytical, methodological and practical problems*' that confronted me in designing the research, that were both predicted and unanticipated and the steps taken to manage and minimise them in the conducting of the research (Silverman, 2000, p. 31).

The project has generated many ontological and epistemological considerations that resulted in the methodological decisions and strategies I adopted. Undertaking the process of inquiry into African Caribbean women and mothers' migration experiences has entailed the unpicking of many ontological and epistemological considerations. I recount my journey in terms of thinking about the distinct kind of knowledge I sought to generate, the different theoretical and philosophical stances available and the implications of this positioning for my research project.

The chapter also clarifies my approach to this research project and justifies the use of a qualitative approach to gathering data from this small group of older migrant women. I include some discussion on the data collection methods that might have been adopted in seeking answers to the research question and implementing the study. Relevant issues of ethics and values are explored and I provide detailed explanation and rationale for employing a *bricolage* methodology:

> 'Bricolage, of course, signifies interdisciplinarity' (Kincheoe, 2001, p.680).

Because of the interdisciplinary context of this study, there is a need for a multi-concept framework, therefore I harness a *bricolage* framework. Cunha (2006, p.12) describes the *bricoleur* as someone who '*experiments, reframes, imagines and develops a hand-on knowledge*' of what is useful. In contrast, Kincheloe (2001) discusses it's meaning more as ontological, it acknowledges the complexity of multiple perspectives involved in knowledge production. It is a pragmatic and reflexive way to solve problems, and it encourages multi-theoretical inquiry, and active construction of solutions, and this makes it suitable for research purposes.

Although research on using *bricolage* in migration research is limited, I was very attracted to this idea of using this framework to 'sew-together' a broad, but coherent 'quilt' of my topic. I considered that this approach would help me to achieve my research goals, of connecting the distinct features of the project together, and use their best features to shape a multi-layered understanding of the Black female migrant experience. Phillimore et al., (2018) describe the *bricolage* approach also highlighted by Denzin and Lincoln (1999) and (Levi-Strauss, 1966) as offering practitioner-researchers, a multi-perspective framework for analysis and interpretation, which includes:

> 'hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies and feminism (Denzin and Lincoln, cited Kincheloe' (2001, p. 682).

Bricolage can be criticised as being superficial in trying to understand and bring together too many elements, however it is understood as being helpful in studies of '*situated historically*' (Kellner, 1995, cited in Kincheloe, 2001, p. 690). The concept of

‘quiltmaker’ is one I have adopted because my project requires an approach that takes forward the idea that it is possible and meaningful to create a flexible, multi-layered, multitheoretical and multidisciplinary structure on which to build knowledge of the Black female migrant experience.

4.1 Theoretical and Philosophical Underpinning

Although empirically generated knowledge has been modified by axiology, positionality, reflexivity and context, the positivist paradigm maintains a belief in the ‘*essential features of the natural sciences’* (Crotty, 1998, p.20; Patton, 2002) and in using ‘*verification and replication of observable findings concerning directly perceivable entities or processes*’ (Clark, 1998, p.1243). Knowledge for positivists is to be gained through the formal and objective application of rules, methods and procedures and established through objective, scientific observation (Gray, 2014; Urbach 1987, cited in Cowan 2009). The production of this kind of knowledge, based on empirical, ‘value-free’ science, still directs much of the established social science research world as well as political and socio-economic policy on topic such as migration (Crotty, 1998).

For the marginalised voices that are central to this project, natural sciences methods of inquiry are not well suited to exploring complex social/human phenomena such as personal experiences of migration (Maroun, 2012). For me, positivist methodologies would not take account of the need to consider the multiple and intersectional contexts in which knowledge of Caribbean female women is produced. This knowledge involves attending to intersections of identity, such as gender and race (Gunaratnam, 2003). Empirically based knowledge would not have enabled me to achieve the aim of addressing the complexities and insights arising from exploring such sensitive aspects of the African Caribbean female migration experience. The knowledge I sought could only be generated through personal experience and this suggests an interpretivist framework and an inductive approach to the project (Crabtree and Miller, 1992).

Still, ontologically for me, all knowledge exists along a continuum, different, but each having its value (Eisner, 1991, cited Hoepfl, 1997). Yet often what is known and valued is often presented and constructed as a hierarchy, with personal, ‘situated’ knowing

positioned at the bottom and empirical knowledge at the high point. There are many pathways to represent and 'know' the world and many ways of knowing and interpreting knowledge (Kincheloe, 2001). Additionally, knowledge about human experience is not acquired in a '*stable and progressive manner'* (Crabtree and Miller, 1992. p.8). There are methods of inquiry that recognise researcher and the researched are positioned differently with respect to the knowledge that they access. It is important to reflect on such positioning within this project. The project demands ethical and axiological reflection on how knowledge of the realities of African Caribbean women and mother's migratory experiences has been constructed, what ways they have been interpreted and what methods of knowing have been used to determine this knowledge and understanding.

Lyons (1990, p.162) makes the point that the researcher's values, expertise, and self-stance all connect and work together to create '*nested, interacting perspectives of knowing'*:

> 'knowledge bears the mark of its producer' (Lennon and Whitford, 1994, p.2).

In inquiring into the experiences of African Caribbean women, I sought a methodology that accepts that knowledge production is not limited to fixed notions of reality and instead recognises the multiple and diverse ways of making meaning (Mason, 2011; Pewewardy, 2019). Constructionism and interpretivism are the two knowledge frameworks of interest in this project and they share commonalities in seeking to explore the meaning of lived experiences for those who live it (Schwandt, 1998; Chen et al. 2011). For this inquiry, a constructivist lens is used to explore and deconstruct the language and actions of the participants. In addition, the inquiry is shaped by interpretivism's look for '*culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world*' (Crotty, 1998, cited, Gray in 2014, p.23). Both approaches share characteristics such as a focus on exploring subjective experience and feelings, understanding meanings and relationships between people alongside an inductive, critically reflective approach to knowledge creation (David & Sutton 2010).

4.2 Feminist positioning

Amongst the strategies, methods and approaches that have been excluded in traditional research are feminist and post-colonial methodologies and central to my positioning are feminist and Black feminist theories. By this I mean knowledge frameworks that centralise the experiences and distinctive perspectives of women and in particular Black women. Feminists have long critiqued many of the underpinning assumptions, biases, and values of dominant 'objective' ways of knowing (Gilligan, 1982). Mainstream research and investigation into human issues have been shaped by conventions of dispassionate impartiality as the only true knowledge, such knowledge constructed and shaped by elite men, and so feminists have highlighted the many ways that these patriarchal knowledge practices have reinforced gender relations and power hierarchies (Harding 1991; Anderson, 2017).

Feminist research and scholarship have sought to expose practices that have firstly been used habitually to exclude and marginalise women´s lives and secondly, the ideologies that have been constructed to define these experiences as inferior and subordinate to their own. Feminist perspectives in consequence, seek to privilege the voices and experiences of women and to critically analyse the methods by which their knowledge, their realities and their experiences have been researched and theorised and understood (Kirsch, 1999; Reinharz, 1992).

Feminist perspectives have led to fields of inquiry that are of major concern to women, including motherhood (Chodorow, 1978); sexuality (Cooper, 1995); family (Thorne, 1982) and work (Glenn, 2002, McDowell, 2013). Research methods such as narrative, are often used by feminist scholars as they value and authenticate women´s own subjective positions, identities and accounts of their lived experiences. Standpoint theory situates and privileges knowledge from the position and perspective of the marginalised and oppressed (Harding, 1986; Wylie, 2003). Its methodologies and epistemologies are '*constructed oppositionally'* (Smith, 1997, p. 393).

Feminist standpoint perspectives argue that knowledge should be grounded in an understanding of women´s subjective experiences, *'women's ways of knowing'* (Belenky et al, 1986; Harding, 2004; Maynard and Purvis, 1994, p.8). This is not to say however that this knowledge is in some way superior to other kinds of knowledge, or

that standpoint theory is even ultimately about individual experiences. Smith (cited in Sprague, 2001, p.529) states standpoint is a research strategy from which to start to '*open the door to the social'*. By this, it becomes a way of connecting personal experience to social reality. It is a way of '*exploring experience as a method of discovering the social from the standpoint of women's experience'* (Smith, 1997. p.392).

Critiques of feminism as a research methodology point to its lack of coherent method, its exclusive focus on women and on subjectivity of experience (Hammersley, cited in Hussain and Asad, 2012). Dankoski (2000) however offers further direction on the features of feminist research, which have significance in guiding the conduct of a feminist-oriented study. Its orientation towards empowerment and transformative relations makes it of significant value as a framework for giving voice to migrant older women's experiences.

Yet, if white women have struggled to construct their ways of knowing and being within research, Black women have until recently been voiceless, invisible, marginalised and subsumed (Carby, 1997). From the margins of mainstream feminism has come the perspectives of Black female scholarship. Walker's (1983) '*womanist'* concept, is one such which offers a way to explore Black female-centered experiences, wisdoms and practices such as mothering (Williams, cited in Phillips, 2006). hooks (1982), Crenshaw (1989) and Hill Collins (1990) are amongst the group of Black female scholars who have theorised a feminism for Black and women of colour:

> 'The herstory of black women is interwoven with that of white women but this does not mean that they are the same story' (Carby, 1982, p.50).

Hooks (1982, p.144) critiques the ideology of a feminism that conveys a '*common female oppression*'. The Black women's standpoint encompasses their experiences of gender, race and class. It validates their experiences of working and living within political, educational, and economical systems and how these multiple and intersecting experiences of race, class and gender oppression operate as, *a 'matrix of domination'* (Hill Collins, 1990, p.18). A Black feminist perspective involves a situated, integrated knowledge of our intersectional identities, as women, as workers, as wives,

and as mothers. It includes a critical analysis of historical, structural and socio-political constraints on the lives of Black women, and a critique of the *'absence of our history'*, making it a powerful and central framework for inclusion in the bricolage into Black women's migratory experiences (Carby, 1977, p. 45). Crenshaw, 1989; Hooks, 1982; Dill, 1979).

It is described by Nash (2019, p.5) as a '*complex and varied approach to black women's personhood,*' that advances their knowledge and creativity, centering on their intersectional experiences of race, class and gender. These experiences, lives and struggles have until recently been marginalised or absent. Acknowledging the differentiated nature of women's experiences has been an important disruption to the notion of homogeneous womanhood and motherhood that has afflicted feminist literature and practice and silenced Black and minority ethnic women's diverse experiences (Brah and Phoenix, 2004).

Yet, situated, standpoint knowledge remains partial and incomplete (Hill Collins, 1990). Personal, lived experience may be seen as relativised and divorced from social realities (Maynard and Purvis, 1994). Yuval-Davies (2006) noted the need for intersectional methodologies to contextualise the different social realities and how they relate to the construction of identities. Therefore, the relationship is not clear-cut between subjective migrants' stories about their lives and the social-cultural and political-economic contexts in which those lives have been led (Isoifides, 2012). To bridge this gap and bring the strands of structure and agency together, Smith's (1997, p.396) ideas on standpoint are useful, '*people speaking for themselves and from their experience'* as a form of critical realism that recognises the connection between social structures and human agency in the material world (Archer, et al. 2016). This conception of social reality offers a way of reflexively exploring African Caribbean female migration, as both an individual experience and as a real historical and social event, whilst attending to the presumptions about knowledge of that reality (Gorski, 2013).

4.3 Qualitative research

Qualitative research seeks inquire into and connect with lived human experiences (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Methodologically, this is acquired through a process of critical analysis and reflective interpretation on the research processes and procedures and, importantly, on the impact of the presence of the researcher in the research process (Angrosino, 2007). According to Held (2001, p.243) such knowledge is subjectively constructed from the “knowers” reality and absolute certainty must therefore be questioned. Central to the forms of knowledge that can be produced through qualitative approaches is what Hamersley (2013, cited in Pham, 2019, p, 3) describes as, *‘the diverse ways of seeing and experiencing the world through different contexts and cultures*’.

According to Gadamer, interpretation of meaning is fundamental to understanding it (cited Laverty, 2003). Yet, what is truly meaningful is the interpretation of that experience in relation to the social context, context that brings with it the prior knowledge and assumptions of the researcher:

> ‘An object of inquiry cannot be separated from its historical, social, cultural, psychological and physical context’ (Kincheloe, 2001, p.682).

Therefore, no method of interpretation is objective or value free. As Lather (1991, p.67) states ‘*there is no neutral research*’, so there is always the need within interpretivist frameworks to openly acknowledge and confront the ideological assumptions and values underpinning such research designs and processes. I consequently further reflected on several assumptions and potential biases within the project’s aims and objectives that I needed to address throughout the study, for example the prepositions that:

- African Caribbean female migration resulted in the distinct fragmentation of family relationships;
- It was possible to gain a coherent interpretation of the reality of the African Caribbean female migration experience;

- As a woman of African Caribbean descent, I was best placed to explore African Caribbean female migration experiences;
- It was impossible to explore the topic ahistorically.

This understanding led me to consider interpretative approaches that recognise and address the mutual, interpersonal nature of the relationship between the narrator and listener, rather than considering this to be a socially distant, or objective relationship (Bourdieu, 1991, cited Gray, 2008).

The study adopted the idea that the family experiences of African Caribbean women migrants in Britain must be explored firstly and foremostly from the perspective of the women themselves. That is, to explore how the women directly affected felt and viewed their experiences and to hear their opinions on things that affected their lives. Because migration and family relationships are emotional subjects, qualitative methods were adopted to explore participants' perceptions and the study drew interpretations and analysis from data obtained from qualitative methods employed, such as narrative interviews and focus group discussions. The early focus considered such questions as: How do parents make the decision to migrate without their children? How is the process of family reunion and cohesion managed? How unique was my mother's experience? Was coming to England a purely economic decision? Did African Caribbean women all have a short-term plan to come to England and then return to the Caribbean and their families? How did that plan affect their ability to manage the separation? I was therefore particularly keen to investigate the potential for using narrative as a research tool.

4.4 Narrative approach

The increasing popularity of narrative within the social sciences include its strengths as a means of capturing rich descriptive stories and gaining deep understanding and meaning of the inner life of the participant (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003). The use of narrative is a frequent choice to explore individuals' experiences and has been adopted by many researchers as a way of documenting untold stories, examining memories and everyday life experiences (Romain, 2001). It has many different and

overlapping definitions, meanings and approaches and it is not just about collecting stories or telling them (Byrne, 2017; Squires et al. 2014).

For many qualitative researchers, narratives are personal accounts that move across time and space. This means they are also located within a social and cultural context. Personal narratives are part of personal identity, they are life stories of lived experience and are also integral to the wider socio-cultural and political context, thereby providing insights into personal and wider cultural identity (Eastmond, 2007). Life stories are subjective, yet allow for 'remembered facts' and can partially enable access to '*historical truth'* (Lieblich et al, 1998, p.8):

> 'All stories are produced within a social context' (Cederberg, 2014, p. 134).

Fog Olwig (1999) describes narratives as social constructions that are created out of relationships and lived lives. These life stories provide an account of an individual's movements through life, geographically, socially and emotionally. The narrators are experts, the authority of their own story (White, 1980). Through narrative methods such as interviewing, the researcher seeks to gain knowledge and understanding of perceptions, feelings and perspectives (Webster and Mertova, 2007).

The narratives themselves can be told differently according to different social and cultural contexts (Orellana and Phoenix, 2016). For that reason, I reflect on other levels of interpretation that can be made from considering the narratives in different ways. For example, my positionality meant at some points I was able to enter into a little patois dialogue with some of the women, I had insight into this dialect and could respond to their use of it. This increased the engagement with the participants, and it meant they were more able to use their natural patois phrases where this felt natural for them.

Narrative methods, such as focus groups have been used to discuss sensitive topics with marginalised groups and can facilitate an effective space where participants can interact and share experiences. This can lead to the formation of insights that may not be revealed through other methods (Kitzinger, 1995; Robinson, 2009). The shared

meanings of experiences, events and activities was something I wanted to explore within a group setting.

Within the qualitative tradition, the data involves obtaining rich 'thick' descriptions of events and activities (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). There is a strong emphasis on heuristic interpretation, on self-reflection and intensive empathic immersion in another's experiences, to gain a deep holistic interpretation of the phenomenon (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). A hermeneutic analysis is undertaken to understand the social, historical, and socio-cultural contexts in which the narratives occur and then core themes are interpreted, classified and presented.

It can be difficult to apply conventional standards of reliability and validity to qualitative research, generating criticisms of lowly quality and bias (Hughes and Sharrock, 1990). Because qualitative data involves meaning making of the participants' subjective situations, events and interactions, it cannot easily be replicated to any extent. Generalisations are not easily made beyond that studied. Its limitations also include the management of large datasets gained through the inclusion of descriptive, text-based data, making detailed transcription and analysis both time-consuming and laborious (Mays and Pope, 1995).

Indeed, there are challenges for an exploratory study of migration experiences, especially a retrospective account of personal testimonies. Participants recounting their memories and experiences and recalling the past, is fraught with issues of unreliability (Freeman, 1993). An individuals' narrative is not necessarily linear and is often drawn from fragments of memories (Amos Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995). I was mindful of these issues as my project asked questions not just about the recollection of personal experience but about the historical and social context of that experience.

Still, I needed to give attention to the 'voices of the past' (Thompson, 1975). I felt the narrative method was an appropriate one for generating deeper knowledge and understanding of African Caribbean women and mother's perspectives on migration and family separation. I intended to explore some of the themes from the early review of literature and to use this analysis to refine my research question and inform my interview schedule for the individual interviews. As this was the pilot stage of the

project, an additional motivation was to gain more experience with approaches to qualitative research and methods of data collection. The main purpose of the focus group pilot stage was to generate a group discussion that would be used to corroborate general themes from the literature on African Caribbean female migration, before the main stage of the project took place (Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001).

My own study appears to follow Gmelch (1992) in some respects, as his introduction describes the participants and the interview process in some detail. The use of an interview schedule divided into stages; pre-migration/childhood experiences, the migration process stage and post-migration settlement/adjustment. Gmelch (1992, p.9) explains this '*topical road map was constructed from the ground up'.* It worked as a kind of chronological Like Gmelch (1992) I looked at family photographs and pictures to help stimulate memories though I did not collect copies of these.

Narratives often use a storytelling methodology. Indigenous and postcolonial methodologies adopt storytelling as a focus for research (Windchief and San Padro, 2019):

> 'Storytelling is the bridge by which we transform that which is private and individual into that which is public' (Arendt, cited Andrews, 2012, slide 5).

A narrative approach supports my research questions in several ways. Firstly, it facilitates the expression of the inner feelings and motivations of individual participants and enables these meanings to be shared and explored (Beal, 2013). Further, through narrative, these aspects can be connected to wider concepts of identity and belonging (Andrews, 2012).

Secondly, the narratives are used to ask and answer the key research questions that is, how African Caribbean women and mothers managed family separation. Although they may not be explicit in tone, they can also reveal how aspects of gender, work and motherhood for African Caribbean women are located structurally and systemically as well as experienced. Such approaches therefore support the analysis of both micro experiences and macro contexts (Andrews, 2012). Retelling people's lives and experiences also facilitates and enables the disclosure of '*counter-narratives'*, helping

to challenge orthodox discourses about in this case, what is known of or assumed about African Caribbean women and mothers (O'Neill, 2010, p.21).

Chase (2005) explores some of the different approaches to narrative inquiry and highlights that one of the commonalities for narrative researchers is the interconnectedness between what participants actually communicate and the way communicate it. This has relevance in determining how the narratives I studied are analysed and presented. For the individual interviews, I wanted to avoid the narratives being seen in a fictional way, or as a folklore 'story', therefore there were several decisions to be made in terms of the narrative structure I chose to follow. An important facet was the adoption of a chronological sequence to the narration of personal events, such as leaving the Caribbean. There were pivotal points like these in the narrator's personal life, which generated intense illumination and deeper lines of inquiry only achieved through the narrative approach (Mason, 2011). In order to make sure these were addressed according to the life history/life story element of the narrative, I organised the questions according to a beginning, middle and end structure.

It was important to consider the use of focus groups carefully, but I was intrigued to explore the potential to generate a group account of the African Caribbean female migration experience. Kitzinger (1995) highlights the benefits of focus groups for enabling shared knowledge and understanding and I was particularly keen to explore this method of gaining different participants' feelings and experiences and exploring these in relation to the literature. I read several different articles and guides on conducting focus groups including Kitzinger (1995); Elliott (2005) and Kruger (2002). I tried to follow Kruger's (2002) steps to help me structure the discussion, this was useful especially in respect of the introduction, ways to ask and avoid asking questions and a method to analyse the data. He advocates having an assistant to help with the practical elements and field notetaking, but this was not possible for me so I took field notes at the time and wrote these up contemporaneously. The basic orientation of my inquiry was open-ended, I wanted the participants to feel able to speak about issues that matter to them. I had a set of issues to explore although I followed a semi-structured interviewing format for both the focus groups and interviews (Yauch and Steudel, 2003).

4.5 Sampling, Recruitment and Access

I adopted Robinson's (2014) sampling strategy, which summarises the principle features of qualitative sampling as, defining the population, setting out a criterion for inclusion and exclusion, deciding on a sample size and devising a method for gaining participants. Sampling according to Crabtree and Miller (1992) has several strategies depending on context, and, in this case, it was the older female African Caribbean population and their migration events that I was seeking to select and interview.

I hoped to recruit older African Caribbean women participants and to access them from existing African Caribbean older people's groups, such as luncheon clubs and church groups. At the early stage of the project, I anticipated following a purposive sampling method because of the need for *'information rich'* respondents (Patton, 2002, p.40). It was also a cost-effective means of selecting participants.

As part of the original study design, it was anticipated that most of the participants from the focus groups would take part in the individual interviews. Participants in the focus group were asked whether they were interested in taking part in the individual interviews. Separate consent forms were devised for both focus groups and interviews. Participants were required to give full consent to take part in the different stages of the study and consent was not be assumed to be continual throughout the study.

At the pilot stage, the participants were self-selected following advertisements in African-Caribbean community organisations. I also created a series of flyers inviting participants to take part in the project and these were distributed in local organisations and churches. I contacted several local community groups with the aim of identifying suitable participants for the focus group. There was almost no response to this method of gaining participants. I therefore adapted the strategy by making direct contact with local West Indian community centres and using a Gatekeeper to facilitate access to participants. I prepared consent forms, information forms and an interview schedule. I made contact with several local community Caribbean groups, introduced myself and explained the project to them, before requesting participants for the focus group. This strategy also failed to get any responses. It was very disheartened and challenging to see this as a learning experience and not as personal failure (Scourfield, 2012). At this

point, my assumptions that I would be welcomed and people would work with me were somewhat challenged.

Reynolds (2005, p.6/7), interviewing Caribbean women, similarly encountered *'ambivalence and suspicion*' from participants. She reflects that, *'the fact that I was also a Caribbean woman counted for little'* (Reynolds, 2005, p. 7). This was also my experience at this point in the study. Some of the methodological issues of working through gatekeepers are identified by Rowhurst (2013) and Sanghera and Thapar-Björkert (2008). Wolff (2004a, cited in Flick 2006) agrees that research is often disruptive for participants, with no obvious benefit for them and so can often regarded with hostility by agencies and gatekeepers.

I reflected that perhaps an ethnographic approach could be more successful in terms of embedding myself more with the group and I successfully made contact with another luncheon club. The members knew each other well and met regularly together, which I think made it easier for them to talk to me. The gatekeeper was a pleasant and welcoming person who had informed the group I would be coming to talk to them. Right from the beginning, there was a very different feel to my experience with the agency and the gatekeeper. The receptionist answered the phone and responded to my emails promptly. I was met with interest and warmth from her and from the gatekeeper, herself a first-generation older woman. They were delighted to help with the project and to allow me to meet with the luncheon group. This was an example of an open access to the participants and when I was introduced to them, the members of the group equally welcomed me.

Over the summer of 2014, I visited the group weekly and slowly built my relationship with them. I sat at the 'women's table' and shared lunch with them every week. Although the women were willing to talk to me initially most of this took place at the table over lunch, none of them wanted me to 'interview' them. I approached the gatekeeper for advice and with her intervention, some members agreed to stay on and meet with me after lunch the following week.

On the day of the first focus group, four group members took part. I had a good idea of who was going to be present but there was an element of convenience in the sample

at this point. I felt there was sufficient homogeneity amongst the group and as I was interested in achieving a general discussion about their experiences, I was less worried about the diversity of respondents than their similarity. The following week, there were only three members present.

4.6 Focus Group Participants/Data sources

The focus group discussions were conducted in the summer of 2014 with two groups of Caribbean older women. Participants had all migrated to England during the 1950s and 1960s. They were aged between 16 and 23 at the time of migration and were mostly now in their 70s. Three of the seven women had left children behind. The shortest period of separation was 2 years and the longest 16 years. Richards (2008) refers to the establishing of basic demographic information about the participants *(see table 6).*

Table 6: Demographic information about participants

Focus group	Name	Age/Year of arrival	Born/Age at time of interview	Left children y/n	Age and gender of child	Length of separation
FG1/S1	**Mrs. Wak**	**23 (1960)**	**77 (1937)**	**Y- 1**	**Daughter (3)**	**16 yrs.**
FG1/S2	Mrs. Ch	22 (1963)	73 (1941)	No		
FG1/S3	**Mrs. G Wil**	**20 (1959)**	**75 (1939)**	**Y- 2**	**Son (3) and daughter (1)**	**5 yrs. 2 yrs.**
FG1/S4	Mrs. M Mil	19 (1961)	72 (1942)	No		
FG2/S2	**Mrs. Cas**	**21 (1961)**	**69 (1940)**	**Y**	**1yr old son**	**7 yrs.**
FG2/S3	Mrs. Con	21(1962)	72 (1941)	No		
FG2/S4	Mrs. Win	16 (1965)	65 (1949)	No		

The group discussions each lasted one hour however, the participants clearly wanted to talk longer, and all stated they had enjoyed being interviewed. The focus groups took place in a small room, a kind of snug in the bar area, which was unoccupied and quiet. None of the discussions were recorded as neither group would allow me to tape record the interview, and I did not want to force the issue and possible gain a refusal for the discussion. I had no choice but to try to write up the discussion as we talked. I was asking questions, listening to the replies and writing down what was being said. I

made notes, using different coloured pens to identify each participant. As the size of the group was small, it was manageable though challenging.

As part of my field notes, I drew a quick sketch of where each member was sitting and included their initials on separate pieces of paper, which helped with distinguishing who was speaking. I created a sociogram of these interactions to record my observations of group interactions, counting the number of verbal interactions from individual and between members and myself as a way of helping me to keep track of the group dynamics (Moreno, 1933; Tubaro et al. (2016). This is discussed more in the data analysis chapter.

4.7 Data Analysis (1)

As I had collected two types of qualitative data, I considered whether I needed to use the same approach to coding both these data sources. The focus groups were collective discussions formed through mutual interaction. Focus group data can also be a means of triangulation and verification of factual events and confirming timelines (Kitzinger, 2005). I was keen to explore the commonalities of experience among the participants as well as their different views. The interaction between different members was a cause for reflection, considering the impact of group dynamics, dominant voices, conformity and personality clashes between participants as well as the impact of the researcher on the behaviour of the group.

Rabiee (2004) and Namey et al. (cited in Guest and MacQueen, 2008) advise as to the need for a clear goal and plan for the data analysis. It was important to establish the participants' main characteristics, particularly those relevant to my topic, such as who had left behind children. Recording of this basic demographic information about the participants was first level descriptive coding (Richards, 2008). There are different ways of analysing focus group data but because my focus groups were not recorded, I utilised transcription-based analysis, note based analysis and memory-based analysis (Onwuegbuzie et al. 2009; Elliot, 2005). This involved the writing of summary notes and recalling observations and reflections on the group conversations. I did add speaker IDs, emphasis, pauses, laughter and non-verbal feedback, where this felt appropriate and authentic (VOICE, 2007). I followed a traditional approach to

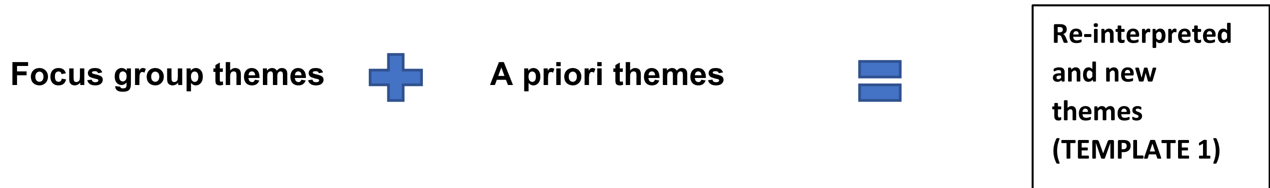
analysing my data. After transcribing the data, I re-read the transcripts to immerse myself in the data, this was followed by coding and categorising key insights, and developing these codes to overarching themes (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Khokhar et al. 2020).

Qualitative data emphasises personal, subjective meanings and interpretation therefore it is important that 'thick' descriptions are presented for there to be enough of a sense of the individual experiences from which to interpret (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). Many qualitative researchers utilise computer-based tools such as NVivo, for data analysis. Initially, I was keen to avoid this method as I found it very time-consuming to learn and it lacked intuition. I persevered however, uploaded my focus group data into NVivo, and undertook some further analysis of the data using this method, however I continued to immerse myself in the data, re-reading the transcripts and notes.

After closer reading and re-reading of this data, I developed first level codes and then grouped these together according to similarities, into border categories. I followed this data reduction process to manage the data and although I did not have a large dataset, this still meant making decisions about which data chunks to code and which to leave out (Miles and Huberman, 1994, cited in Guest and MacQueen, 2008). I wanted to gain new answers to Caribbean female migration and so handled the focus group data in such a way that I could learn more about this topic from exploring it using this method, but also to create connections between the data and the research questions (Richards, 2020). After I coded and categorised the focus group data, I carried out an interpretive, thematic level of analysis across the two group discussions, including verbatim quotes from the participants (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Kiger and Varpio, 2020). My analysis involved implementing a deeper level of topic coding, refining the categories of relevance to create themes (Richards, 2008).

I created a narrative table of themes that '*tells the story of what happened, - how the data are produced and how the analytic process has been undertaken'* (Green et al. 2007, p.546). I adopted a hybrid approach to coding (Mayring, 2000; Crabtree and Miller, 1992). By this, I mean I first coded the focus group data inductively, then conducted first and second level thematic analysis of this data across the two group

discussions and then constructed several themes that I then linked to *a priori themes* to construct a first template of reinterpreted themes and meanings (*see figure 2 below*). My approach was subjective, intuitive, immersive, personal, context driven and interpretive. Following this process, I had 10 focus group themes.



After the focus groups took place, I attempted to arrange individual interviews with the participants but again found it very difficult to persuade members of the group give me an interview. All participants in the focus groups were asked whether they were willing to take part in the individual interviews and only two individuals agreed to an individual interview.

Two of the focus group members gave individual interviews (*see table 7*).

Table 7: Individual interviews from Focus Groups

Name	Age/Year of arrival	Age at time of interview	Left children y/n	Age and gender of child left	Length of separation
Mrs. M Mil	19 (1961)	72 (1942)	No		
Mrs. Cas	**21 (1961)**	**69 (1940)**	**Y**	**1yr old son**	**7 yrs.**

4.7 Ethical Issues

This research received formal ethical approval from the University of Derby (see Appendix 1). Beyond the procedural ethics, I also reflected on the obstacles I faced, including the (un)willingness of participants to take part in the project, developing trust, managing the project within the time limits, the ethics of exploring a sensitive topic and the logistics of managing the project as a part-time student. I did not expect recruitment to be so slow or difficult, even with the limitations of time and the challenges of accessing suitable respondents. The population I was seeking were few and far between, and as I progressed, it became clear that amongst those whom I was able to access there was a mixed sample. Not all of them had the key characteristics

I was looking for, and some had not had children until they came to the UK, whilst others came as small children to join parents already here. This raised a number of ethical dilemmas for me. I did not want to deselect these participants because they did not fully meet my criterion, they had shared their stories with me and I wanted to do justice to their experiences. I reflected on broadening out my search, continuing to seek out others whose stories were most directly related to my research question, I tried to increase the likelihood of representativeness by seeking out participants from different cities within the region (Iosifides, 2012).

In June 2016, I contacted a potential appropriate individual who agreed to be interviewed. Although I had not intentionally planned to use a snowballing sampling method, this approach successfully led me to other contacts. I gained nine interviews through this method. Atkinson and Flint (2001) describe the advantages of snowball sampling in enabling access to hidden or hard to reach populations, and this was certainly the case for me. Some of the respondents were known to each other, others were not. They attended different churches and lived in different parts of the city so there was a randomness to the sample. I contacted them by telephone, and I was careful not to mention any names or other peoples' personal details. Most interviews were carried out in the participants' homes. Mrs. E, Mrs. M and Mrs. Cas were interviewed in a community building.

4.8 Interview Participants/Data sources

These individuals were a similar demographic to the focus group members, with the exception that two of the interviewees were children at the time of migration. I hadn't anticipated capturing children's experiences. Using a snowballing method meant I followed up the contacts I was given and simply agreed the interview over the phone. It was only on meeting Mrs D and Mrs O and starting the interview, that each of them revealed they had come to the UK as a child. I could not ethically stop the interviews and in fact, their stories were both very powerful in bringing the child's perspective much closer.

Table 8: Interviews (Ng 2016)

Name	Age/Year of arrival	Age at time of interview	Left children y/n	Age and gender of child left	Length of separation
Mrs A (Cilly) B:1938	**23 (1960)**	**78**	**Y -3**	**1xg (6y); 2xb (4y and 2y)**	**8 yrs. 10 yrs.**
Mrs B (Hazel) B:1936	**25 (1961)**	**79**	**Y -3**	**3xb (2, 5 and 7y)**	**2 yrs.**
Mrs C (Rose) B: 1941	18 (1959)	73	No		
Mrs (Dorothy)D B:1953	12 (1965)	63	No		
Mrs E (Vida) B:1935	**22 (1957)**	**79**	**Y -1**		
Mrs N (Francis)	**19 (1958)**	**76**	**Y**	**1xg**	**20 yrs.**
Mrs O ()	11 (1964)	63	No		

In 2018, I approached another older people's group in another city and spoke to them directly with them about the project and three women agreed to take part. This meeting coincided with discussions about the 2018 Windrush scandal that was the talk of the group at this time. Many of the group were angry and upset at what was happening to British Caribbeans who faced a loss of rights, employment and deportation after decades living in the UK, due to lacking official documentation. This event helped me, as the subject of their migration to Britain was very topical and helped to regenerate interest in talking to me.

4.8.1 Interviews

In this sample, two of these participants were African Caribbean women who had migrated to England during the 1950s and 1960s. They were aged 23 and 24 at the time of migration and were all now in their 70s and 80s. the other participant had migrated to England as a child of six. The final interview participant was a woman who was known to me. She was aged 20 when she came to England.

Table 9: Interviews (Db 2018)

Name	Age/Year of arrival	Age at time of interview	Left children y/n	Age and gender of child	Length of separation
Mrs H (Edna)	24 (1962)	77	Yes 1	1xg 3yrs	22 yrs.
Mrs L (Clarisse)	23 (1958)	80	No		
Mrs F (Shirley)	6 (1958)	63	No		

I reviewed my project aims to focus on securing a series of semi-structured life history narratives of African-Caribbean women's memories of migration, settlement, family separation and reunion. To provide structure and assist in developing my own interview questions, Arnold's (2007) Separation-Reunion Interview Schedule (SRIS) was reviewed and adapted. The rationale for this adopting this tool was that it had been previously used in a comparable study and so helped to strengthen the potential value of any conclusions I might legitimately draw. The schedule contained 32 different questions organised into pre and post migration. The SRIS was simplified into 10 main areas of questioning which attempted to cover the pre-migration period through to the post migration/settlement, including questions about family separation and reunion.

This structure was also relevant to my approach as I had decided to adopt a life story narrative method, by which I mean generating a chronological account of the participants' key life experiences, from the perspective of those who lived it and as understood by them (Cresswell, 2006). During the interviews in fact several questions from the original SRIS became relevant for the participant and so were asked in an adapted form or directly. The SRIS also included a range of supplementary questions (10) which were mostly designed for respondents under 18 and these were therefore initially omitted from the interviews. However, during the interviews, some of these questions did become relevant and so these were asked when and where it felt appropriate.

I implemented a series of open-ended questions with each group of participants that followed a chronological life history from pre-migration to post-migration. Participants were asked these same eight key questions, in addition to this, in line with a semi-structured format, supplementary questions were asked following their answers.

4.9 Data analysis (2)

I followed a structured coding process adapted from Hahn (2008, cited in Azarfam et al. 2016). Listening to and immersion in the audio recordings conducting manual open coding, breaking the text into chunks, using headings to describe the content, annotating the texts and highlighting interesting phrases (Azarfam et al. 2016; Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Studies of migration often use economic examples and models of analysis, most of these typically involve the use of statistical data. Whilst this type of model analysis was suitable for quantitative research projects, for my study I had decided that a thematic analysis of data was needed. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain the procedures that underpin the thematic analysis of qualitative data, starting from immersion in the whole data corpus, a preliminarily data set is then identified through coding, and this is followed by the extraction of individual items of coded data. The main process is the development of first-level, descriptive codes, followed by higher order, interpretative coding or categories and finally overarching themes, (Saldaña, 2016, cited Elliott, 2018). Searching for meaningful patterns and themes in the data is a critical aspect of the interpretive process. To avoid the data being too fragmented from the original and misinterpreted, it is important to be transparent in how themes are developed (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Green et al. 2007).

On researching further into coding and data analysis, template and framework analysis are common methods of synthesising primary qualitative research data (Kiger and Varpio, 2020; King, 2015). I considered both approaches as I found it difficult to delineate each method. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) suggest a hybrid approach, incorporating both inductive and deductive methods of analysis, to construct, describe and interpret findings from interview data, therefore I sought to utilise this method as far possible.

I firstly considered framework analysis, as it is an approach to qualitative data analysis used in applied social policy research (Furber, 2010; Gale et al. 2013). My project's findings had implications for health and social care policy and so using a data analysis tool that had its roots in social policy was a good fit. Richie and Lewis (2003) describe the procedure as an initial reading and rereading of the data, a data management and

coding procedure, including a descriptive account that summarises the coded data and shows associations between categories and themes, and an explanatory and reflective stage to reduce misinterpretation and improve participant's meanings. Although I was attracted to this method, its use with multiple rather than sole researchers made it less helpful for my purposes (Furber, 2010; Gale et al.; 2013; Smith and Firth, 2011).

So instead, I shifted to contemplate template analysis, and its flexible approach to the generation of themes, patterns and relationships (King, 2004). It involves the use of *a prior themes* (*see figure 2*) and the creation of a codebook to organise the connections. Template analysis employs a coding template to identify meaningful phrases, searching the text for segments that can be connected to the research questions, aims and objectives of the study. (King, 2015; Waring and Wainwright, 2008). Template analysis has flexibility in not being tied to any specific ontological or epistemological position, or type of textual data (Brooks et al. 2015). Therefore, it can be conducted along a feminist and critical realist orientation that fitted my methodological and philosophical direction (Dow, 2012; Clarke, et al. 2015).

King and Brooks (2018) outline the steps as following a data immersion process, a range of narratives are constructed from the data corpus and an initial template is developed from this, these are used to structure and guide the researcher in relation to the remaining dataset. This template is applied to the remaining dataset and then modified as new themes are identified that do not 'fit' the existing version (Brooks et al. 2015). The final template is then connected to the *a priori themes* to make sense of the data as a whole through a process of analysis and interpretation. The process is not just about recounting the steps and procedures taken but as the interpretation takes place, uncovering key patterns and relationships and using focused description to explain concepts, categories and themes as they emerge (Smith and Firth, 2011).

I decided in favour of this method for the analysis of my data. The healthcare origins of template analysis also made it suitable for my project's aims and objectives. The outcomes were potentially compatible with the kind of knowledge used by health and social care policy makers, planners and practitioners of services and interventions for

migrant women and their families. I also had confidence in my ability to create a codebook to manage the process of data analysis (Waring and Wainwright, 2008).

I carried out the analysis using a series of stages. Because I had *a priori* themes from the literature and research findings, I found it difficult to ‘bracket’ these as I coded, but I also needed to gain insight directly into the perspectives of African Caribbean women migrants themselves, enabling their subjective experiences, feelings and responses to be illuminated (Saunders, 2015). As the topic of migration has been well theorised and researched, this meant that some themes could be coded early in the data and making links between these early themes and *a priori* findings was relatively straightforward in the later stages of the analysis.

The individual interviews reflected individual voices and stories from one-to-one interviews. For the analysis of these kinds of interviews, many qualitative researchers access computer-based tools for data analysis, such as NVivo. Initially, I was keen to avoid this method as I found it very time-consuming to learn and it lacked intuition - listening to the interviews with and without the headphones on while reading the transcripts (both via NVivo and via the original recordings) helped to develop data immersion. I did however later use NVivo to upload and code my data and this did help to make the process of analysis clearer as I moved from codes to categories and then themes (Gale et al. 2013). Each NVivo code initially formed a potential category but as coding progressed and the number of categories developed they were grouped together into broader categories. Similar categories were eventually brought together to form initial themes. These categories and themes formed a ‘coding index’, which was refined throughout the process as new insights emerge (Smith and Firth, 2011).

Richie and Lewis (2003) refer to the critical thinking that takes place in respect of how participants’ narratives are coded. As the researcher moves from description to summary and synthesis of the coded data, it is an iterative process. Refining the initial codes and categories and then linking categories to themes is a reflective process of analysis and interpretation that takes place whilst keeping connection to the original data and using participants own words wherever possible. Green et al. (2007, p.546) highlight the ‘testing’ that takes places within the analytic process, as the data is systematically assessed and integrated into a whole. I was mindful of this advice when

conducting my analysis as I faced a range of difficulties, including fragmented episodes of data immersion and then re-engagement with the data after prolonged periods away from it. Returning to data analysis after time away and re-reading all the transcripts did also help to see the 'wood for the trees,' leading to more meaningful analysis and interpretation, for example in the decision to use visual strategies such as sociograms to aid reflection (Smith and Firth, 2011).

The initial interview template was constructed from five interviews, Mrs. A, Mrs. B and Mrs. D, Mrs. E and Mrs. O, as these participants offered a good range of insights into their lived experiences. I followed the same process as with the focus group data. After conducting these interviews, I constructed a template, developed from coding the data to create categories and then themes. This template was then used to overlay the rest of the interviews. I coded the rest of the interviews, revising the template I had developed.

This produced 450 codes and as data reduction progressed, these were grouped together via a codebook into 42 categories and reduced down to six major themes. I then brought these together to sit alongside the *a priori* themes.

Stage two (Interview template concept map)

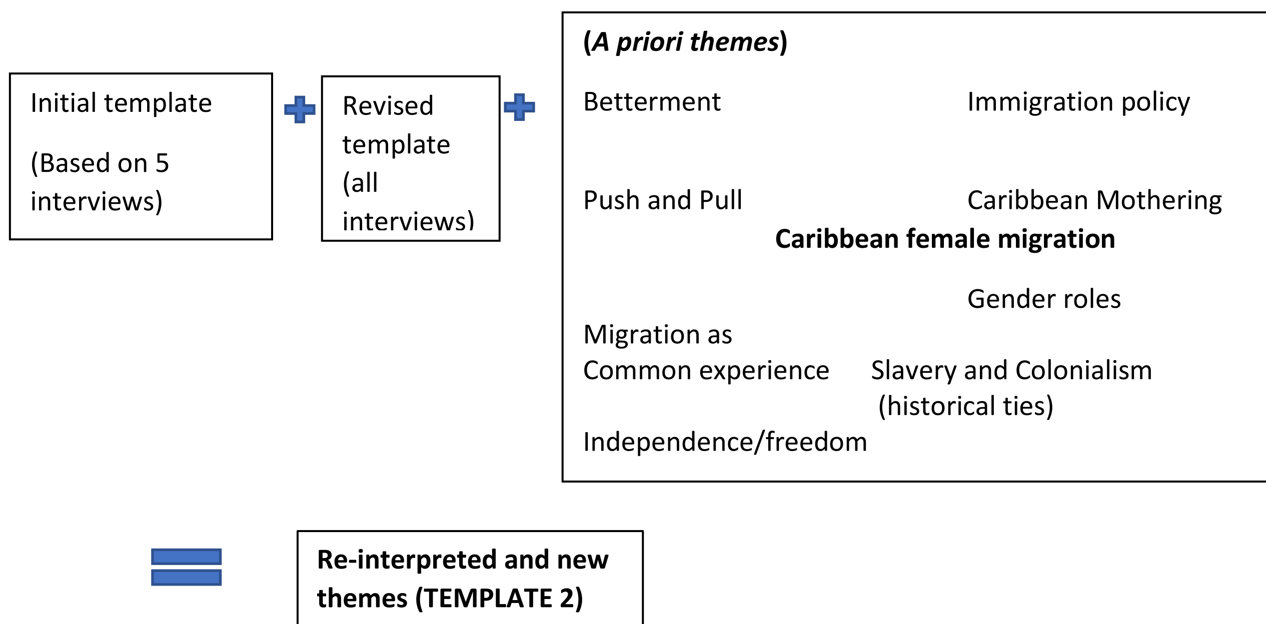


Figure 3: Interview template concept map

The final stage involved bringing together the two templates to create a set of ten overarching core themes relevant to my thesis.

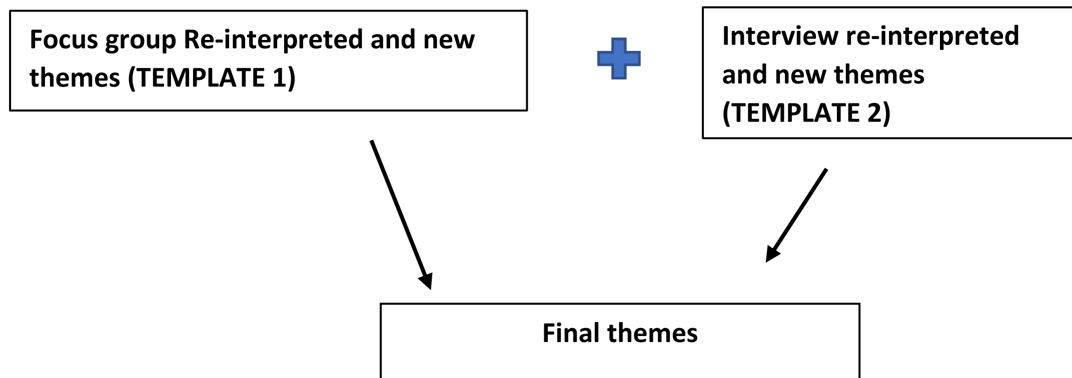


Figure 4: Final themes

4.10 Conclusions

In concluding this chapter, a major contribution is addressed by the use of a bricolage methodology. The value of a bricolage design encourages familiarity with a range of disciplines and a reflexive, pragmatic approach to acquiring knowledge. The chapter offers a bricolage approach as a conceptual tool. In this case, it is used to map and evaluate the key theoretical perspectives and methodologies that have been successful in researching the agency and structure of African Caribbean women's lives and in studies of their family life, acculturation and settlement.

Constructing qualitative narratives that harness reflective and creative storytelling methods from across the social sciences and humanities have clearly defined this type of research. The approach was designed to explore personal narratives by asking those who have lived experiences of African Caribbean migration and family separation. To gain further knowledge and meaning, group and individual data was collected and analysed. The thematic coding developed through my content analysis uses an intersectional template to extract and re-interpret several migration themes, including gender, race and class, as well as contemporary subjects such as family reunification, marriage and respectability.

A key finding is that the inclusion of bricolage as a methodology within migration research is relatively recent. Central to this finding is the notion that such migrants

engage in bricolage practices, using available resources and creating social networks for the development of new and/or functional activities. The concept of bricolage has been expanded and applied to this study to better understand how black women migrants create meaning, utilise resources and transnational networks in managing and meeting their multiple obligations, including motherhood.

I have outlined my methodology journey and the choices I made in moving to a multi-framework standpoint and using a bricolage design on which to scaffold my project. As part of this, I acknowledge there are different ways of knowing and that for the purposes of my retrospective, qualitative inquiry the researcher must be self-reflexive as well as critical in exploring knowledge production. I also explain the major facets underpinning the decisions in respect of undertaking my study, highlighting the benefits and limitations of these ways of knowing.

I have reflected on the *'analytical, methodological, and practical problems*' that confronted me in designing the research as a neophyte researcher, both predicted and unanticipated and the steps taken to manage and minimise them in the conducting of the research (Silverman, 2000, p. 31). I have set out the procedures I followed in designing and carrying out my data collection and analysis and I discussed the issues and challenges for me in analysing and presenting my data. The following chapter presents these results and describes the major findings alongside a discussion of the links to my research questions.

Chapter 5: Presentation and Analysis of Results

Introduction

This section begins with the presentation and discussion of the focus group data from my fieldwork. I provide an overview of the participants, followed by a description of the findings. I present selections of narratives from the two one-hour group interviews as well as my reflections and analysis of this data. This is followed by presentation and analysis of the personal interviews and recollections from twelve African Caribbean women who migrated to England during the 1950s and 1960s interview participants. Throughout the analysis, I give special attention to their roles as workers and mothers, to show the diversity of women's experiences of migration as well as their similarities. My main research question was how individual African Caribbean women and mothers managed child and family separation, however, this question is deeply connected to their settlement experiences. Therefore, to address these issues, I begin with the focus groups and the initial questions I asked the Windrush group about their settlement.

Verbatim quotes from the two focus groups are highlighted here alongside an analysis of themes across the two sets of group data (shown below) (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Kiger and Varpio, 2020).

Table 10: Theme One: Reasons for Migrating to England

	FG1	FG2
Q1 – Reasons for migrating to England.		
Nursing	√√	√
Coming to join family and loved ones	√√√	√
To work	√	√√
5-year plan	√√√	√
Nursing featured as a main motivator for three participants, but others spoke positively about coming for work. For four group members, coming to join family and loved ones was another strong factor.		

FG/S1's comments that "*EVERYONE was cashing in…making money…jumping on the bandwagon"*. It suggests in a sense then, that she was merely following what everyone else was doing but it also presents a more adventurous, risk-taking quality and nature to her decision-making. FG2/S2 added that "*Jamaica had just achieved independence*", so it is interesting that she and many others still perceived England as the Mother country as FG2/S2 confirms…*" Everyone was coming to England, I had the impression that it would be a good life. England is the Mother country".* She comments that there wasn't much choice in Jamaica, *"Some parents are willing to let you go and can see the opportunities for a better life, life will be much better".*

For some group members, there is agreement about the 5-year plan. Four out of seven group members had a 5-year plan to come to England and return within 5 years. This 5-year plan featured strongly in their narratives of why they came. FG1/S1 stated, "*I came with a 5-year plan to get back to Jamaica"* but later acknowledges that it was 16 years before she returned. FG2/S1 asserts she "*came to do my nurse training. Well, I came for 5 years. ONLY 5 years. That's what I told my parents".* FG2/S2 also maintains she "*came to stop for 5 years, make some money and go home".*

Only one participant FG2/S4 mentioned that she "*never had a definite time I thought I would come here for*".

Category: short-term then return migration (5-Year plan)

Theme 1: Opportunity (risk taking, adventure)

Table 11: Theme Two: Leaving the Caribbean

	FG1	*FG2*
Q2 - Leaving the Caribbean		
Excitement/hope of better life	√	√√√
Sadness/uncertainty		√√√

Many of the testimonials describe the mixed emotions of leaving their homeland. FG1/S3 –observes that she *"wanted to come and see England".* This appears to be a minority view. Most participants report a mix of sadness, apprehension and excitement in their leaving. For some group members, there is excitement and hope

of a better life for example, FG1/S4 states: "*I was excited to come. I WANTED to come, I was glad. I didn't have time to think about it!"*

Whereas for FG2/S3*, "coming to England…at first, I was a bit scared, I mean I didn't know what to expect, I didn't know what it was like".*

FG1/S1 describes the realisation of being alone in England*: "when I got to the nurse's home, into the room, I realised for the first time I was on my own and I shed floods of tears (.) I CRY and CRY, I realised there was no turning back (.) Two Irish girls came in and tried to cheer me up, bringing me hot water bottles so I would be warm".*

Missing the sunshine was a common theme: FG1/S1 "*You miss home, family, your friends. We only came with our little suitcase, our grips, you know and not enough warm clothes".*

FG2/S2 recalls*, "I missed my father, but I liked the FREEDOM. Before, it was too restricted, my father didn't like me going to dances and wearing make-up, I had to sneak out and hide my clothes (.) He was a strict Catholic man brought up by his grandfather".* For her, migration brought the opportunity to be free from parental restrictions, despite the feelings of loss and sadness.

Category: hope v uncertainty

Theme: Expectations

Table 12: Theme Three: Work/Employment

Q3 - Work/employment	*FG1*	*FG2*
Nurse training/hospital	√√	√√
Factory /Other	√	√
Childcare		√

The participants who answered this question worked in either hospital work or factory work. FG1/S1 testifies, *"everyone said you can get a job here and I found a job quickly."* FG1/S3 agrees: *"Yes I found work in a factory and then went to work at the hospital".* FG1/S2 *"worked a little" after she married.* FG2/S4 states that she *"trained as a nurse but never had any idea to od nursing but they were recruiting and…I needed something to do".*

One participant, FG2/S2 describes the stigma and shame of having to *"pack up my training (nurse) and look after him (my son) myself, because I wasn't married".* She recounts her struggles to work due to the lack of childcare, *"Finding childcare was SO hard, I couldn't find anyone to help, most of the white people didn't want to help because I wasn't married (.) I couldn't hold my head, you know. But different people helped me look after him, but sometimes I went out and left him on the settee, leave him on his own. It was only ME to take care of him and take care of myself".* This participant was the only one who describes the issues in managing work and childcare.

Category: Finding work

Theme – Work experiences

Table 13: Theme Four: Where lived and with whom?

Q4 Where lived and with whom?	*FG1*	*FG2*
Parents		√√
Siblings	√√	√
Partner	√	
Other people	√	√
Nurses home	√√	

All the participants who answered this question lived with either family or partners. Sharing with relatives was an everyday experience as (FG2/S2) recalls: *"My sister was already here…I shared with her and her husband."* Sharing with others, in a shared house or living in shared nursing quarters was also common as (FG1/S4) comments: *"everyone was living in the same house and we just had our own room, you know, or if you had a house then you would rent out the other rooms".* FG1/S3 states*: "we lived like one family".*

Category: Sharing accommodation

Theme: Housing experiences

Table 14: Theme Five: Keeping in touch

Q5 – Keeping in touch	*FG1*	*FG2*
Writing letters	√√	√√
Barrels/parcels/money		√√
Sending pictures		√

Sending photographs seems to have been rare, letter writing was the most common way of keeping in touch, *"My mother write me very often"* states (FG1/S4). FG2/S4 also states*: Yes, we corresponded by letter, we wrote letters and sent photographs."* Sending remittances was the major way of contributing but it also seems to have helped act as a reminder of their presence and role as breadwinners. FG2/S2 testifies that: *"We sent parcels and barrels, it was cheap to send clothes, soap, all sorts of niceties. We knew they would appreciate that, and we looked forward to hearing from them."*

Category: practical connections to maintaining contact with home

Theme: Maintaining connection

Table 15: Theme Six: Missing the Caribbean

Q6 – Missing the Caribbean	*FG1*	*FG2*
Children	√	√
Food/cosmetics	√	√
Weather/Shock of England	√	√√
Parents/family/home	√√	√√

The participants mostly shared similar feelings about the shock of England, although her pining for the warmth and feelings of loss were implicit, FG2/S4 states*, "It was snowing and so cold. Everyone said it was going to be cold, but when I did come now, I didn't want to stay!"*

In another example of unspoken feelings of loss, the absence of loved ones, is recalled by (FG1/S3): *"I had 2 kids in Jamaica (.). They want to come and be with us, but it took time. We send them things, but you couldn't interfere."* I felt here again the effect of the group dynamic, how it influenced this speaker and minimised her

contribution. It was another opportunity I was not able to explore her experiences further.

In a statement that reveals the emotional pull some participants experienced between those they had left behind and those they were joining in England, FG2/S4 discloses that*: "I stayed with my grandmother for about 5 years (.).*
I was DEVASTATED at leaving her, I was thinking I would never see her again, but you want to be with your parents".
For one group member, the lack of visual contact had a major impact. On being reunited with her mother in England, (FG2/S4) states*, "I didn't recognise my mother…just father. I felt so ashamed – she had gained so much WEIGHT!"* It was unclear whether the shame she felt was to do with her failure to recognise her mother or her mother's weight gain. Only one person commented on this aspect and I wasn't able to follow up on this statement.
One speaker, FG2/S2 jokingly recalls: *"When I come here, I couldn't wash, cook or clean (.) In Jamaica, you have someone else to do THOSE things, but my father didn't, he made me learn to do it. 'I didn't have a Daphne to do it for me".*
This last statement reveals something about the social conditions of some African Caribbean households in Jamaica. Tasks such as washing, cooking and cleaning would be undertaken by other, usually poorer women, raising questions of class and status.
Category: Missing home the Caribbean, Family and Children
Theme: Loss and Separation

Table 16: Theme Seven: Returning home

Q7 – Returning home	*FG1*	*FG2*
Less than 5 years	√	
More than 10 years	√√√	√
More than 20 years		√

For most of the participants, returning home took many more years than they had expected. (FG1/S1) states*, "it was 16 years before I went back".* For FG1/S3 too, *"It took longer than I thought because it was expensive. We JUST didn't have*

enough money. We started having kids that's why we stayed". These two points appear connected, once children came along, the family's income was divided between the two different households.

"My first visit back was in 1971, I NEVER forget when my mother first saw me, when she saw me in the taxi (.) She saw me - she called me - she COLLAPSED!" recalls (FG1/S4).

Participant FG1/S2 observes: *"It was 12 years before we went back. His parents didn't know me. We had 4 kids who didn't know their Grandparents".*

FG2/S2 had the longest return at 22 years and for FG2 /S3 it took 15 years. One group member (FG1/S3) had the shortest return at 4-5 years.

Category: Returning home after a long time

Theme: Impact of migration

I created a conceptual model that displays my analytical process (*see fig. 5*).

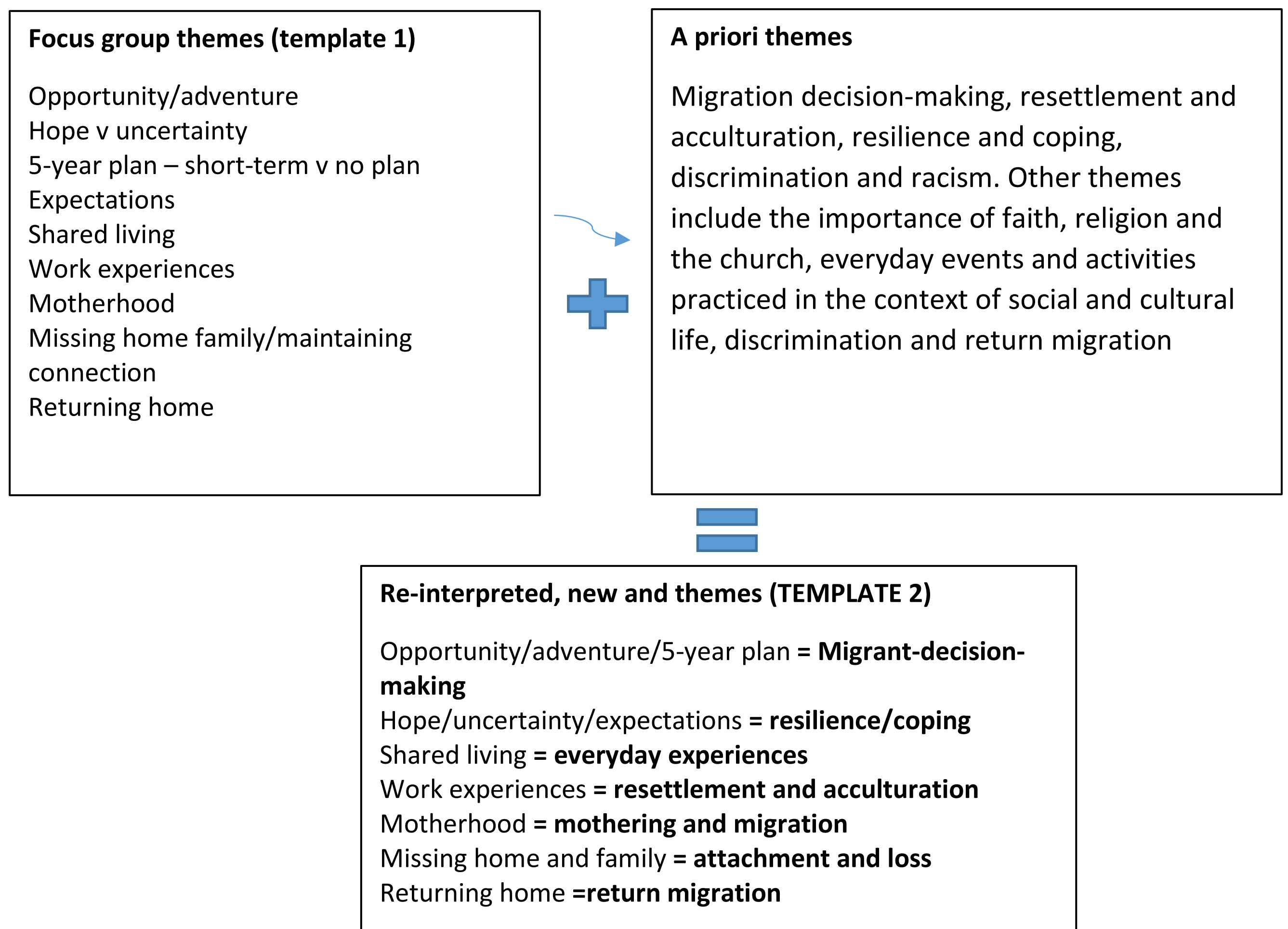


Figure 5: conceptual analysis

There were two other themes that were generated from the data that were not part of my questions. These were added to the template.

Table 17: Themes Eight and Nine: Church and Marriage/Discrimination

Category: *Who they were able to marry*	**Theme 8: Church and Marriage**
Category*: Ill-treatment How they were treated*	***Theme 9: Discrimination***

Re-interpreted, new and themes (TEMPLATE 2)

Opportunity/adventure/5-year plan = **Migrant-decision-making**
Hope/uncertainty = **resilience/coping**
Shared living = **everyday experiences**
Work experiences = **resettlement and acculturation**
Motherhood = **mothering and migration**
Missing home and family = **attachment and loss**
Returning home =**return migration**
Discrimination = **Racism/racial discrimination**
***Autonomy v parental authority**
***Church and marriage**

In FG1 for example, the question, *who did you live with/come to*, was answered by every participant. FG1/S3's response led me to ask her more about this, whereby she told me about knowing her husband from before she came to England. Her comment that '*The first man I did love but my father would not let me have him (.) In those days you couldn't argue, you had to LISTEN to your parents'* revealed a new category and potential theme **of *parental authority and marriage*** and I added this to the template. I developed Theme 8 in the same way, from FG/S2's answer to my question about her work, I generated the category *ill-treatment,* and which then became the theme of ***discrimination***. I used these themes to connect with the *a priori* themes and interview data.

Squires et al. (2014) and Elliott (2005) distinguish between first order and second-order narratives. The first level is described by the individual and the second level by the researcher. This suggests that the telling of events is ordered and arranged holistically. Narratives however are not linear, though they are often driven by the need to create order and coherence (Elliott, 2005). I tried to ask the questions in a chronological sequence and in answering the questions, focus group participants did follow a coherent set of responses in their responses. I was able to move through the questions in an organised manner asking each group member in turn, however not all participants answered every question. Where one person hesitated or didn't answer, another person would fill the silence and offer another part of their story, though this was not in sequence.

Because of the group context, I wasn't able to follow up on some of the stories. At a reflexive level however, I was able to explore deeper social meanings and interpret more of the social context of both their personal experience and the social world from which their story was told, identifying wider themes and categories from the story (Phoenix, 1994, cited Cederberg, 2014).

FG1/S3's story highlights the way that parental authority in first generation African Caribbean families governed the behaviour of young adults (Williams, 2017). Parental acceptance of her partner was a significant factor in enabling this participant to migrate in the first place. Implicit in her statement is the notion that her father's personal (moral) and social (public) attitudes on marriage and sex needed to be satisfied before her own and because her future intended was in the church, this made their bond respectable and legitimate. She was therefore able to migrate to England even though she was not in fact married to him at that time.

This is confirmed by part of FG2/P2's narrative: "*Then again, you were look down on if you weren't married, and lived with a man. For that reason, we got married – so there was lots of weddings!* She agrees that African Caribbean parents are "*very strict*" and admits that coming to England for her meant she had more freedom.

5.1 Marriage, respectability and morality

The theme of **marriage, respectability and morality is** an interesting one to emerge from the focus groups. It is connected to the research question as it addresses the idea that some African Caribbean women viewed migration to England as an opportunity to gain respectability whilst for others, such as FG2/S2 it was a way to challenge traditional gender norms and expectations. Such '*respectability politics',* were initially adopted among African American communities in the early twentieth century. They promoted and established desired behaviours such as cleanliness, tidiness, temperance and sexual morality, as a strategy for securing full citizenship (Harris, 2003, p.212). This analysis can be related to the experiences of the African Caribbeans. Several interviewees commented on getting married, or coming to get married, and such presentations correspond to notions of personal and social respectability.

The themes of **opportunity/the 5-Year plan** appear to be inconsistent. Group members seemed to value the opportunity to come to England for a '*better life'* and better opportunities yet, there was also the assertion that this was only going to be a short-term plan. How these contradictions were reconciled was an important question I hoped to explore further.

Another point that arises from the discussions is they made the transition from the Caribbean knowing that others had migrated successfully: "*My sister was already here*" (FG2/P2). "*My father was already here"* (FG2/P3) emphasise the importance for them of having family members already in England. Having relatives in England obviously helped the women to become established and settled, but their responses also indicate that there was still a great deal of uncertainty for them. Despite having relatives in England and hearing stories of success and many having a short-term, '*5-year plan*', several participants described feeling scared and apprehensive about what to expect.

There was an important theme relating to the practical ways group members found to **keep in touch and remain present** in the lives of those back home. Remittances and letter writing formed a major part of this endeavour and was something I hoped to explore more in the interviews.

It was clear from the shared discussion that these women were not the original Windrush, but had arrived a few years later, some coming to join their parents who had migrated earlier. This group of women came to work, join family and spouses and to train as nurses. To take advantage of the opportunities their parents had already laid down.

Discussions at the group level revealed many shared understandings, such as similar decisions around migrating to England, their feelings on leaving behind loved ones and their experiences of housing and employment. Some of the everyday activities were remembered well in the context of settling in England, such as accessing cultural food, the English weather, obtaining Caribbean food and going to parties.

Reflecting on the process and the experience of interviewing the group members, I felt I did not get chance to follow up questions to those women who had left children behind. This was a limitation of the focus group method, as in-depth exploration of traumatic life events such as leaving behind children were not possible for me to explore in these group discussions. It was just not practical for me to explore such a sensitive subject within this group setting. I felt it was not a bona fide focus group and did not meet the full criteria for this,although it was a 'collective conversation', I wasn't able to facilitate or control the process as much as I would have liked or treat the group as a unit of analysis (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis 2013, p. 6). I reflected that group members might even have been inhibited from discussing such personal topics as their children left behind, due to the presence of other group members who were known to them. It led me to reflect on my sampling approach. I may have found it easier to generate more insights had they not been known to each other.

Although Kitzinger (1995) recommends that the researcher should initially keep a back seat and talk to each other rather than to me, I found participants in both groups preferred a structure in which I led the discussion and asked them questions. This meant the opportunity to explore differences and disagreements between participants was quite limited and, perhaps because of this, there were little points of conflict between group members.

I sought a method of analysis to explore the group level interactions, as group dynamics are an essential element of focus groups and can be explored alongside the conversational data (Drahota and Dewey, 2008). Tubaro et al. (2016) emphasise the role that visualisation of social interactions can play in social research, highlighting that its use is underdeveloped within the social sciences. I felt that such visualisation of the social connections within the focus groups could enable more insights into the social dimension of group stories, although I wasn't able to involve participants in the construction of the sociograms themselves as Ryan et al. (2014) had done.

To analyse the turn-taking and interactions between group members, I used a simple sociogram to map the dynamics and the flow of conversations during the two focus groups, plotting '*the patterns of social linkage*s' (Ryan et al., 2014, p. 2; Drahota and Dewey, 2008).

Cyr (2015) suggests it is both possible and valuable to distinguish the individual, collective and interactive components of focus groups and certainly the initial responses of individuals to my questions provided confirmation that I was on the right lines and that the individuals each had something to say that resonated with my topic. As the discussion continued, they reverberated off each other's stories, but it was difficult to capture this effectively because I could not record the conversations. In addition to listening and recording their responses, I did attempt a deeper analysis of the focus groups interactions using sociograms to help construct a visual model of the group interactions (Moreno, 1933). I drew sociograms to record my observations of group members, counting the number of verbal interactions from individual and between the different members. I also counted the number of words each participant contributed.

5.2 Sociograms

5.2.1 Sociogram of Focus Group 1

Much of the conversation took place between S1 and myself and between S1 and S2 (*see figure 5*). The thickness of the lines denotes the intensity of the exchanges. S1 and S2 were clearly close friends and so their exchanges were much more intimate

and exclusive. They mostly spoke to each other and to me, with S1 taking more of the conversation than S2. Meanwhile S3 and S4 formed their own unit. They spoke less and tended to answer questions without adding much more content, so there was much less of their 'story'. Of course, some group members took longer to answer questions, leaving space and silence that was filled by others, who perhaps were more comfortable talking.

Number of words contributed	
Interviewer	160 40 x4
S1	466
S2	216
S3	150
S4	132

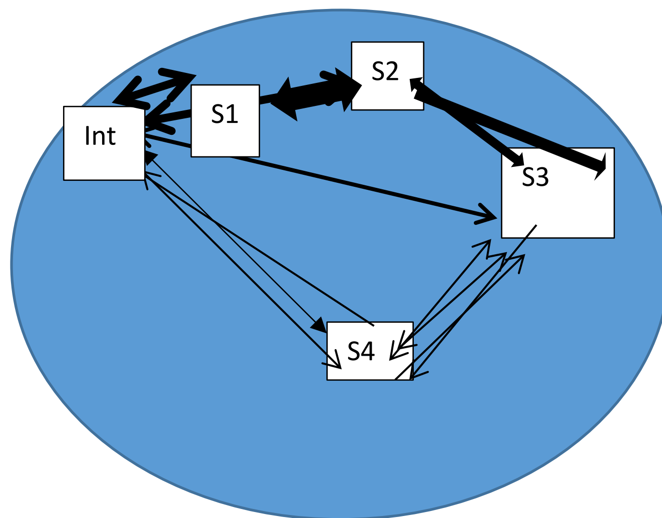


Figure 5. Sociogram of Focus group 1

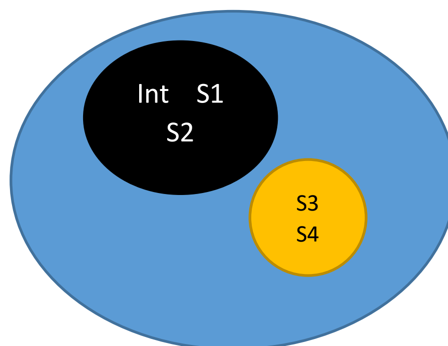


Figure 6. Focus Group 1 shown as two units

5.2.2 Sociogram of Focus group 2

This group consisted of three participants. S2 dominated the conversation as her word count reveals. She spoke twice as much as either of the other two participants. In fact, S2 was the most talkative of all the focus group participants. She hardly communicated with the other group members and directed most of her conversation to me rather than to the other members. The sociogram (*see figure 7*) provides a visual snapshot of the group interconnections, showing large directional arrows indicating the level of contact and interaction between the interviewer and participant 2.

Number of words contributed

Interviewer	120 40 x3
S2	694
S3	259
S4	297

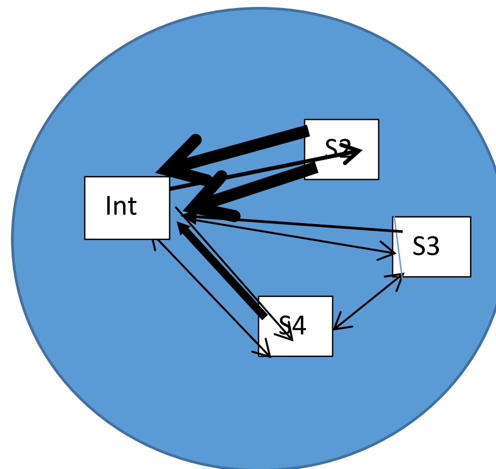


Figure 7. Sociogram of Focus Group 2

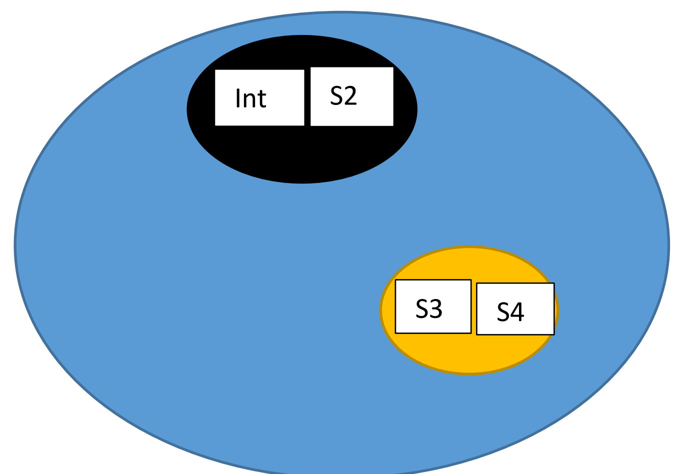


Figure 8. Focus group 2 shown as two units

Sociograms do not '*aim to get an objective representation of a social reality'* (Tubaro et al. 2016, p.14). I did not therefore attempt to show every possible conversational direction and flow but following Dahorta and Dewey (2008), I used arrows to represent the participants' verbal communications and the differences between the intensity of conversation. This is showed by the level of thickness of the arrows.

I was able to see the patterns from the discussions, but I chose not to capture the '*sequential turn-taking'*. The patterns I depict seem more representative of the 'heavily weighted '*serial interviewing dynamic*', described by Drahorta and Dewey (2008, p. 7). Recording every conversation on the sociogram can result in over complexity, as the presentation of the diagrammatical visualisations become a kind of social network analysis, detracting from the emotional connections an audience might gain from reading or listen to written text. Tubaro et al. (2016) highlight the issue of readability

(accessibility) of sociogram displays, other moderator-participant limitations include the sociogram's inability to record the non-verbal communication, as these also can be worthy of analysis.

Participants' emotional expressions are not captured by this technique, while they can be described in text. An important value of the sociogram is in enabling insight into various aspects of participants' personal relationships and social networks and is reminiscent of tools used by practitioners such as social workers, who use genograms and ecomaps to display individual's personal relationships and family and social networks (Rempel, et al. 2007).

This section summarises that overall, the group story-telling sessions brought forth untold tales and voices that shared important memories from the past, '*created bonds...shared understandings and meanings*' (Delgado, 1989, cited Prabhat, 2018, p.26).

5.3 Individual Interviews

I interviewed 12 women in total. Six women were already mothers, all but one having left their children behind with Grandparents or close relatives. Three of the participants came to Britain as children and three had no children before coming to England. Only two out of 12 women were married before migrating to England. Length of separation varied between 2-19 years.

5.3.1 Interviews from focus groups

Two women from the focus groups were interviewed. One of these women had left her young son behind to migrate to England (*see table 18*).

Name	**Place of origin**	**Age/year of arrival**	**Age at time of interview (DOB**	**Marital status on entry**	**Left children**	**Age and gender of child/ren**	**Length of separation**
Mrs. Cas	**Jamaica**	**21 (1961)**	**69 (1940)**	**single**	**Y -1**	**1yr old son**	**7 yrs.**
Mrs. Mil	**Jamaica**	19 (1961)	72 (1942)	single	No		

Table 18: Interviewees from Focus group

5.3.2 Individual Interviews (2016)

These individuals were a similar demographic to the focus group members, with the exception that two of the interviewees were children at the time of migration. I hadn't predicted capturing children's experiences (and should have, given the emphasis on this in the literature). Using a snowballing method meant I followed up the contacts I was given and simply agreed the interview over the phone. It was only on meeting Mrs. D and Mrs. O and starting the interview, that each of them revealed they had come to Britain as a child. I could not ethically stop the interviews and in fact, their stories were both enormously powerful in bringing the child's perspective much closer (*see table 19*).

Table 19: Interviews (2016)

Name	**Place of origin**	**Age/Year of arrival**	**Marital status on entry**	**Age at time of interview**	**Left children y/n**	**Age and gender of children**	**Length of separation**
Mrs. A (Cilly) B:1938	**Jamaica**	**23 (1960)**	**single**	**78**	**Y-3**	**1xg (6y); 2xb (4y, 2y)**	**6yrs. 8yrs.**
Mrs. B (Hazel) B:1936	**St Kitts**	**25 (1961)**	**married**	**79**	**Y-3**	**3xb (2, 5 and 7y)**	**7 yrs.**
Mrs. C (Rose) B: 1941	**Jamaica**	18 (1959)	**single**	73	No	N/A	N/A
Mrs. D (Dorothy) B:1953	**Jamaica**	12 (1965)	**child**	64	No	N/A	N/A
Mrs. E (Vida) B:1935	**Jamaica**	**22 (1957)**	**single**	**79**	**Y – 1**	**1xg**	**2 yrs.**
Mrs. N (Francis) B:1939	**St Kitts**	**19 (1958)**	**single**	**76**	**Y – 1**	**1xg**	**15 yrs.**
Mrs. O (Carmel) (1953)	**St Kitts**	11 (1964)	**child**	63	n	N/A	N/A

5.3.3 Individual Interviews (2018)

These participants were all Caribbean women who had migrated to England during the 1950s and 1960s. They were aged between 6 and 24 at the time of migration and were now in their 70s and 80s. Mrs. F was the third participant who came to England as a child (*see table 20*).

Table 20: Interviews (2018)

Name	Place of origin	Age/Year of arrival	Age at time of interview	Marital status on entry	Left children y/n	Age and gender of children	Length of separation
Mrs. H (Edna)	**Jamaica**	**24 (1962)**	**77**	**single**	**1**	**1xg**	**19y**
Mrs. L (Clarisse)	**Jamaica**	23 (1958)	80	**married**	No	N/A	N/A
Mrs. F (Shirley)	**Jamaica**	6 (1960)	63	**child**	n	N/A	N/A

I conducted face to face semi-structured interviews, but with an open ended and flexible schedule of questions, prompts and probes (Crabtree and Miller, 1992). I adapted Arnold's (2006) separation and reunion interview schedule, which consisted of pre-migration, migration and post-migration questions. Therefore, I began with a set of broad questions about their memories of their childhood, homeland and events leading up their migration to allow them to relax and talk freely. I moved onto questions about their life and experiences following migration, adding supplementary and ending questions. The participants determined the pace of the interviews, it was important for them to have time to think about their answers and to answer the questions as they wanted, without too much interruption from me.

Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method, interview data was firstly transcribed and then prepared for coding and analysis. I organised and sorted the text, removing some of the stumbles, stutters and incoherent words but where appropriate I kept hesitations and linguistic and social context ellipsis, seeking to ensure I did not damage the cohesion of the text but to make it more concise (Chen, 2016). I then set about constructing categories and themes (Mayring, 2000; Crabtree and Miller, 1992).

As I transcribed most of the interviews myself, the advantages included my being able to work confidently between the transcripts and the codebook. I also discovered some of the disadvantages that this presented. Bailey (2008) discusses some of the issues that were relevant for me in transcribing the interviews, particularly in respect of decisions about how to present the verbal and non-verbal narratives, which are not highlighted in discussions about template analysis but are common in qualitative research and analysis.

Of the African Caribbean women I interviewed, nine out of 12 were from the island of Jamaica. The remaining three came from St Kitts. They came from diverse backgrounds. Whilst several came from the capital Kingston, others like Mrs. D, were from rural areas. Mrs. N mentions the small island of St. Kitts and how you could walk around it in five hours and so, '*everyone wanted to go somewhere {else}'*. For her, coming to England seem to mean coming to a much larger island and getting out of St. Kitts. Amongst the sample of St. Kittians I interviewed, this was a credible pattern (Yardley, 2000). Amongst the Jamaicans however, migration appeared to be more to do with betterment and employment ambitions, especially nursing (Flynn, 2011).

Their parents' occupations differed though several stated farming as their father's main occupation. Others were butchers and fishermen. The dates of arrival ranged from 1957-1965, marking this group of women as the second wave of early Caribbean migrants to England. Many of the women came to relatives or partners and those didn't, came to train as nurses and lived in the nurses' home. One participant Mrs. F recalls her aunt, '*came by herself, she didn't have no family here only her friend. So, she came to her friend and her brother'.* However, amongst my participants this appeared to be a rare incident.

5.4 Findings

Coding was undertaken from five interviews with Mrs, A, Mrs, B, Mrs. D, Mrs. E and Mrs. O and I completed data analysis and theme development of these transcripts (*see figure 9*).

Initial interview template
(Based on 5 interviews)

- **Childhood experiences**
- **Attachment and Loss**
- **Expectations**
- **Work and Employment**
- **Childcare and Family life**
- **Decision to migrate**

Figure 9: Initial interview template

The themes from these five interviews were generated though the same process of first and second coding and then categorising the text into thematic categories. The remaining transcripts were analysed to identify any new themes to form the complete template (*see figure 10*).

Complete Template (all interviews)

- **Childhood experiences**
- **Attachment and Loss**
- **Family Reunification**
- **Decision-making, Betterment and Expectations**
- **Work, Employment and Racism**
- **Marriage, Motherhood and Childcare**
- **Parental Authority and Control**
- **Faith and Sacrifice**

Figure 10: Complete Interview Template (all interviews)

5.4.1 Theme 1: Childhood attachments

I was interested in participants' responses to questions about childhood and what their narratives reveal about their first-hand experiences of being mothered and parented, so these stories supply insight into some of the diversity and complexity of African

Caribbean kinship arrangements. So, this was one of the first themes: **childhood attachments**.

Mrs. Cas explains she was raised by her grandmother and her father, who she remembers, *"took her from her mother. It was a chop and change family"*. When she tells the story, she raises her voice but expresses indifference to these arrangements and her experience of them. Nothing is said about her mother's absence or her grandmother's care, though she comments later on about the strictness of her father's home and her life with him. As a Caribbean child, Mrs. Cas was subject to full adult authority and decision-making, with little agency of her own.

Mrs. O explains, "*My grandmother raise me*. *Yeah (.) And my other stepsister (.) One of them (.). The other one didn't come because she run away. Because there was four of us we left down there. But the oldest is me, and then my two stepsister, but they grew up with their step… their grandmother at their dad's side. And I was with my grandmother on my mum's side. And I didn't know M was my sister. I used to see her, but I didn't know she was my sister."* In Mrs. O's narrative, the convoluted nature of her family network is framed, and the concept of family becomes extended. Raised by a maternal grandmother and stepsister and having two stepsisters who grew up with her paternal grandmother and a sister M, who she was familiar with but had no knowledge of being related to.

Mrs. L is another participant who was not raised by her mother. Her Aunty by marriage had children who were being raised by their grandmother, yet she parented her husband's niece, Mrs. L. She describes the living arrangements and how she felt about moving to live with her Aunty and Uncle, "*I was about 4 or 5 when I came to Town, I was the only one who went to live with my Uncle and Aunty, because I was bit delicate. I was also a pretty child. I did not feel anything about it...because first I was with my grandparents, {repeated], then my grandmother die, and that's when I went to live with my Aunty and Uncle, after my grandmother die...And family is always coming by, you know".* She went on, *"My Aunty and Uncle did not have any children of their own, she had two children that lived in the country with their grandmother, but she and my Uncle did not have any children. So, I think he wanted me to come and live with him, you know."* This swapping or shifting of children from one relative to another is common

in the Caribbean. Like many of Arnold's (2006) sample, some of these women had little experience of being cared for by their own mothers and were primarily raised by a grandmother or other female relative.

Another participant, Mrs. D also expresses some of this complexity, saying: "*my Aunt came to England in 1953, her brother was already here, and she came to him….I live with her from I was three, then when she leave me, I went to live back with my grandmother and my mum. Then she was to come back after 5 years ...and my grandmother died just around the 5 years and my Aunt send for me. Before she went, she sit and talk to me and told me she was going to England for 5 years and then she's coming back and we would all be together again. 5 years didn't mean nothing to me, all I know was, my mum was coming back, for as far as I was concerned, she was my mum."*

Mrs. M did grow up with her parents and ten brothers and sisters. Despite this, it seems she was not subjected to a life of major poverty. Her father was a policeman and her mother was a teacher and these occupations will have provided a good source of income and enabled a good standard of living for the family. She admits, "*we were a bit spoilt. I found it hard to sweep the floor"*. Unsurprisingly, as her mother was a teacher, she went to high school. According to Mrs. M, she is very close to her older sisters who raised her, "*'I've always felt secure, I mean if I had a problem, I could go to anyone of my sisters, you know or if anything happened to me, I always know there's somebody there, you know. There's only one thing I would say about my childhood, I could never speak open with my mother. She took things the wrong way, if I had something, a serious problem I couldn't really go to her. I could go to my sisters but not to her*".

These experiences capture some of the diversity of Caribbean kinship arrangements even within a fairly homogenous group, behind which there is also the reality of family separation and reunification that many of these African Caribbean women experienced. As children they were parented by women other than their birth mother and then some of them were pulled away from their attachment figures because of their mother's migration to England. For these women, issues of attachment and loss are poignantly recalled.

Mrs. O's mother left her in the care of her maternal grandmother, aged three. She was reunited with her mother on coming to England aged 11. Mrs. O describes a childhood filled with ill-treatment and abuse at the hands of her grandmother, "*Well, it was harsh. I had a really hard time with my grand… My grandad was all right, but he was never there. But my grandmother… me and my brother, we were getting very ill-treated, very, very, very, very bad. What it was… what it was, because my grandmother and mum did have some argument, she took it out on me and my brother. And we suffered for it. But I didn't know my mum. As I say, I vaguely remember when she left, but I didn't know her. I didn't get it [love] back home, and I didn't get it from her".* Her narrative testifies as to some of the issues for reunification for African Caribbean children and their mothers. Due to the time apart, for the children left behind, their experiences of maternal mothering are often fractured, sometimes beyond repair. Mrs. O laughs as she recalls, on being reunited with her mother that, "*we came with a name tag*".

Yet, behind the laughter there is a great deal of pain and resentment. She was reunited with a mother she didn't know, in a country she didn't know and had no say in coming to. Mrs. O recalls, "*I didn't get to know my mum. I didn't get to know her. She was so secretive. And when I come up and she say she's mummy – I said no. So, I used to call her Mrs M. (.). I call her Mrs M all the way through, so I used to get beating, because she didn't like it."* Her comments here testify to the inner turmoil, mutual hurt, and shared disappointment in the different expectations they had of each other, setting up lots of conflict in the relationship due to unresolved issues of separation, loss and broken attachments (Jones et al. (2004).

Mrs. A recalls, "*It was mi Godmother bring me up, send me to school. She had money (.) but she wasn't a nice woman though. She took me from mi madda when I was small and grew me because she never had no children. But she never love me. But mi madda couldn't keep me, so I live with mi Godmother in Kingston. 'Till I came to England and lived with mi madda and my brother".* She goes on to explain that when she came to England, she left two children behind. Her brother asked her, "*'what would you do if you was to go to England? What would you do with the children?'"* Mrs. A replies*, "I said, 'well I would dispatch them', and that is exactly what I did. Mi Godmother took the boy and the girls… they didn't stay one place."* The casualness

of her comment is difficult to hear. It seems as though for her, the pull to come to England was greater than her maternal duties to her children, which might have been the case, but it can also be understood in the context of her personal experience of childhood separation from her own mother. An experience that is shared by other African Caribbean women I interviewed.

Leaving children and attachment figures family behind was harrowing for some participants. Mrs. D had been raised by her great Grandmother and great Aunt from three years old. She came to England to join her father and stepmother when she was 12. Her feelings, "*was mixed because I didn't want to leave Mummy, I didn't want to leave what was here. And I was coming to a stepmother and I didn't really know her, I was only a baby really".* She laughs as she remembers, *"Well, daddy was going to buy me some dollies...and spoil me.... I was going to get all these dollies, an alabaster dolly, a dolly with long hair...I knew exactly what I wanted! And so, when I came, I went into the front room and I see all these kids sitting there and coming from Jamaica I just look at them and says, 'Where uno dolly deh?' I thought they would have lots of toys being in England".* Her narrative suggests it had been necessary to bribe her with the promise of dolls in order to gain her compliance, perhaps because of her age.

She hadn't seen her father for 9 years, recalling, "*I always remember thinking that's not my dad! I looked at him and I thought...he was always suited and booted my dad... he came in a flannelette suit and felt hat, I can see him now! And the photograph I had of him in Jamaica, of my dad, I treasured that picture, he looked young and fresh, and it wasn't this man who came to meet us, I said to my brother...he looked old...that's not my dad.... And anyway, after a couple of days I said to him, 'where me dolly deh?'! He just said 'go tek yu book and read*!'" [laughs]. Mrs. D felt the loss of her great-grandmother acutely. She recalls, "*my grandma died the same year I came here, about 6 months after I came. She always say, 'her eyes can't shut while I'm in England'...and the day my dad told me, he said, 'if I didn't take you from mummy, she would a live little longer'. My blood was just shaking, you know, I thought, 'you don't know what you just say, is so true!' I know, but I'm not saying anything! Because after they start treat me bad, I write one airmail letter and I said, 'Mammy, send back for me, cos they treating me bad'. And my grandmother couldn't interfere, but she was so clever, because my father read the letter she wrote and it said,' I'm an old woman, just try you*

best to settle down', she was saying she was too old to have me back, but they didn't know that. So, she died, soon after that, just went to bed one night and took her last breath".

It clear from her story that the bond between Mrs. D and her Grandmother was a powerful attachment and bond. Her Grandmother's eyes '*can't shut'* – in other words, she couldn't rest or settle while her Mrs. D remained in England and died shortly after Mrs. D migrated. Her "*blood was just shaking"*, at her father's acknowledgement that had he not taken her away, her beloved grandmother, '*might have lived a little longer.'*" For such children, migration decisions are often made without consultation or consideration of the impact on them. It was 30 years before Mrs. D was able to return to the Caribbean and be reunited with her birth mother. She recalls, "*She was down by the river washing, and I passed her and... anywhere your mum is you know the person. And I just say to her, 'hello Mum, I bet you don't even know who I am'...And she look at me and said, 'Me no mus know me own pickney?' Who else have that forehead? Oh, mi glad to see you".* The shared physical feature helped the recognition. Mrs. D, who struggled to reconcile the photograph of her father with the real person she had not seen for nine years, maintains, "*anywhere your mum is, you know the person*". The assertion indicates a belief in the deep maternal bond between mother and child, a connection that possibly endures over time and place. The strength of some family bonds is also clear from some narratives, for example, Mrs. B points out, "*I had a brother there, he was my friend. You know sometimes you have a sibling who is more like a friend, that was my brother. Because though I left my children with my parents, that brother was like a father to the boys*".

In comparison, Mrs. H, who was separated from her daughter for 19 years recalls, "…*when I saw her again, I didn't know her. She was a grown woman. And you see I believed I could still talk to her like she was my child, but she wasn't my child. She was my mother's child*". She also adds, "*it never occurred to me to write to her, it would always be my mother*". Perhaps there was still a bond there but for Mrs. H, the awareness that her daughter was no longer 'hers', suggests that the maternal connection had in reality been lost. Mrs. H came to England in 1962 to join her boyfriend, leaving her three-year old child behind with her mother. She was unable to get her daughter back, *"No, my mother held onto her, until she died, my mother, yeah.*

She never got the chance of coming and join us here. No, that's what Caribbean parents are like, they hold onto your child as if it's theirs. Later when I had settled, after I had two more children, I tried to bring her over, we both did, but my mother said no, she wouldn't allow her to come. And you see, we don't defy our parents, in our age, we didn't. So, there was nothing I could do. Nowadays people are different... 'it's my child and I'm taking her', but things were different then". This issue of parental obedience and authority was present in the focus group themes and was something I pursued in the later interviews.

Mrs. B was a mother of five children when she came to England and she was separated from three of them for seven years. She brought her youngest child, a boy with her and the girl and explains, "*the reason is my father, being a wise man, suggested it would be better to bring the little girl, because she's a girl, it would be better for me to walk with her as well. So, I left the 3 boys, the youngest was 7 with my parents".*

Mrs. B remembers oiling her sewing machine and putting it away for when she came back*. "I honestly thought that in five years' time, we would be able to return. It was a bit longer than that"! [laughs].* She goes on to say*, "Yes it was hard, because you are talking about your children and your family. Your parents and your children, it was a bit of a pull. It was not easy saying goodbye, especially to your children, I remember we came by sea and ...I couldn't look back. They all came [to see me off] (.). But I just couldn't look back, you know. In that respect, every normal human being would have that experience. There's nothing good in parting. And, when you part, you never know if you going to see each other again.* This answered another question I had about whether the women made active decisions about who to leave behind and who to take. In Mrs. B's case, she followed the advice of her father to bring her daughter with her. There is perhaps a recognition here of the added vulnerability of girls when their mothers are absent.

Such memories are reinforced by Mrs. A's recollections, "*is not because your leaving home on your own, it is leaving the children behind. When you make your food here and start eating, your eye water. You wonder what happened to them, how they are. You write, you have to send it registered, most of them didn't have a job. You have to*

send and help them, you worry because they are not under your control and your parents aren't young".

5.4.2 Theme 2: Reunification

A second theme is concerned with **reunification**, how mothers managed the reintegration and reunion with those children who came from the Caribbean and those born in England, as in the case of Mrs. E who was separated from her daughter for only two years. She had married and had another child by the time her daughter came to join her in England. To this question, Mrs. E replies, "*yes it was easy because after leaving your child after two years and her coming it was wonderful, you know, to have her come, you know. As I said my father had a home and so that makes it a bit - that makes it a lot easier for me".*

Mrs. A recalls that her reunion with her children "*took a good little while. Longer than I thought, because you have to pay your duty here, and then send something for them and then book the fare. That's it. I was so grateful when Del came first. Then 2 more come. So, when you go to the airport, they come off the plane... I see the face and I see them with the grip, and I say: 'who you looking for?' Them say … 'Looking for mi mother'...so… 'what your mother name?'.... 'Aunty Cilly'... 'so you no see her?'... 'No!' ... 'you no see your mother? ...'No!'.... 'so, you have any sister? ... 'yes'... 'so you no see your sister?' ... 'No!' And D is stand up right there.... Hear me now... 'then, no Aunty Cilly this??.... 'Ah, Aunty Cilly! Aunty Cilly, a you?'* [laughs]*They come and sit down and ready to tell you what happen a yard, and what didn't happen, and tears just come down. You could ever be satisfied...no!* Her emotional description of her reunion with her children is strong and genuine, full of sincerity and warmth. Yet, as Mrs. A goes on to reveal, family reunification did not appear to have been sustained, "*But now they mean now, you know. Never see one, never take up the telephone and ring, neither the last one who born here. The first one who born here, I go to him at the weekend. And D... God bless D, she never turn her back".* Perhaps issues of gender have played a part in why the relationships between Mrs. and her sons were not lasting, whilst her bond with her daughter was sustained. Or perhaps, their earlier broken attachments had never healed.

The voices and experiences of those who came as children bring an important perspective to these stories of attachment, loss and reunion. Mrs. O admits, "*I came with a lot of resentment. I say you get born and get left because that's how I see it. Guess you get dumped and that's it.*" She reveals painful experiences of differential treatment between her and her siblings, "*'Oh, C, make the girls a cup of tea and biscuit', and I can't have none".*

Another participant who came as a child was Mrs. D. Her story of family reunification had many similarities with Mrs. O. Mrs. D recalls it was a shock seeing her half siblings for the first time, "*Well I knew they were being born, you know, they always would send pictures but it was (.) was a shock...and to make it worse coming over, my stepmother literally used me as a slave. It only because I've got spirit is why I'm not broken today...but I had to fight. My brother didn't stay long anyway, as soon as he left school he left, but I was left looking after the children when they {parents} go to work and everything...They looked at us like we were slaves to those kids, washing and cooking for them, scrubbing the clothes like, that's why they sent for me".*

She remembers, *"One time she beat me and I left (.) I was 17. That morning, she called me to make the fire. My dad had just gone to work and as soon as he left, she would wake me up to make the fire, so when she and the kids wake up, its warm. It's about 5, and I was so tired and I can remember laying down on the settee and I remember seeing my step-mother cardigan on the settee and just using it to cover my feet. Well the next thing I knew, someone shouting me, thumping me. I got up to make the fire and she scratched me in my face and I said, 'I ain't got nowhere to go, but I've had enough'. She said, 'you haven't got no mother, you ain't got nowhere to go'. I packed my things and went to work, and they asked me 'what's happened to your face? I said, 'my step-mother beat me up'. They were really good (.) I didn't have nowhere to go but there was a girl there, a black girl, she said 'come home with me' and there was a white girl, she offered me as well, but I thought better to go with the black one. So, I went to stay with my friend and her sister*".

Her narrative reveals the breakdown of family reunification, but also highlights the loss of access to the family networks that might have provided her with alternative family-based care. She is forced to live with strangers, it is also interesting that she decides

rather than going to live with the white friend, '*it would be better to go and stay with the black girl'*. Perhaps an instinctive reaction or maybe a conscious decision to remain close to others from her own cultural background.

Like Mrs. O's story, Mrs. D reveals that family reunification can be fraught with conflict that is often unacknowledged or managed. Yet, the narratives of the mothers run somewhat counter to these experiences. Mrs. Cas reveals that sometimes reunion was prevented by the relatives back home. She recalls after she made the decision to migrate, "*my mother refuse for me to return as they need me to keep sending the money, so I wasn't able to see my child".*

Mrs. B is one participant who appears to have been successful in managing the reunion process, recalling that, *"When the time came to send for us for the children, we suggested to my mother that she come with them. My father died in '63, and we thought we would leave the children as long as possible with her but in 1968 it became necessary for us to send for them. We decided to send for my mother was well because we thought she would miss them. She came in 1968 and stayed for 5 years".* Although she says the reason for bringing her mother was that she would miss the children, she acknowledges that*, "Oh yes, having their grandmother helped".* Possibly, the grandmother acted as a kind of transitional object, helping to stabilise the transformation of the maternal role from the grandmother back to mother (Joshi, 2008). As Mrs. B admits*, "They know more about her than me really".*

She also knowledges the impact of migration on African Caribbean families*, "and I do know that sometimes over the years, it causes problems you know, that separation. 'Cause a lot of families down to this day, suffer... you know, because of that, the parents are not aware of the damage, I suppose you can call it, if you are not aware of problems",* for her though*, "they came and settled, they were bright people*". However, she recalls a personal and tragic experience of the impact of separation, "*I had a cousin, her husband had promised to send for the children, those children of course weren't his, so she came believing they would send for them and when she came, she realised she couldn't do it. It caused depression, you know she said she felt like she failed them and she felt guilty. She ended up in a mental hospital".*

5.4.3 Theme 3: Decision-making, Betterment and Expectations

The third theme is decision making, betterment and expectations, in other words: what they left and what they came to. Several of the participants were sent for by family members. Their relatives in England sent the money for their passage and so they had time to prepare for the fact of their leaving. For some of the other women though, the decision to migrate came suddenly with little planning or preparation. Mrs N came to England aged 19, leaving behind her two children. She left St. Kitts suddenly to join her brother in England recalling that someone else had dropped out and, *"they wouldn't want the plane to go empty.*" Unlike most of the other participants, she has never been back to the Caribbean. For Mrs. N there was not much loss in leaving the Caribbean. She had many of her family and friends in England and recollects, "*the excitement of leaving St Kitts, you know I never had any regret in my life since I left St Kitts. Because well I come to my brother and my other brother who is older than me because I'm the baby, my other brother came over and my cousin A and my brother were living, like… you see that house over there, so I had a family here already. I never had a plan. I come to England and never signed anything, never had a plan". You can go round the island in one night in about five hours. So, it's small, it's a nice place and to be quite honest with you even though I never go back, it has never left me. It has never, ever left me. Everyone says why don't you go back? I said to see who? My children? My first child is here, my others are in America, I mean what am I going back down to see? There's no room for me. There's no room for me and what I like, it's all gone. So, I said to myself, well I leave, then they throw me out so. My mother dead, my father dead, my Auntie come up here dead, everybody dead. I'm very lucky I'm the baby and if I live to see the next couple of weeks, I'll be hitting 80 and praise and thank God for that".*

Leaving the Caribbean for betterment with little strategy beyond coming to find work, was a shared feature of some participant's experiences, as Mrs. B recalls, *"it was common for people to just get on a boat and go looking for a better life*". Her father had himself migrated for work and opportunity, investing the money he made in livestock on his return. But Mrs. B's narrative also draws attention to the colonial history and relationship between the Caribbean and England, "*You have to remember first of all, Britain needed us. It wasn't like coming to any country we coming to, Britain was something different, and the country needed us after the Second World War*

England needed us to rebuild and they needed workers. They were advertising for workers from the British Empire, it was called then. I could remember as a young girl, seeing on Grandmother's wall, something saying, 'Britain needs you...come to Britain, it is a place of opportunity'. So, in a way, we came because we were called".

For Mrs. C as well, "*so many people were leaving and coming to England, you thought it must be good. They sending back these all beautiful photographs…pictures of themselves here and I saw them in nurse uniform...and I wanted to be a Nurse as well and so...".* This desire for betterment was heavily influential in her decision to pay the fare to come to England. For Mrs, B, taking the risk of leaving the familiar for the unknown was also mitigated by seeing visual evidence of success and prosperity, "*there was always a risk that it wouldn't work out, but it was a time when a lot of people were doing it and I saw it as an opportunity. Not knowing what you were going to meet and I didn't know what to expect but I can't say I had a rough time. We know we came to work, we thought we would just come and get a job, you know".*

Mrs. Cas recalls, "*when I left school it wasn't easy to get employment so I thought I may as well go, because in those days, the darker your skin the harder it was to get a job".* For her, migration was always a possibility as her father had migrated to Cuba in his earlier life, before returning to Jamaica and then moving to England, "*I wanted to go to the US, but my father was here. Next thing I know, my sister left, so I followed her".*

Many borrowed the money to come, yet as Mrs. B testifies, "*Yes of course we had to pay, but everyone's story is different (.). In my case, my husband had a very good friend who he came to Britain about 2-3 years before us and he was lucky enough to win some money…. on the Pools. I remember it very clearly though it was a long time ago, he won £4, 600 in the 60s, that would have been a lot of money (.) and because he and my husband was very good friends, my husband was one of the first persons he thought to send for. He sent for him, and my husband came and then he said send for your wife and the children. He lent my husband the money to bring us over, the plan was we agreed that after we started working, we would repay him monthly. So, if he didn't send the money, I don't think my husband would even consider coming to England, it was this friend who put the idea to come to England".*

Despite the pain of leaving loved ones behind, the migration to England was for some participants, spontaneous and full of adventure. Mrs. N's story is filled with humour and excitement. She recalls the day she learnt she was going to England, "*That's a Saturday morning you know, if you had seen me that day you would have laughed your heart out because so did everybody else, my head was white with flour because we were lifting up bags and this and that. My Aunt came and said, 'A lady from Nevis can't go now, so we're going to put you on because you pay your money.' I had already, I think, anyway I wasn't going to argue. I weren't planning it that day to come, not even that week. It just came out of the blue…well they wouldn't want the plane to go empty".*

Excitement and opportunity is another common subtheme. Many had the excitement of being on a plane or boat for the first time and travelling to several different countries on their way to England. Mrs. N recalls coming from such a small island, it was adventurous and thrilling, "*You know something, as I'm talking to you here, it was the sweetest part of my life because I've seen nearly half of the world. Half of the world just coming up, because when we left, we leave St Kitts and we went to Bermuda, then we fly in from Bermuda, we went to New York, we left from New York and we fly over to Newfoundland and because it was May, it was icy. When we get in there, they gave us a bowl of ice cream. Ice cream! The faces of all them tropical people when we see a bowl of ice cream in a cold plane! Then when we left from Newfoundland, we fly over to Ireland. We land in Dublin. We left from Dublin and we went into Shannon where we were going to meet the boat to cross. We crossed by boat into Wales, Holyhead, we came over from Holyhead to England.*

My brother come in from work and he walk in the front room, and me sitting there and instead of saying, hello how are you? He said to me, 'I thought you said you left home Saturday, what you been doing? You're coming by plane, what you been doing, pushing it?' [laughs loudly] [repeats]"Where you been? Pushing it?" Oh, what a piece of laughter! But, that very night he take me out to the pub, it used to be down near the…I think it must be demolished now I don't even know. I don't frequent the place, I only went there once and I had my first drink in a pub!" This last statement points to the **freedom** migration brought some women from the start, their behaviour was no

longer constrained by parental control. Still, this would have been unusual for a woman.

Mrs. H remembers travelling by boat, "*it took 21 days. Because it was a Spanish boat and they left from Jamaica, then went to Trinidad, then onto Venezuela then onto Spain. Then to Tenerife. It was exciting on the boat, there weren't many of us from Jamaica, eight or 10 of us and we joined together. The minister and another person who was studying for the Ministry and five or six ladies…Oh yes, exciting! We had Christian Services on the boat for the two Sundays we were at sea, we had a lovely time!"*

Mrs. A's memories of leaving the Caribbean were more dramatic, *"we was on the, the, dry dock in Martinique! [laughs]. Ship on dry dock in Martinique! Propeller break! Over a week for them to fix it. Well, there was nothing we could have done. But the problem is now when the ship repair now, everybody fall out them bed, because the ship rock so much…it bend there and it bend there…when the ship rock, everyone fall out them bed, then now, everything you eat…make you sick. Oh, heaven come down on me!"*

Good friendships between women had formed during the voyages to England but on arrival, the excitement of arrival gave way to many people having to go their own way. Mrs. C recalls, "*Nobody came to meet me and me and my friend, we didn't know where to turn. She was coming to be a nurse and then this white woman came up with a paper in her hand and she said [name of friend] and my friend said 'yes', and the woman said, 'come with me'. And that was it, she was gone! My friend's gone! She just disappeared and we just sort of exchange a look, you know. I didn't even know how to get to the train station!"*

Then there were the mixed feelings about the sights and sounds of England and housing and the weather was another common narrative. Like many women I interviewed, Mrs. M remembers the shock of the England. Her narrative was typical of those shock reactions African Caribbean had coming to the Mother Country. The academic literature does not often record these experiences however, all the participants commented on these differences between England and the Caribbean. She exclaims: "*oh my God, it was dull! It was cold, really cold! We had a tour of London*

you know, we went to the museum, and we went to Buckingham Palace, which is what I wanted to see more than anything, Buckingham Palace. When I saw it– you see I was expecting a beautiful white building like the big houses in Montego Bay, you know, hotels and lovely buildings like that (.) and when I saw Buckingham Palace, I was so disappointed. I thought my goodness, do you mean that's where the Queen lives?"

Mrs. B puts the culture shock more bluntly, when she said, "*I came in July, in the summer, but I was disappointed when I came. I remember we saw the smoke coming out of the factories, we thought they were houses! From up there you know, they all look the same. I thought so this is England. I don't like it. I didn't like what I was seeing*".

5.4.4 Theme 4: Work and employment and racism

Some of the participants had worked in their homeland before migration, as seamstresses, hairdressers and dressmakers. One of the women was a teacher and two of the women were housewives. As Mrs B explains, not all women had jobs in the Caribbean, *"No I didn't work in St. Kitts, you could see the mothers taking their children to the babysitters, but some of us didn't need to work. My husband worked on an estate in St Kitts and we were classed as middle class. People who were classed as middle class, they had to pay a higher price for things than the ordinary labourers, like domestics. But coming here was a different matter, a different story".*

There were different experiences of gaining work and a career and many positive stories of work experiences and personal achievements. For instance, Mrs. E remembers, "*In those times you could easily get a job, or if it wasn't to your satisfaction, you could seek another job. I had many jobs, sewing in factory, making slips for M&S, my longest job was in the hospital for 23 years.* In contrast, Mrs. H remarks, "*well I didn't find it easy, it was difficult to get work. I had to sign on at the labour exchange - they said there wasn't any job and to come back next week. I wasn't entitled to any state benefit, so we had to live on D's £7.50. a week, and rent was £3.00, so we had £4.50 to live on! I kept going to the labour exchange and they couldn't offer me anything, except one day, they had a job in a factory as an unskilled labourer. And I said to her said no, 'I'm sorry, that's not for me'….its not because I was too good to work in a factory but……because I said……I quoted Booker T Washington, I think it was, he said, 'to work with your hands at a job that needs doing, does not lower a man*

but makes him a better man'. I quoted that to her……so its not that I resented it, but I was expecting something else". The phrase '*expecting something else'*, or rather '*something better'*, is indicative of the high expectations some of the women had. They did not come to England to do labouring and could not return to their homeland having only achieved status as a manual or domestic labourer.

Mrs. A's story reflects the realities of gaining employment faced by some African Caribbean women*, "you hear about the United Kingdom –it was a paradise, but when you come here, it was not what you think in your mind. The greatest opportunity for us was to get a job. I worked at … half a pound an hour! In the lace department! They had to go to Marks and Spencer, so they had to be the best! The supervisor was a white lady, came with a big container and would put them in the machine and on a bobbin and then take them away. 8 hours a day, sitting down doing it. When we finish work in the morning, 4am or 5, as mi come home, so mi have to garn back to look part time to pay the mortgage, because it wasn't enough to pay for everything. In my department, there was a lot of black girls doing the machining. Then a girl I met told me they were taking on at the hospital, that's how it go, you know. Who work there get jobs for the others. Then, M born 1963, I went to work at the hospital. An Irish matron, you know some of them prejudice, but she wasn't prejudice, she take on a lot of black girls".*

Unlike Mrs. H, who went to apply for nurse training and was told, "*you have done exceptionally well in this interview...for a Jamaican, you've done very well, for a Jamaican I'm surprised. But we have our quota of colonial nurses".*

Mrs. C explains, *"No, I didn't actually do my training. I did take the entrance exam and passed it. But after I got married and then my husband find out we have to live in... he said, 'Live in? No!' He wasn't being horrible, but he didn't want to stay on his own. Later on it was different, but in them days a young student nurse, you have to live in... they didn't take couples. And the children came along after that (.). Then I worked at the hospital as an auxiliary nurse. You had to be 21 before you got full-time pay, it was according to your age. And if I worked on Saturday morning, I used to come home with a bit more and I thought that was good because you saved that, it went into a Pardna*

and helped to pay for things, but the money wasn't enough". The Pardna was used to help the women save up and purchase furniture and other goods.

As they were advertising for nurses, Mrs. N decided to apply. She did very well, *"I only had a few months before I pass out as a qualified nurse, then one day there was this, I forget her name now, a white girl and she says something to me, and a few of the black nurses were going to beat her for what she said. They all were Jamaican apart from one and the whole thing break out in an argument, and you know what, I thought, I'm not staying here, so I put my notice in. I said to the matron, I better leave, and she said, you can't, you're just coming up to pass out now and everything. She said, I don't want to hear that. She held the paper behind her back and so I walk out the room and she standing by the door and I just walk out and never been back. I don't want to be in a place where there's torment".* She left and went to work at Raleigh until she retired. She never regretted leaving nursing and made many friends in her 21 years there, including one of her longest friendships, who she knew from St. Kitts.

Mrs. L also found it easy to get a job but recalls being sacked from her first job, "*one Monday it was raining, raining, raining, so we didn't go to work. Because in Jamaica when it rain, it rain hard you know, so you stay inside. The only ones who went were the married women who went to work that morning. There were six of us blacks, then when we went in the next day, they called us in and asked us why we didn't come in, I told them because it was raining. They said, 'collect your cards!' So, all of us got sacked, except the married ones who had turned up. They had responsibilities you know"*.

Within this main theme, there was **another sub-theme I titled, 'blocked ambitions'**, which was connected to those experiences of the women's dreams being thwarted and goals being impeded or opposed. Several spoke of wanting to be a nurse or a teacher. Sometimes this obstacle was due to caring responsibilities, as Mrs. D testifies, "*once you have the kids, its hard*". For others, such as Mrs. O it was a lack of family support, *"I wanted to be a nurse, but my stepmother said, 'you can read and write, go look work'.* After arriving in England, Mrs. F went to register at the doctor surgery, "*The receptionist said, 'What do YOU want?' Then she look at my passport, where it said teacher and she said, 'Teacher? Well, I certainly hope you know that*

YOU won't be able to teach in this country'. And I said to her, 'excuse me I said, I'M Mrs. F, to show them, you know. 'I was told to come and register for medical treatment if I should need it…I didn't come for your advice!' ...I was timid, you know but I plucked up the courage to speak out!" She admits though the lack of respect*, "it put me off teaching yes and I didn't know how to go about it, later I found out I would have to do another course, but I was quite happy to do anything, having left my mother and my daughter and my dad. I couldn't go back to Jamaica without having achieved something. I wanted to gain a profession while I was here".*

In Jamaica, Mrs. O had not been allowed by her grandmother to attend school but coming to live with her mother in England wasn't much better, she recalls her caring responsibilities meant she lost out, "I *missed a lot of school. I have to take him [younger brother] to childminder before I go to school. And I have to make sure they get their pocket money, then I have to walk to school. It was a long, long way. And them days, you get beat if you're late. But my mum knew that, if you was late. Because she sent the others to school to make sure they early, but I had no choice. I had no choice. And when I'm late, and go home, I still get beat from her for being late for school. I still have to come home at dinner time, come all the way. And I don't even know how far it was. It was far. Come home because no money, they didn't do free school dinner at the time, so we had to come home to lunch. We have to make sure we wash up the dishes before we go back to school and mop up before go back to school. She had favourite. And that's another thing, favouritism. I hate that word. Favouritism. I had three sibling born up here. And they're princes and princess, sometimes, she says to me, 'oh, C, mek the girls a cup of tea, and I don't get none. When my brother - he was only about six - he had a hernia operation and he was off for about six weeks, I have to stay with him for six weeks. Then she write a letter tell them I was the one that was sick".*

Mrs. L experienced being blocked from attending school in the Caribbean by her Aunty, she remembers, "I *went home with the letter and the books I was to have to go to school and my Aunty ripped it up and said my Uncle did not have any money to buy books. As a child, you don't know you can go behind her back and tell my Uncle what she had done, so when I was to go back to school, I did not have the books. The teacher said I had to get the books and I couldn't take the shame of going back to*

school and not having the books. And we were not allowed to borrow from other children, '… so I didn't go back to school".

At school in England, Mrs. F dreamed of being a teacher, but she lost faith in the system after she got suspended, "*Because me and this white girl share a desk and we got the same mark and the teacher said, I'm copying off her, and I said, 'I'm not copying'. She said, 'yes you are you keep getting the same mark as her'. And I said, 'well she could be copying off me'...'but she wouldn't have it. So being me, I go and I write loads of bad words in my book where the girl can see it. Then the teacher mark the books and when she sees the girl's book, she says, 'where did you get this, this isn't the lesson? And the girl said, 'yes, it is, S wrote the same thing'. And the teacher said, 'no, she didn't'. She called me and asked me what's going on...I said, 'well you said it was me copying, and I wanted to show you it wasn't'. So, she suspend me, and she never suspend the white girl, for cheating. So, I never go back".*

Those who came as children had to manage issues of family reunification, and also the attitudes of teachers and other pupils at school as Mrs. D recalls, "*Well I was quite bright but what they did was, they put all the black children, in the lowest class, I always remember that. And they always try to tell you, you can't do this and you can't do that. I was very good at Maths, and they couldn't understand that, nobody in the class knew, but I knew the answer and they all looking at me… (.) But I would fight at school, although we were girls. Anybody who taunts me.... Oh, but when I find out how they smack you here it didn't matter...when the teacher send for me, I nearly had heart attack, she say, 'P, hold out your hand'...and when she finish, mi just kiss me teeth and walk off! [laughs] 'A dat you call lick? you wan see me farda strap!'. It was me and my friend Marilyn ...and when she came out and passed me and said, 'just go tek you stupid lick, yaw' It was nothing to what we usually got!"*

Like several of the women I interviewed, Mrs F spent her whole working life in the NHS, in mental health, children and general nursing. She came to England as a six-year-old child and attended school and college where she remembers, "*when I was at school, we used to go to the hospital and talk to the patients in the hospital. If they want anything we used to go and get it, alot of children one or two days a week, they would let you go into the hospital and talk to them. That's what got me into nursing, I*

love it! The first sister I work with Sister Doughty, Ward 5 in the Royal, five of us went up to meet her. She said, 'who here love their grandparents?' And me and a next girl put our hand up, and she said, 'you two, go and stand over there'. So, we went and then she said to the other girls, 'you girls can go back down'. So, when she came back to us, before she said anything, I said, 'I love my grandmother, she's died but I still love her, so I don't mind if you don't like me'. Because she single me out, you know. And she look at me and she said, 'I want you two on my ward, if you love your grandparents, you come with me'".

Not all the women migrated to take up nursing, some saw adverts in the English papers and others knew someone who was working at the hospital, like Mrs. L, whose husband's cousin was a nurse, "*She told me to apply and they took me on as a nursing assistant. I wanted to do the training but when you have children at school, you can't fit it in".*

Mrs C. spent 36 years working as a midwife. She lived in different shared houses, where living with other people was particularly challenging, "*Aunty had a house but rent out the rooms, and in that house, every room was rented. There were people from all over, and I remember, seeing the wash basin in the bedroom! Shocking! And sharing the bathroom! I went to the bathroom and its one bathroom for everybody. I turn on the tap and they call me 'wait, wait wait', me not knowing how to heat the water up first! Then we moved to another house, a black woman's house...and I got the front room! That's what everyone wanted! But the woman was 'orrible! Because she got a house, you know, it's like, this is my house and you are the tenants, you know. So, say you have curtain to change in your room, she wouldn't give me the curtain, she had to come in my room, and if she had visitor, if I was in my room lying down, she would knock the door and bring them in. And there was only one cooker in the house, it had 4 burner but if she was cooking you had to wait until she finish, even if it was making porridge for the baby. And so, one day she is cooking and I said to her, 'can I just have one of the burner to make some porridge for the baby?' She said, 'you hafi wait until me done' but the other girl in the house she heard her and she cussed her you know. The woman move and the girl said to me, 'put on your pot'. She knew just how to deal with her and she really teach me something*".

Mrs A came to her brother and also describes the shared living arrangements many African Caribbean women experienced, "*Mr S on one room, with E and P, Mrs R in another…and in the attic room… my brother take a curtain and put a single bed {for me}. Most of the houses didn't have a bathroom inside, you have to heat a tin bath in front of the fire. The men would go down to the public baths. You would see them, the men walking down the road with towels on their shoulder. It was hard, you know".* Mrs. B recalls, "*In one house we rented a room and there was a room for me and the children, we shared the kitchen and bathroom and we managed"*.

Mrs. M "*came to do her training and go back after three years*". She lived in the nurse's home, but her married sister was already here, and she could go there on her days off. It was ten years before she returned, "*after I finished my training, I got married and had my family".* Mrs. M achieved great honours in her nursing career becoming a Sister and then a nursing teacher.

Inevitably, there were **stories of discrimination and racism** at work. Mrs. M recalls "*people were very discriminating. The way they used to look at you in the shops and they would speak to you hard. (.)".* Mrs. A worked as a domestic in a mental hospital and she remembers, "*even though they are mental, you go and fetch them…'take your black hands off me!' 'You black buggers! Go back where you come from*!' Mrs. C had similar work experiences, *"I used to make cardboard box in my first job and I was put with this other woman she wouldn't even look at me. They wouldn't give me anything to do, all day Mi just stand up there. Then the foreman came with a brush and give it to me, he says, you sweep up like. I was shocked, I just said, I said, 'no, I'm not doing it'. he said, 'well that's the only job we got for you black ...something...to do'. I look at him and I heard that when you leaving you supposed to ask for your cards, I didn't even know what it was, but I just said to him, 'gimme mi cards'! (laughs). Mi grab mi bag and left and went home."* Mrs. Cas worked in a factory and was laid off, *"they kicked all of us black people out because of what one of us did. I was about nine of us. There was no-one to complain to, if you don't like it, it's go back where you came from'".*

Mrs. H recalls experiences of discrimination in housing, *"My sister-in-law went to one estate agent and asked about a house, they told her it wasn't for sale, but I insisted on*

being told the reason and they said they didn't sell to black people because they had had problems with them before. What could we do? We saved up and used Pardna. We use it on a big scale in Jamaica, you can save a small amount weekly and when it's your draw, you can get it". Like Mrs. H, Mrs. F remembers that their house was bought through Pardna, "*everybody put in a few shilling till it reach like £800, that's how black people got house, my Aunt she used to throw Pardna*. *You used to see those signs no blacks, no dogs, no Irish and then my uncle bought his house, and he brought his friends to play domino at the front of the house, and you know when black people play domino, its loud! One Saturday the women used to cook the food and one white man come out and said, 'why you don't go back inside your house? we don't want to see your black face out here' and my uncle said, 'you go back in your rented house, this is my house, I buy it!'"*

Mrs E, recalls the unfriendliness of the church, "*when I came here, I went to church the first time with my uncle and his wife, nobody sit next to you, they made us move because it was someone else's pew. They just never said anything to you, but because we used to go to church, we went, but they did not want you. They did not make us welcome, and they didn't want black people in their church. So black people in the early days, we had church in our own homes, we started church in our homes, like a prayer meeting, until we got our own church. Sometimes we event travel to other places, just to go to a church service*".

5.4.5 Theme 5: Marriage, Motherhood and Childcare

Where relationships had been formed back in the Caribbean, for most of the women, these seem to endure and develop into committed bonds of matrimony. Only one of the women I interviewed had remained unmarried and most of the women had married within a short time of their migration. Some came to join partners and these relationships were soon formalised, Mrs B met her husband in England, though he came from the same parish as her, "*I knew him a long time before. It was only a small area, a small country, everyone knew everyone*".

Mrs C recalls her boyfriend sent for her to come to England and, "*Oh yes, I did marry him. I came in the July and got married the following year". Similarly,* Mrs. A

remembers, *“Well we were friendly in Jamaica, and I came first then I sent for him. I send for him before I sent for my children. We were married over here”.*

Mrs. L, remembers, “*I met somebody here, because I thought maybe V wasn't coming, you know, so I got pregnant with my first child. But, after I got pregnant he said that his mother would kill him because of how much children he already had by different women. I didn't know. I didn't want anything to do with him after that. Then, V called me and tell me he got through to come, he went to his family first, in N.... then he came down to see me. I introduce him to my daughter, and he said it wouldn't stop him from being with me. So, I eventually moved up to be with him”.*

Mrs. Cas though recalls, *“there wasn’t enough women for the men. As soon as you come, the single men came round to visit. But I couldn’t take them back to my father, they weren’t literate or intelligent. But then I got pregnant, and we got married, but the marriage failed. But I was still Mrs. Cas, you know, I didn’t change that. I was very lonely and cried a lot, because I was on my own and I didn’t have money to send for him [son]. Even after he came, if we went to a party, we bring our children because there was no babysitter”.*

Mrs. E spoke of the hard work of bringing up her nine children, “*You do everything over the paraffin heater and the clothes maybe nappies, hanging around. So, it wasn’t easy, you know. And worked - every pregnancy after a while I get back to work, you know?*” Having her two sisters was a big help as well as her step-mum, “*My eldest daughter, you know, the one that I said I had before, she was my rock really, but I think at times too much pressure really was put on her because I had the other children... I had them pretty quick after each other and so, you know, it was a bit hard on her as well. But (.) when they came along, she was already there, she was only seven years old, so, so... there’s no difference there between them”.* Although she acknowledges that her daughter ‘*had it a bit hard’*, Mrs. E seems to play down her support for other reasons, such as her daughter’s need to reconnect, re-attach and please her.

Mrs. B was another woman who benefited from family and community support. “*My friend's wife, we all lived in the same building, a lot of us lived together. I knew her because she was the wife of my husband's friend, from St. Kitts, we all lived like one*

family. It helped tremendously, I didn't have to take the children anywhere. And even after we moved, and had to get someone else, it was easy to find help and that made life much easier". Mrs. A, though narrates how*, "You have to carry them to places, even in the snow and the fog...pay for them. I had to wrap them up and carry them with me. One of them got pneumonia and nearly died. There was a lady down there, she was retired and worked as a childminder. She wasn't a black lady, but she wasn't an English lady. Where we come from in Jamaica, its pure white people and she came from that tribe. She mind 99% of the children for the black people, my children. I had to take M to the nursey, you drop them in the morning and collect them at night. But you have to pay and everything is climbing up".*

Mrs. C however also recalls that, *"There was a woman who used to do childminding, and the way she treated those children, I didn't like it so I never work until they left school, I look after them myself and later I worked nights, he [husband] would work in the day, and I worked nights".*

Mrs. F was determined to achieve her goal, despite the challenges "*you see, after I started my training, halfway through I became pregnant with my daughter. And after I stayed at home for a few months I applied to another hospital and started my training again. And I became pregnant again! Twice! But, I was determined to carry on, so when my baby was 6 months old, I went back because I was granted leave, unpaid leave. So, I went back and continued my training and the baby was ...fostered out".*

5.4.6 Theme 6: Parental Approval and Autonomy

This theme explores the extent to which the women were constrained by parental authority in making their own decisions. Mrs. Cas's narrative is typical of those women who needed parental approval for marriage. In her case, she couldn't take her suitors to her father as he would not have approved of them because "*they were illiterate and not intelligent*". In Mrs. E's case as well, her father had to approve her future husband, "*Yes, yes, he came to ask father for, you know, it just didn't happen like that, he came and asked my father is it alright, yeah, but that was how it is, yeah".*

Whereas others had religious considerations. For instance, Mrs. C went to live at her Uncle's house, though her boyfriend was already in England, "*My boyfriend wanted me to come but my parents were Christians and if I didn't stay with Uncle it would have caused problems... my parents knew about him, and he wrote and asked them if I could come. Actually, he paid my fare for me to come. He really wanted me to come".* She admits though that, *"after a little while, I lived with him anyway. My parents were far away and didn't know. There's only you to make your decisions. I mean my Uncle was...alright about it...he didn't raise any problems. And I got married the following year, so my parents were happy".*

Still, others made their own choices too. For example, Mrs. M recalls, *"at first my parents, they didn't take it seriously you know thinking 'oh, she's got a boyfriend', they used to joke about it. But when they realised that, you know things was getting serious, they didn't like it at all. 'You're too young to have a man' and all that sort of thing…, you know too, too young for this, too young for that, but I ignored them and went straight ahead".*

Mrs. N seems to have made her own decisions about marriage, "*After a couple of years, I meet a man named and we decide well, we'll get married, but I said to myself I'm not going to get married and have no house you know. So, what I do is I went and looked for a house, that just shows you how big and brave I was! I went to see this house and it's 495 pounds. Yeah, and I'm lucky I did as well because the moment that I moved into the house, I get pregnant. We get married and I had D".*

5.4.7 Theme 7: Faith and Sacrifice

Mrs. B recalls that her family were reconciled to the sacrifice of separation, "*So my mother and father, they knew I was going to my husband in England and to have these new opportunities and they thought it was good I was going, though they are sad".*

Mrs. A though makes the point that, "*it was hard at first, but you had to put your condition to the situation. But we managed, we survived. We learnt to adjust and make the best of it. Because I left my beautiful country and when you come here even when you open the door you can't even turn the key. Oh, heaven come down on me! But it's better to be here*".

For Mrs. E, migration was worth the sacrifice, *"Yes but our parents prayed for us and whenever you get a letter, it said, 'we prayer for you and we ask the church to pray for you', and so we believe in prayer. It has been worth it for me, because as I say, I didn't have a job there, you know, so it's coming here, you know, I had a choice of different things to do where I could make it better for me. I give thanks to God because if not for him, I wouldn't make it".*

Her feelings are shared by others, such as Mrs. H, who was determined to achieve her goal, "*so when my baby was 6 months old, I went back because I was granted leave, unpaid leave. So, I went back and continued my training, and the baby was ...fostered out*".

The women proudly share stories of their children's successes. Mrs. F says*, "I have daughter in America, she's a doctor, and I've got a lawyer in London... when she got her papers, you know she said, 'mum this is for you".* Mrs. N's daughter went to America where she, *"did very well for herself".*

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the main themes developed from the focus groups and interviews. The findings illuminate the migratory experiences encountered by African Caribbean women and mothers, including the issues of attachment, child and family separation and reunion. The challenges for African Caribbean women as they navigated their multiple roles, as partners and wives, mothers and workers have been presented here and their experiences, practices and activities have been given space.

The chapter emphasises the importance of the transnational and intersectional experiences of migrants, their grief and loss, their ill-treatment and resilience, and their continuing bonds with their country of origin. Recalled in the participant's narratives, the findings reveal a mixture of experiences and emotions. There was the thrill, excitement and apprehension of coming to the mother country, alongside a strong sense of duty and obligation in coming to the aid of Britain. Coming to England, as citizens of the mother country, meant they carried with them a shared history and

sense of belonging, together with the sorrow of leaving children and family behind, thousands of miles away. Many came to join family, but also to work, independently for their own betterment and the separation from their loved ones was for them, a short-term sacrifice for a longer-term benefit. Although it was never meant to be a long-term absence, for many of them it was.

The main contribution in this chapter is the introduction to the African Caribbean women and mothers who migrated to England during the 1960s and their narratives of their pre-and post-migration experiences. This chapter presents my results and my analysis of the data, bringing together their stories and themes that provide insight into the impacts of migration on the wellbeing and relationships of the participants. The *a priori* topics are validated in the findings by the presence of several notable migration themes, including decision-making, identity and belonging, economic betterment and on the transnational networks generated by migrants, especially women. These chime with the literature that my research has addressed and help to revise the traditional models and the simplistic frameworks used to study migration. Although a high proportion of the women in my sample migrated due to the socio-economic conditions in the Caribbean, many of the women migrated in their own right and for their own reasons.

The research findings help to shed light on the effects of family separation on the wellbeing of African Caribbean women and mothers and their family relationships. The data analysis provides unique insights into these experiences. It reveals the important themes of religion and sacrifice; attachment and loss; family and parental approval; autonomy, family separation and reunification, blocked ambitions, and some unique insights into early marriage.

The impact of the analysis presented in this chapter supports the notion of migration for women as both an enabling experience and a constraining factor. Migration offers freedom from parental restrictions and gender roles, however what emerged is that the mothers who migrated faced extreme self-sacrifice in leaving behind their children. In the final chapter I specifically highlight the impact of migration on Black and migrant women's lives, mothering and family relationships and summarise the important

implications of the thesis for family separation, family relationships and the continuing communities of migrants moving to live in England.

Chapter 6: Interpretation and discussion

"My mommy gone over de ocean
My mommy gone over de sea
She gawn dere to work for some money
an den she gawn sen back for me
one year
two year
tree year gawn
four year
five year
soon six year come
granny seh it don't matter
but supposin I forget her
Blinky Blinky, one two tree
Blinky Blinky, remember me."
(***The*** *Arrival of Brighteye*, Jean 'Binta' Breeze**,** 2006)

Introduction

This chapter is organised to synthesise and interpret the research findings and to discuss the meaning of these results, to further understanding of the struggles and insight into the successes for African Caribbean women and mothers who migrated to England in the 1950s and 1960s. The chapter outlines some of the similarities and differences in these experiences between participants, as well as acculturation and settlement processes.

A central question of this inquiry is how African Caribbean women who migrated to England managed family separation and reunion. To help answer this question, I highlight the research findings, connecting these to previous studies and to theoretical literature. I consider the significance of my findings for African Caribbean women and migrant women's lives and family relationships.

Three groups of women can be identified in my study. The first group are those women who were mothers before they migrated and who left behind children to migrate to England. There were also women who migrated as children and came to join parents

in England. Then there was another group of women who came as adults and who did not leave children behind, though they too left behind family members with whom they shared close bonds. Although I have grouped them in this way, they each tell their own story and each story is told differently although their narratives have similarities.

Levitt (2009, p. 263, cited in Prabhat, 2018, p.25) explains that:

> Stories are one of the primary ways that humans understand situations. People remember events in story form.

Their memories provide valuable data that brings insight into how they perceived their migratory experiences, and their recollections challenge traditional narratives of female migration as a dependency arrangement (Chamberlin, 2010). The discussion of findings deals with the sacrifice employed by those African Caribbean women who actively considered migration.

6.1 Migrant strategies and Decision making

The strategies involved by migrants involve rational processes, risk and benefits, as well as choices based on emotional factors (Brunch and Feinberg, 2017). The two processes are jointly activated in deciding to leave behind children and family.

In both the focus groups and interviews, the women's narratives of betterment, '*coming for a better life,'* indicate firstly that though this can appear to be an individual decision, it is highly influenced by the social actions of others. It is '*socially negotiated'* (Duncan et al., 2003, p. 310). Brunch and Feinberg (2017, p. 217) identify that these '*descriptive norms*', are socially influenced and play a significant role in shaping and reinforcing individual behaviour.

For the women in my study, this is a convincing claim. Many other people in their social environment were making the same decision to come to England and this had a powerful, disproportionate effect on their own decision making and actions. Few of the women had an active plan to migrate, but even those who did not plan to come, having gained the opportunity, followed others in taking the chance for betterment. Chamberlin (1997, p.90) highlights the decision is often a collective one not an

individual event, it is supported by the whole family, '*through loans, through childcare*'. This was the case with my participants.

The cultural context for African Caribbean women in England at that time may well have impacted the women's behaviour in respect of coping with the separation. Many other African Caribbean mothers faced the same situation of being without their children and this would have been observed in their social interactions, so perhaps the women related the other women's situation to themselves and to their own circumstances. They '*put themselves to the condition'*, as Mrs. A describes it. They had no choice but to apply themselves to the reality of their situation. Another interpretation is the idea that what one woman could manage and survive, so too could the others.

6.2 Shared social identity

Neville et al. (2022, p.159) refer to this as a *'shared social identity'*, meaning here the shared common experience of loss that the women and mothers experienced together. In addition, their sense of identity as working women is inextricably linked through a process in which they constructed their identity through shared experiences. Another example of this is the 5-year plan to migrate and return, there was a shared and sense of purpose and determination to come to England and succeed and then return. These insights are significant themes within the narratives.

After they arrived, many African Caribbeans navigated the new social spaces, all their possessions carried in their 'grips.' In the immediate aftermath of migration Most were preoccupied with the immediate practicalities of acculturation and resettlement, sharing housing, networks and resources. The findings suggest that having relatives in England helped the women to cope with the separation and loss of those back home. Although, there was the gaining of autonomy and freedom in decision-making, for most if not all of the women, it was the social context and social relationships that shaped their decision-making and actions.

Additionally, as revealed by the women, '*it was only for a little while.'* At the pre-migration phase, the notion of the 5-year migration-and-return plan is embedded in

most of their narratives. This may act as an emotional compartmentalisation technique for managing their feelings (Goode, 1960). It may also be that some of the women asserted this so vociferously, as a way of managing their feelings about leaving their children behind, given so few were able to bring their children with them.

The data reveals that one of the ways African Caribbean women managed family separations was by directing their energies into the achievement of their goals. By becoming part of a professional workforce such as nursing, their ambitions and goals were well met. Several of the women passed the entrance tests and the training and went onto establish long-term, successful careers., motivations were wide-ranging, not merely financial gain but advancement. Their success not only enabled the attainment of betterment goals but subverted the racialised expectations of the majority community (Chamberlin, 1997).

Reynolds (2001;2005) has established that work is central to African Caribbean women's identity and this notion of being a 'good mother' encompasses going out to work to provide for her family. This was a strong theme in my data. The women managed their work role alongside their mothering duties, they are both mother and worker. Work forms part of their personal, social, and cultural identity – it is integral in their mothering and these dual characteristics are transmitted to their children, in turn shaping their children's attitudes to work (Blee and Tickamyer, 1987; Reynolds, 2000).

The dual role is in fact, a triple one. The women interviewed spoke of their identities as wives, mothers and workers, often altogether, these statuses were all equally important to them, Mrs E, recalls, "*So, you know, but as I said, I was coming for a better life. To work and give her a better life. So, you know, that was it*". Mrs. A's narrative is similar, "*at first then I had to take M to the nursery, you drop them in the morning, then go to work and collect them at night. Get your husband dinner, then wash them, put them to bed and next day, the same thing. But it was hard".* However, the reality is that even though the women assumed these multiple identities, there are difficulties in balancing these multiple roles, often leading to conflict between them (Goode, 1960). For instance, Mrs. B, acknowledged the need to work and, so "*I couldn't bring all the children because we came to work, you see. I had no-one to look after them here".*

Katz and Piotrkowski (1983) suggest that the absence of a husband is related to role strain, as is the number of children in the household. An additional consideration therefore perhaps stemming from this perspective, could be to question the extent to which African Caribbean women experienced role strain in respect of managing their personal, domestic work and social lives.

6.3 Marriage and respectability

It is answered by another important theme that relates to the focus of this study, which is the importance of marriage and the role of respectability in enabling the women to cope with the loss and separation of loved ones. Having a successful professional career also gave many of the women respectability. For those who trained as nurses and midwives, they were able to achieve their goals and improve their own and their family's status through gaining professional qualifications in England, whereas these careers were not available to many of them in the Caribbean (Olwig, 2014).

Despite differences in class, colour and status, this Windrush group followed a very traditional nuclear family life. Following migration to Britain, most of the women did not live in the matrifocal households or visiting unions that are embedded within many Caribbean societies (Powell, 1996). Having come to join their boyfriends or husbands, they married within a short time of coming to England. This was an interested finding given, as Thompson and Bauer (2004) point out, that Jamaicans tend to marry late or not at all.

For the women, being married was very important. It meant they could hold their heads up in the shops, on the streets and at work. As Black women, marriage gave them status, respectability and legitimacy in an unfriendly, judgemental white world, as Barrow (1986, p.136) highlights, they are modelling respectability '*rooted in the dominant colonial tradition'*. This adaptive strategy is critically articulated as '*the regulation of individual behavior to public presentation based on the strong desire to refute negative racial stereotypes and "…presenting one's self as a citizen worthy of respect as defined by the dominant cultural norms and standards'* (Smith 2013, cited in Lee and Hicken, 2016).

African Caribbeans in England needed to assume the respectability of the dominant white culture to '*mask their blackness',* while their own cultural traditions were invalidated (Fog Olwig, 2008, p. 371).

It could be interpreted then that at this time, marriage was necessary in England in a way that it was not in the Caribbean. Safa (2005) notes that matrifocal households in the Caribbean provide African Caribbean women with a wide range of support and mothers are not dependent solely on one single men. However, in Britain, these support networks were not available. One response to this could have been for the women to legally marry, in order to ensure both the support from their husbands but also their legal rights in a new country. Mrs. F states that she and her husband got married and she went to America to get her Green card. For her, marriage appears to have been a means of gaining opportunities to travel and work internationally.

It seems to have also been important for African Caribbean men, who became husbands as well as fathers. As the women lacked the support of their extended family networks, they had previously had access to, there is some evidence that men shared the domestic and childcare responsibilities, in a way they did not in the Caribbean. A more mutual cooperative arrangement seems to have existed for some couples, as they only had each other to depend on. In addition, there was simply not enough Caribbean women for Caribbean men and access to available white women was fraught with danger. This fact may have played a part in their decisions to marry and secure a wife, rather than having the opportunity to establish the visiting unions that involved less commitment (Jokhan, 2008).

Another perspective suggests that as many of the women were practising Christians, this may also have promoted the necessity for marriage among participants. This idea is also supported by evidence that the women and men married in their early twenties, much earlier than they would have in the Caribbean where marriage increases with age (Charbit, 1980).

6.5 Religion and Hope

As several of the women were practising Christians, there is perhaps unsurprisingly a strong **religious theme** that was also present in several of the narratives. As they were unwelcomed by the mainstream churches, they started their own and held them in their homes. It was also common for the women to refer to their own suffering by references to God's plan and appeals and thanks to Jesus for the strength to cope. It provided a framework of understanding for their hardship and suffering, as Christ suffered, so they suffer. The women drew on this doctrine, to gain strength and as a way of helping them make sense of and cope with their own difficult experiences.

Christian religion was and continues to be a powerful cultural connection, particularly for Black women, '*universalizing women's experiences across space, time, and culture*' (Weisenfeld, 2013, p. 136; Musgrave et al. 2002). Despite Christianity having come to dominate African and African Caribbean religious practices, it is significant that parts of the Caribbean have retained elements of African religious traditions that continue to empower women such as Kumina (Stewart, 2004). One reason for this is that, regardless of their conversion to Christianity, the enslaved managed to retain '*residuals' of African spirituality and 'social order'* (Coleman, 1997, p. 536).

Linked to the theme of faith, is that of **hope** in their narratives, particularly in the hope of a better life and the achievement of the dreams and aspirations migration promises. Hope has been under theorised in migration studies, but migrants carry this hope actively in their lives and though it intersects with feelings of fear, uncertainty and desire, '*hope is identified as the potentiality for a meaningful life'* (Ricatti, 2010, p.4).

Though this was not revealed by the women's narratives, it must be said that because all the women went onto have more children, these new families would have brought them comfort, hope and new opportunities to physically mother. Not that they replaced their back-home children, but having more children clearly provided the women with the nurturing relationships they had lost. This perhaps explains why there are difficulties with reunification for the old rather than the new children, the English-born sibling is noticeably more securely attached and bonded than the other, older child/ren of the migrant mother.

Dahl and Sorenson (2010) suggest that having children in a household can reduce the prospect of migration. In contradiction to this finding, for some of the participants in my study, having children appears to have increased rather than decreased the likelihood of parental migration. The overwhelming reason for leaving their children was the lack of available economic opportunities and the need to provide for a better life for them. So, if that better life lay elsewhere, then this was the trade-off the women chose.

6.6 Child-shifting, separation and attachment

The child shifting family arrangements appear to facilitate parental migration, as the child can be left behind within the kinship system (Sharpe, 2001; Jokhan, 2008). For the women speaking about the kinship support back home, it was this that enabled them to migrate and seek economic advancement. No-one willingly leaves their children behind, however once the child has been shifted and the parent had migrated, they had little control over any of the subsequent decisions the child's/ren's carers made. In fact, they often faced negative responses from the relative if they tried to interfere too much.

The women who came as children of course lacked the decision-making power of their own to determine migration for themselves. Perhaps they would not have been too surprised as they regularly experienced a lack of such agency, as Caribbean children, they were used to authoritarian parenting and adult decision making. In addition, they would have known they had relatives, including their mothers, in England and so perhaps should have understood that their own migration was also likely at some point. The problem was that many of these children had formed new attachments to 'othermothers' and no longer had a bond with their biological mother. So, the story the data tells is very relevant to the literature on mother-child attachment. Barrow (2008) has, for instance summarised how traditional theories of mother-child attachment have needed to be widened to include different family forms, such as those found in the Caribbean.

Some of the women had experienced early socialisation into child shifting. The rotation, or 'shifting' of children to different female care givers was common in several of my participants' narratives. Some of these had strong maternal **attachments** to

Grandmothers and Aunts. This highlights that children do positively form attachments to multiple carers (Jones, 2004). But then, for children who were already separated from their biological mothers to then be torn away from their attachment figure, and returned to their birth mothers, there are often specific and negative impacts on their long-term wellbeing and mental health (Jones, 2004; 2007; Arnold, 2006; 2012; Sharpe, 2001; Morgan et al., 2006). The impact of maternal separation and attachment on the child as a result of migration is less understood, however the consequences for the African Caribbean mother-child's long-term relationship can be severe (Arnold 2006; 2012; Jones 2004).

The impact of parental-child separation has been studied for decades (Hill, 1949; Bowlby, 1969). The severity of the impact of child separation depends on a number of factors, including the length of separation and the age of the child (Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2011). A significant body of research supports the view that adverse attachment in childhood increases the risk of poor outcomes in adulthood, such as mental ill-health and problems in intimate adult relationships and parenting (Bifulco and Thomas, 2013). Failure to develop secure attachment in early childhood has been associated with a range of psychiatric disorders (Nickell, et al 2002); trauma (Cassidy and Mohr, 2001) and interpersonal violence and abuse (Cassidy and Mohr, 2006).

It can be accepted that long-term separation between the child and the mother or primary carer at a critical stage in the child's development, can severely disrupt the 'secure base' of the child and impact on the later social and psychological wellbeing of the adult (Arnold 1997, 2006; Mahoney, 2011; and Bhugra and Jones, 2001). Still, most of the research into attachment is overfocused on the impact of early separation. Problematically, attachment theorists have tended to analyse child-mother attachment according to a eurocentric nuclear family structure. The concept rests on an idealised, westernised notion of good mothering and this presents a cultural bias from what may be very different cultural forms of mothering and attachment relationships (Barlow and Chapin, 2010).

Attachment theory has been critiqued for its failure to consider differences in parenting practices among non-Western people (Keller, 2018). Other interdisciplinary insights into attachment and religion for example, are useful in showing that wider notions of

attachment such as a secure belief in God, can be an important predictor of positive adult mental health (Flannelly and Galak, 2010). Cultural and life course considerations are therefore important in enriching knowledge of attachment.

Many Caribbean children are mothered by othermothers and in the context of migration, the migration of the mother may not play the most critical part in their sense of security and self-worth. For those in my study who were migrated as children, their experiences of early care and development were foremost in shaping their wellbeing, regardless of who had provided this. Coming to join loved ones with whom one was securely attached was very different than leaving these figures behind for what were essentially strangers.

Jones (2007) submits that for reasons of guilt, shame and wanting to avoid family conflict, the effects of mother-child separation following migration can be minimised by parents, whilst such reactions are understandable, the perspectives of the children reveal more complex feelings of trauma and disappointment (Arnold, 2006; 2012). Bussutil and Busuttil's (2001) evaluation of adjustment and coping behaviours considers the consequences of enforced separation on family members. It can include long-term harm if separation is painful and emotionally stressful, and without help and support, reunion and reunification can be traumatic and full of disappointment for both distressed child and mother.

6.7 Reunion and reunification

It is perhaps useful here to explain that reunion is that which takes place between people and the grander term reunification generally refers to a more political process. However, both these terms have complementary meanings, that are relevant for this discussion. The initial reunion between child and mother may sometimes be exciting and positive, however successful reunification for the child involves psychological adaptation, recovery and rebuilding of the attachment bond, trust and security. The child may have a need for holding, recreating the early attachment relationship (Arnold, 2012). Reunification is also a process of social adaptation for the child, to new authority figures, family members and households (Arnold, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, et al. 2011; Hernández, 2013). Understanding and assessing the coping skills of the

mother is important in influencing healthy reunion (Bussutil and Busuttil, 2001). In essence, reunion may not always possible or successfully achieved:

> ‘The meeting of children and parents separated by migration is more a meeting of strangers than a true family reunion’ (Falicov, 2007, cited Moorhouse and Cunningham, 2012, p.504).

For most of my participants, having been separated from their children for many years, the main objective was complete family reunification. Though it took years to achieve, reunion, the first stage, was for most of them, completed once their child moved to live with them in England. The more complex process of reunification however was not.

6.8 Consequentialism and the morality of female migrants

Many of the women believed that the economic benefits outweigh the detriments of family separation. This can be explained as a form of consequentialism, whereby the means are morally justified based on the outcome, in this case, the outcome of their behaviour is betterment for child and family and so this becomes a moral decision.

Gilligan (1982) outlines the ways that men and women’s moral judgement and thinking can been seen to differ. This idea can be connected to decisions about whether to migrate with or without her children and family. Different levels of moral judgement can be found in such situations and women appear to undergo a transitional process of contemplation and reconciliation of their migration decisions. Firstly, in respect of their own personal desires and motivation, as it is a conflict between personal choice versus a concern for the welfare of others and so at a second, deeper level, it involves a consideration of issues of attachment, shared norms and connections to others, before finally moving into a settled position between the two states.

Mangena (2009) takes forward Gilligan’s (1982) idea that women’s morality is an inclusive one, which takes in account other’s needs, rather than being purely motivated by individualistic behaviour. This further articulates the position that the consequential processes of decision making for migrant women are complex and dynamic. Transnational women and mothers, through their labour and their remittances, actively

work to ensure that their children achieve better outcomes. The sending of remittances was and still is a major way of seeking to ensure the child and wider family's financially improvement and ultimately their ability to improve their situation. In other words, through their own efforts, they act morally to ensure the long-term survival and wellbeing of the child, even though this may be achieved through the temporary or even long-term separation from the mother (Contreras and Griffith, 2012).

The finding on consequentialism can be related to the notion of '*the moral economy of female migration'* (Contreras and Griffith, 2012, p.52). The concept was captured in earlier work by Duncan and Edwards (1999) and is concerned with the different moral frameworks used by mothers in their decisions about motherhood and work. It reveals varying understandings in the understanding of mothering and distinctive identities occupied by different ethnic groups in respect of their understanding of work and motherhood.

From this perspective, by not being with their children, they were contradicting the ideals of 'proper' mothering and were seen as unnatural mothers (Reynolds, 2010; Tyldum, 2015). At this time in Britain, existed prevailing state policies towards women's employment, these mostly sought to maintain conventional attitudes about their domestic roles. Summerfield (1984) notes that this reflected tensions between the ideology of patriarchy, that sought the maintenance of a socio-economic and cultural order privileging male workers and limiting women's rights to equal work and pay, and capitalist interests, that requires a flexible surplus of cheap labour. Traditionally as part-time workers, women have fallen into this group, yet Black migrant women were not treated in this way.

Feminist analyses have offered critical insight into the impact of these ideologies and the socio-political practices that work alongside them to shape women's agency. Maroney's (1985, p.42) work for instance, foregrounds the problems and contradictions for women trapped within the '*cult of domesticity'* and the '*patriarchal construction of women, motherhood and femininity'*. Such analysis has long established that motherhood and mothering are constructs that are determined by context, in other words, they are socially and culturally determined (Jeremiah, 2006).

6.9 Black women as workers

Understanding the cultural and contextual nature of motherhood and mothering has freed many Western women from the patriarchal and oppressive restrictions of their domestic roles, enabling them to enter the public space alongside men. Yet, African Caribbean women were already excluded from such considerations. Firstly, they were not surplus labour but essential. They entered Britain as full-time, readymade workers, their context firmly situated, economically and culturally determined as cheap labour (Reynolds, 2001).

My claim here is that this meant African Caribbean women migrants were not recognised as mothers and so the privileges and support available to those white women who did work were not made obtainable for them. Their narratives highlight how little state support was accessed and how much they relied on their own networks for childcare, housing and welfare, like the pardna system.

It also evidences the ways they sought to maintain their connections and obligations to child and family, despite the individualised decision to migrate (Reynolds and Zontini, 2006). The reliance on kinship is common however, it was not possible for them to control how these remittances are distributed, as some testimonies highlighted. The main carers allocated the resources as they feel fit and there really was no guarantee that the migrant mother's child/ren will directly benefit.

The search for work began instantly for many of the women. Historically, as workers, African Caribbean women have a strong work ethic and so like many migrants '*came to work.'* Yet, Reynolds (2010) points out that some Caribbean women had not previously worked before coming to Britain and had adopted the tradition of employing poorer women as 'helpers'. This was captured by one participant's comments that, "*I didn't have a Daphne to do it for me*." But many Caribbean women do work and in the 1950s, 40 percent of the working population of Barbados were women.

For several women though, it was not to do just any job. Unlike the low status domestic jobs many of their predecessors had been forced to take in pre-war America, the African Caribbean women migrating to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s expected something better (Marshall, cited in Sutton, 1987). This was the Mother Country after

all and so it also underscores the attitudes some of the women took to being given low-paid, devalued work. This finding was significant in that it highlights that there were differences among the women, of class and status, and between those whose ambitions lay in the basics of getting a job and somewhere to live and those who had dreams and ambitions beyond this, that they expected to be fulfilled by coming to England. There is the sense in which they had to make it work having made the sacrifice of family separation.

It is difficult to fully assess the extent of the push-pull factors, but in the case of these women, there was clearly a strong pull to join relatives in England. The backdrop to this was that many of those relatives had in turn been pulled back to England, having been initially recruited for military service by the mother country to defeat Hitler, only to return to colonial Caribbean to find civilian life still presenting a dearth of opportunities (Sutherland, 2006).

The Moyne report (1945) was commissioned in response to riots and protests that swept the Caribbean during the 1930s. It revealed the deprivation that most poor Black Caribbeans were enduring and recommended legislation to improve the living conditions of the Caribbean populations. These were largely disregarded, adding to the demand for self-determination and the self-rule that was to come. So arguably, these push factors were significant in driving the women from their homeland and away from their families.

Some of my participants make the influence of the historic relationship clear in statements like, "*we came because we were called. Britain needed us.*" Webster (2012, p.123) appears to see this as a '*reversal of the colonial encounter*' (Webster, 2012, p.123). There can be few, if any real comparisons between the racialised domination of Africans in the Caribbean that had been enforced by white settlers for centuries and the voluntary Windrush citizens of Britain, coming to work and join family in the 1950s and 1960s.

Louise Bennett's 1966 poem, '*Colonialisation in Reverse,* provides a much-needed alternative perspective, the idea of Jamaicans coming to colonise '*Englan' in reverse'.* Bennett's deliciously sharp wit presents the idea of turning history upside down, and

‘*boxing bread out of English people’s mout’,* as they settle down, some to work and others to ‘*settle fe de dole’… ‘staying pon Any Fan couch and read love-story book!’*.

As it was, the massive labour shortage in post-WW11 England is not to be underemphasised in its appeal to British citizens in the Caribbean. There was an immense crisis of labour in England after the war, the male working population was decimated. The British Government made strenuous efforts to increase the labour force, including appealing to married women to temporarily enter the work force (Paul, 1997; McDowell, 2007). The declining population in England was caused partially by the War, but partially by emigration, with for instance, over a million Britons moving to live in the colonies of Australia and Canada (McDowell, 2007).

Meanwhile the birth-rate in the Caribbean was rapidly increasing, and so it is reasonable to assume that this further highlighted to English politicians, the attraction of inhabitants of the Caribbean as a means of plugging the gap in labour in England (Moyne Report, 1945). Especially a workforce that included women who were already used to hard physical labour. Although, none of the women mention working in the bauxite industry which was rapidly developing in the region at that time.

It has been suggested that for many African Caribbeans, coming to England meant facing racial prejudice and discrimination for the first time (Phoenix et al. 2020). However, one participant’s comment that, “*the darker your skin the harder it was to find a job*,” infers the colour prejudice, colourism and class discrimination that was still rife in the Caribbean region (Fattore, et al. 2020). One interpretation of such viewpoints is that it could perhaps have played a part in their decision to leave. Living with colour discrimination adversely affects life chances as well as wellbeing (Fattore, et al. 2020). Darker skinned women may have opted for migration in the hope of better treatment and opportunities elsewhere.

Still, in this case, the shock of arriving in England, only to be greeted by the racist and colourist attitudes of white superiority, privilege and status alongside the demand that they occupy the lowest positions, was enough for some to want to return, had they been able. It was not only from the Caribbean that Britain sought prospective workers in the post-war period, many thousands of Irish men and women were also recruited,

as were female migrants from Europe, though these had, '*no ties or rights to citizenship'* (McDowell, 2007, p.88/p.91).

Examining the contention that, 'c*ommon whiteness outbid common citizenship*, it is also McDowell's (2007, p.103) viewpoint is that these different groups of female economic migrants were handled according to 'hierarchies of skin colour', which involved varying degrees of discrimination. While young women from the Baltic states were highly favoured in preference to Yugoslavians and Poles, female workers from Ireland were subject to the same 'no, dogs, no blacks, no Irish,' practices as were African Caribbean women. Olwig (2018) suggests that the Caribbean nurses also experienced these *'dividing practices*. What became 'coloured work'. Many were relegated onto the lower-level state enrolled programme instead of the state-registered training programmes. Consequently, they carried out different types of work according to their rank and the nursing hierarchy.

This from a society that simultaneously recognised African Caribbeans as equal British subjects, "*whether born in Kingston, Ontario; Kingston, Jamaica or Kingston-upon-Thames, one was a British subject of the imperial Crown and shared a universal British nationality*" (Paul, 1997, p. 10). Instead of providing the rights and conditions typically given to citizens, political narratives at the time argued that Caribbean migrants were attracted by welfare benefits and their entry would lead to fundamental problems. They were constructed as a threat to British society and so their entry was prohibited. Britain's response to migration from the Caribbean was the drafting of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act.

This launched the first major wave of a series of anti-black legislation, effectively stemming migration from the Black commonwealth, restricting it to dependants. It may even have been responsible for increasing Caribbean migration at that time as women and men, fearing the cut-off of opportunity to come to England, hastened to make the journey sooner rather than later. It has been in the ebb and flow of a racialised, anti-ethnic system of immigration law and policy in Britain that has led to '*hierarchies of desirability'*, underpinning and entrenching racist attitudes and behaviours in the British labour market McDowell (2007, p.104).

Individual and groups have been '*socially sorted*,' based on notions of identity that have categorised and identified citizens as belonging, or not belonging (Jenkins, 2008, p.205). For instance, despite being British citizens there has been centuries of discrimination against Indian seaman, to limit their settlement in Britain. Britain has enacted several pieces of legislation from the eighteenth century designed to prevent British subjects from settling in Britain such as the Aliens Restrictions (Amendment Act, (1919), under which workers were even legally paid differently according to their race (Solomos, 1993). Still, there are acts and '*processes of decolonisation,*' to be found in the individuals' narratives that challenged the cultural hegemonies and racist practices of the English majority (Webb et al. 2020, p.2). Even the act of migration itself can be seen as an act of decoloniality, as seen by the actors' desires and determination to transcend their assigned and devalued status in seeking to acquire an enhanced one.

One participant boasts about having bought her house before the white people on the street, indeed she proclaims that they never thought about buying a house until Black people did. In such ways as their refusal to always accept the menial jobs, to just sweep the floors and empty the rubbish in English factories and hospitals, these small acts of defiance and resistance to racism and discrimination, can be advanced as decolonial endeavours, challenging the racialised identity assigned to them by white Englishmen and women. However, although they shared commonalities relating to securing employment, housing and childcare experiences, it was not a homogenous experience.

The call came from England, the mother country, to the people of the Caribbean, encouraging them to believe their skills and attributes would be valued and welcomed. They had an expectation that they would find equal opportunities and an equal place in their mother country. They were needed, however the realities of exposure to the patriarchal customs and colonialist practices entrenched in British social and political institutions, meant there was no place for their female-centred, collectivist-based traditions. It was a shock to their psyche that the 'Mother country' did not in fact exist. It was not a nurturing motherland but a strongly paternalistic one.

The orthodox notion of the Windrush generation as ‘hard working people who came and settled’, can be evaluated as a two-dimensional view, that does not capture the complexities of these experiences. Furthermore, it ignores the problematic nature of their supposed entitlement to the freedoms of British society. Even the fact that they paid to come to England refutes the notion that their migration was free and unencumbered – instead, they borrowed money to come and so arrived already in debt:

> The cheapest tickets were £28 and 10 shillings (£1,000 in today’s money) (Fairweather, 2022).

In any event, such freedom did not exist for them, as they laboured under capitalism, ‘*the money wasn’t enough’* for them to send for their children and families, pay rent and bills, send remittances and pay for childcare for their British born children. Their opportunities for being reunited with kinfolk, with their children, were shut down. Interestingly, none of my participants returned to live in the Caribbean after retiring, which has had its own long-term implications. As the first generation have aged and their children have grown up, remittances from England have no longer been a constant source of income that poor Caribbean families can depend on.

By the 1970s, rather than returning to the Caribbean themselves, the first generation had settled and begun raising their children. They endured overt racism and discrimination in employment, education, housing, underpinned by a series of racist legislation that overtly conveyed to them, the mother country did not value them nor want them to belong. The legislation and policy affecting the community included the education and underachievement of their children, immigration controls, inequalities in mental health and criminal justice. Outcomes which have all been shaped by ‘*discourses about race, culture and ethnicity in the wider society’* (Bloch and Solomos, 2010, p.2).

Still, British social policy following the Windrush settlement led to the birth of multiculturalism. This was based on key principles of cultural diversity, religious tolerance and positive cultural interaction between the different ethnic communities (Bleich, 2001). Multiculturalism sought to increase awareness of and respect for ethnic

minorities' cultural backgrounds, identities, and experiences (Blunkett, 2003; Chiarenza, 2012). It mostly amounted to tokenistic cultural events celebrating difference cultures, rather than seeking a restructuring of power structures and unequal opportunities. However, by the 1980s it was actively being undermined by Government and media attacks reporting 'loony left' Councils who tried to use public money to fund services to Black and other marginalised groups (Gordon, cited in Ball and Solomos, 1990).

The assimilationist philosophy sought to rapidly absorb the immigrants into the majority population, however the notion of Britain as a multi-cultural society, synonymous with equality of opportunity and rights to equal treatment, '*clashed with a society characterised by social, political and racial divisions*' (Troyna, cited in Chilvers, 1987, p. 33). After assimilation failed, the next response was integration. The belief was that immigrants would simply integrate and 'disappear into the crowd' to create a homogenous society.

The problem is that race, ethnicity and culture have remained problematic and controversial concepts that together play a major part in how individuals are identified and responded to by others (Kanyeredzi, 2018). The perception of racial differences affects personal and social relationships and within western countries that privilege whiteness. Black people and other visible racial minorities are positioned as 'outsiders' and are subject to marginalisation and discriminatory practices (Bopal, 2018):

> The issue of migration goes to the heart of nationhood (Chamberlin, 1995).

The discussions raised in this chapter highlight the ways that African Caribbean women and mothers managed the long-term separation from their children and families. Through their active take up of skilled as well as unskilled labour, they provided for their families, both new and existing. Several were able to resist the colonialist stereotypes and racialised expectations of mainstream Britain by their successful nursing careers and by their success in achieving family reunification.

It is notable that the process of family reunion was unsupported and unmanaged, the women and mothers themselves were left to manage the reintegration and in practice,

this was not always successfully achieved. There were strong themes of keeping them in mind, and being kept in mind, the mothers still regarded themselves as the mother of the child – yet the reality was that they no longer were. The length of time it took to achieve family reunification, to send for the child meant that their attachment and bond had been lost. The price they paid for the economic benefits of migration, was the loss of child and family relationships, not being recognised by their child on reunion.

In their stories of migration, mothering and work, there is less emphasis on the autonomous decision-making actions of self and more on the family and social contexts that underpin migration. Their stories of personal sacrifice, resilience and coping strategies, serve to provide answers to the complex issues relating to gender, ethnicity, motherhood and migration that this project was interested in. Their multiple identities as women, mothers and workers position them distinctively in relation to the orthodox assumptions about migration and say much about their social relationships and connections.

Many women reveal an intersectional perspective to the personal and social impact of their migration to Britain, shared experiences of exclusion, discrimination, family and community support alongside their diverse experiences of personal loss of those left behind. Still, there are challenges to the notion that African Caribbean female migration is homogenous, rather this experience involves different motivations, rationalities, contexts and priorities.

6.9.1 Conclusions

The findings help to answer the question of how the African Caribbean women and mothers who migrated to England during the 1960s, managed family separation and reunion and contributes to building knowledge of their intersectional and transnational lives. The uniqueness of the worker-mother model amongst the participants at that time is particularly noteworthy and does not appear to have existed in other ethnic migrant groups.

The strength of the chapter is its contribution to contemporary understandings of women's migration experiences. The findings shed light on the themes of migration:

betterment, freedom, uncertainty personal ambitions. The thick descriptions showcase the benefits of the narrative method in enabling the exploring and deconstruction of stories. An essential component of this kind of interaction is the emersion and reflection necessary to construct the themes from the focus group and interview data and balance the dynamics between these two sources. The data gathering structure has been valuable for drawing out similarities, for example in respect of child shifting strategies. These subjective perspectives are prioritised, revealing how many mothers sacrificed their role as everyday caregivers to provide for their children's longer-term welfare and prosperity. The chapter has also provided a wider theoretical and socio-political context for these personal experiences, revealing differences from among the participants in terms of class and status and exploring the relationships between their personal experiences and the political conditions into which their narratives sit.

In the final chapter, I bring together the different social conditions that have shaped African Caribbean female migration, in doing so, the main themes are contextualised and I critical reflect on the impact of the project.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

'We are here because you were there'
(Patel, 2021)

Introduction

The aim of this concluding chapter is to connect the main research themes to the research questions and to the wider debates on gender and migration. Several new themes are explored and connected to wider feminist and postcolonial perspectives. The conclusions also revolve around the central and critical reflections on the study, namely the extent to which migration impacts on women's family relationships and mothering.

The discussions that stem from these matters are particularly informed by considerations of the agency of the actors and their retrospective perspectives on migration, settlement, family separation and reunification. Participants were selected whose knowledge and information I felt best assisted an exploratory study. Participants' views and conversations helped to gain deeper insight, and this is important in situating the personal and social challenges confronting African Caribbean transnational women's lives and family experiences.

7.1 Recapping the research questions

In **chapter one**, I set out the context of the study, for these first-generation African Caribbean women and mothers this is at the end of their life-course and thus the study provides a scarce opportunity for some of this group to tell their migration story for the first time. The study set out to research experiences of migration and family reunification for the first generation of African Caribbean women and mothers who mass migrated to England in the 1960s and settled in the East Midlands region.

I undertook in-depth interviews with a small group of older African Caribbean women to ask questions about these experiences and aimed to understand more about how the women and mothers maintained their transnational relationships with their family

and place of origin, whilst navigating settlement in England (Boyle, 2002). The project inquired into African Caribbean women's migratory experiences to explore the meanings and insights that may be produced in respect of those experiences, in particularly those that challenge traditional discourses of female and African Caribbean female migration.

The story told in the literature is that African Caribbean women and men came to England to help rebuild England after the war. They worked in the hospitals, on the buses and trains. They settled in England, becoming part of the make-up of the country and establishing England as a multi-cultural society. The thesis supports the contention that what is missing from this history, is the acknowledgement that the women and mothers migrated for betterment and social security, frequently sacrificing their family relationships and attachments in the process for what is believed to be the long-term benefit.

The women in this project are members of this Windrush generation, named after the first group of African Caribbeans who arrived in England on the Empire Windrush in 1948:

> They symbolised the birth of a multi-cultural England (Hewitt, 2020, p.108).

Through gathering and exploring these experiences, the study illuminates more of the hidden past, explores the central themes of gender, race, migration, family separation and reunion. It adds to the literature on migrant and Black family life. Exploring and interpreting Caribbean women's personal histories and experiences, is more than just satisfying an intellectual interest, it is '*inquiring into some of conditions for self-understanding, selfhood, making sense of who we are'* (Freeman, 1993, p.6).

In **chapter two**, I summarise the debates and issues common in migration theory and research, emphasising work that has highlighted the importance of the transnational ties of migrant mothers, and the continuing importance of bonds with the country of origin. This has resonance for the participants in my study who are some of the earliest transnational families in England and whose experiences heralded the hybrid processes of settlement and maintenance of homeland (Levitt, 2012; Sterling, 1992). The 1948 British Nationality Act brought the 'Windrush' generation. As one of the first

Black minority ethnic migrant communities to settle in England, their experiences are critical in helping deepen understanding of what transnational motherhood entails for some women, and how migrant mothers organise care of children and parenting from afar.
As the women and mothers assimilated, they managed a complex interplay in which past, present and future were incorporated. These transnational arrangements and experiences are now much better understood but for these women and mothers, their struggles to bridge distances with loved ones and re-establish proximity and practices during family reunification have been disregarded until recently. This understanding includes highlighting the complex issues of attachment and loss for children of migrant mothers.

In **chapter three**, it is established that the origins of African Caribbean and matrilineal family forms are located within African ancient matriarchal societies. Their power and intersectional roles in these communities was eradicated by the imposition of religious patriarchal societies. Their female-centric practices have been further overlaid by the enforced separations experienced by enslaved African families. I argue that this collective trauma was further reinforced by an ideological and cultural representation of European, white motherhood, as a means to justify slavery and to embed discourses of white superiority into enslaved and colonalised African Caribbean women and mothers' sociocultural forms. Chapter three continues the themes of slavery, colonialism, and migration integral to African displacement and diaspora. I conclude that enslaved women were able to maintain family relationships and kinship bonds, and that also, as remnants of their age-old independence as heads of households survived, they still exercised agency in resisting the oppressive, gendered nature of formal nuclear marriage arrangements (Wollacott, 2006). It adds credibility to the participants' narratives, as African Caribbean women's ability to act as an autonomous decision maker, who is in control of any assets she may have including her children (Massiah, 1983).

Yet, they were prevented from attaining the ideals of domestic white motherhood due to their embedded racialised and gendered position as Black female workers. Their triple identities as worker, mother and spouse were simultaneously devalued and misrepresented. This understanding is important for two reasons. Firstly, the history

of African Caribbean migration is a racialised history. It has seen the movement of African people through forced oppression from their homelands to the other side of the world. Therefore, their mothering experiences have been shaped by and resulted from particular sets of socio-economic circumstances and cultural contexts, enforced labour under slavery, exploited labour under colonialism and a needed, yet unwanted workforce, particularly during the post-World War 11 era. Such a diversity of influences means that these many factors shape their individual experiences and so migration, family separation, attachment and reunion can have different meanings for African Caribbean people.

These women were not only born under colonial rule, it is noted that this generation is all but one removed from slavery itself. Some of these women's mothers would have been the granddaughters of slaves, as slavery and enforced apprenticeship across the Caribbean continued to the 1880s. By the 1930s, the Colonial Commission report into social and economic conditions across several Caribbean islands concluded that. *"'Illiteracy, malnutrition, unsanitary environments, poor housing [and] exposure to contagious diseases and unsatisfactory maternal and child care' were widespread*" (cited in Flynn, 2011). Undoubtedly, these factors pushed the Caribbean men and women to abandon the islands for something better.

In **chapter four**, the methodology chapter, I reflect on my positionality and the design of the study, including the rationale for methods of data collection and analysis. The project adopted narrative methods for answering the research questions and created space for the experiences of marginalised groups to emerge. We do not usually hear these voices, the small stories about everyday life that narratives capture reveal the uniqueness of individuals, personal resilience, coping strategies. By privileging non-white, female older women's experiences, the project seeks to rebalance the oversimplification of mainstream social history of Caribbean female migration.

A bricolage framework is utilised that centres on their lived experiences, it is used to capture their socio-historical situation and aspects of their identities, but also to expose how mainstream institutions, discourses and systems have conspired to subjugate Black women (Porter, et al., 2023). Black women's stories bear testimony to the different forms of their oppression, and in articulating those experiences, they lay the

foundation for the development of theory, research, and praxis. Their voices are respected, their memories of their practices and activities are given space, they are able to speak about their grief, loss and ill-treatment of the past and make this known, so that a fuller history is understood and can be made known to the public, transforming knowledge.

In **chapter five**, the women described their memories of migration, settlement, family reunion, work and motherhood. They share the challenges of coping with their multiple roles of motherhood, work and marriage and the constraints caused by their shared experiences of poor housing, differential treatment and racial intolerance. Their personal experiences are different but also similar to other African Caribbean women and mothers' lives and experiences recorded in the literature. The findings of the study support these established narratives, in that many of the women came to England in response to Britain's call for help. Though this group of women migrated over 10 years after the original Windrush group, they still responded to the call from England to come and work. The migration of African Caribbean men and women thus changed England forever. They were part of the largest groups of Caribbeans to enter England between 1960 and June 1962, during which around 200,000 men, women and children came to fill the great need for labour (Hewitt, 2020). They came as citizens of the Empire, an Empire that was built on '*genocide, slavery and colonialism'* (Andrews, 2021).

As shown in this study, they migrated to family and friends who had already settled in England and had established homes and jobs. These women joined an already established community of African Caribbeans in England. Many of the stories share similar experiences of leaving family and loved ones behind to come and work in England. These experiences are set against the backdrop of a racialised unwelcome settlement, being seen as a colonial citizen, feeling unwanted but needed, treated as 'Other'. Yet they endured. They endured loneliness, hardship, stigma and racism and they sacrificed their family life in the hope of longer-term betterment.

To sacrifice one's immediate needs for longer-term benefits is a form of deferred gratification (Straus, 1962). Allegedly, such deferment is not said to exist among the poor, yet clearly in this case, the ability to discipline themselves against the immediate gratification of the needs for long-term benefit of their family cannot be said to be

anything else. Several of them drew on their inner discipline that helped them to cope with the hierarchical work environments they encountered within their nursing training (Olwig, 2018).

As chapter 6 shows, this Windrush generation, as their relatives had experienced ten years earlier, settled and endured. They coped with an overtly racist society and faced inequalities in employment, health and education, while discrimination on the streets of British cities was a constant reality. Race, poverty and class impacted on their opportunities in different ways, as did family and social networks. They buried their grief at the separation and loss of their family relationships in stoicism and active resistance to the racism within the structures of British society. They maintained their feelings of hope, belief and faith, in the better lives to come and the (re)building of their family relationships, working towards the promise of family reunification. Not everyone had the same experience, a diversity of migration experiences exists. There have been many accomplishments for African Caribbean women. Migration brought betterment for many of the women and mothers, several achieved successful professional careers, especially in nursing (Olwig, 2014). They married and gained respectability. Being a married woman and a mother was important as it confers a positive social status. However, it was not homogenous experience, especially for those who were unmarried.

The issues of racialised inequalities in employment, education and housing are explored in the discussion of the findings in Chapter six. During the 1970s and 1980s, racial discrimination and racial conflict became serious political issues. The 1980s saw major urban unrest in the towns and cities of England, against the racism in education, welfare, housing and employment. The social and economic conditions in which many African Caribbeans and other ethnic minorities lived in England began to receive a response from local authorities. Those councils focusing on race equality and anti-racist policies that sought to address the needs of their multicultural communities, became subject to political attacks against the 'looney left'. The Government actively opposed these anti-racist strategies and campaigns, in fact comparing them to fascist movements like the National Front and even Nazism (Gordon, cited in Ball and Solomos, 1990).

Furthermore, according to research that has mapped rates of social disadvantage, unemployment, crime, mental illness and overcrowding, many of the children of the Caribbean first generation continue to live in these urban settings, these *'zones of disadvantage'*, that are '*self-perpetuating and enduring'* (Sawyerr, 2016, p.387; Wright, 2018). Consequently, people of the African diaspora remain in marginalised positions in many areas of British society, leading to their classification as 'an underclass', incapable of social stability (The Black Scholar, 2015; Solomos, 1993).
The impact of their migration to the England has been profound and has transformed the social landscape of Britain. Yet, their migration was only meant to be temporary. The project findings reflect on some of the motivations and aspirations of this generation at both individual and group level, such as loyalty, high expectations, and desire for social and economic betterment. I have explored some of these themes in the findings and discussion chapters.

Analysis of the narratives reveals that, coming without their children meant the mothers risked being seen as neglectful and unmaternal. The migration of women, as mothers and wives, is seen as more problematic than that of men. There is a strong tendency to criticise the absence of mothers, of blaming and shaming them for their decisions to leave behind their children. Such behaviour is seen anti-maternal. Thus, their behaviour challenges Westernised, idealised notions of mothering. It asks what kind of mothers leave their children behind? It questions orthodox notions of 'family', 'identity' and 'mothering' and the meanings that they carry. It is hoped that the thesis answers these questions.

The African Caribbean women and mothers left behind family, connections to place and people. Their identity loss was magnified by the hostility and harsh realities that migration often brings (La Barbera, 2015). For these women, it was exacerbated by racialised practices and experiences of marginalised and exclusion 'no blacks, no dogs no Irish'. It is argued this resulted in the forming of a collective African Caribbean identity (Watley, 2012). Parekh (2008) considers the importance of personal and social identity, and how these contribute to a sense of belonging and identification with others. Through our identity, we experience wellbeing and integration, and this affects the roles we take on, how we live and conduct our lives. Migration can involve a reconstruction and a rebuilding of ethnic identity. For the participants, British subjects

and citizens of the Caribbean, the Mother Country viewed them as foreigners, and as 'migrant others'. In partial response to this, notions of race and ethnicity became more important to them, their identity as West Indians solidified, becoming Afro-Caribbeans, then Black British and African Caribbeans. The African Caribbean identity is '*constantly reproducing'* as a result of history, language and culture. Coming to terms with who we are is about coming to terms with our '*routes'* (Hall, 1993, p. 4).

Fearon (1999) notes that identity is not fixed and unchanging but changes and is constructed over time. What can be meant by this is a reformulation of notions of mothering identities for Black and migrant mothers. Migration brings a repositioning of their identity as mothers as well as changes to their mothering role. They must reconceptualise their identities as mothers in the context of global and transnational dynamics that include family separation.

The study also asks questions about memory. The reliability of memory and how the past is recalled and reinterpreted in the present. To begin with, in analysing stories of the past, what can we learn about memory? What is more, do the politics of migration shape memories and perceptions of the past? On the one hand, as we look backwards from the present, we care not really 'going back to the past' – that past no longer exists. Such knowledge is retrospective, it is a reflective experience and source of self-understanding (Freeman, 1982). There is a difference between life as was lived (looking back on) and life as is (being experienced). Telling a story exactly as it was experienced is not really possible. What is truly remembered of certain experiences is fleeting and ill-defined (Freeman, 1982). Flynn (2011, p.14) makes the same point, that memories are fragmented and filtered over time as they are recalled.

Alternatively, Korte and Axerod (2004, p.120) discuss the importance of everyday personal objects that aid in the acts of remembering, acting as preservers, '*keepers of memory'*. The women's narratives were accompanied by these kinds of objects; photographs, passport pictures and letters, they had kept from their migration. While these acted as prompts, there were also many comments from the women that suggested their memories of these experiences were robust and reliable. The small stories about ordinary, everyday life that narratives capture reveal uniqueness of individuals, personal resilience, coping strategies.

Recollections of the dole office, the factories where they worked, the names of streets where they lived, and the names of their friends back home. These memories act as a means preserving their identity, and perhaps a sense of self as integrated members of their communities and so helps overall in maintaining a sense of belonging. Freeman (1992) suggests that the autobiographical account is both a constructive and interpretative vehicle for self-knowledge but is not problem free. Participants will tell their own story regardless of the questions asked.

It was also clear that some participants regarded themselves as the author of their own story (White, 1980). Some had given interviews before and were very confident in talking about their lives. They also evidenced a kind of performance and drama in their narrative, using their bodies, hands and facial expressions to convey their telling their story, whilst others were very constrained and restrained in their movement and language.

The study therefore builds on knowledge about the first generation's experiences of migration and settlement. It provides insight into how those experiences have changed, or not, for African Caribbean women. Most of the women regard the migration to England as 'worth it'. The benefits of betterment outweighed the loss of family and the difficulties of family reunion. Some women returned to the Caribbean in the 1980s and 1990s, and having developed successful careers in England, they were able to join middle-class society. Other returnees tried to reconnect with the family they lost, but most did not sustain these connections and have faced insecurity and resentment from a population that to some extent now regarded them as 'foreigners' (Brooker, 1995). Their family was now here in the UK and the African diaspora is completed by their reconciliation and acculturation to the reality of the end of their life-course in Britain. And there the story should really have ended, only the Windrush scandal took place.

In 2012, the first generation African Caribbeans who had lived in England for decades, and their children, many of whom had been born in England, became the target of a "hostile environment", "zero tolerance" policy against migrants, asylum seekers and refugees (Hewitt, 2020). African Caribbean people of the Windrush era, many of whom

had travelled as children on their parent' passport, and so were seen as undocumented, as they were unable to 'prove' their Britishness.

According to Slaven (2022) in 1963, there was no system for recording Commonwealth immigrants. Under the Immigration Act 2014, these British citizens were reclassified as illegal migrants, and were denied the right to work, to healthcare and other services. They lost jobs. Some were even deported back to a country they no longer regarded as home as the Government's 2014 Immigration Act implemented a '*deport first, appeal later*' practice (Hewitt, 2020, p.111). Wardle and Obermuller (2019) note how changes in immigration laws disrupts lives and family relationships. In the case of Caribbean migration to Britain, this began with a historic lack of legal clarity that was never resolved, resulting in a state of limbo for some, and stateless and a loss of citizenship for others (Hewitt, 2020). Media attention helped force a government U-turn, but the scandal reveals the historic racist and colonial history that still exists behind current anti-immigrant policies and reflects a continued lack of acceptance and belonging (Slaven, 2022; Wright and Madziva, 2018).

Since WWII, British migration has been actively shaped by the socio-economic and political policies of its governments. Largely in response to the hostility and racism from its white citizens, it has been predominately non-white labour has seen the most active interventions by British governments (Messina, 2001). Most Britains view immigration as harmful rather than beneficial. Migrants are associated with social problems and increased burden on the public (Messina, 2001; Dustmann and Preston, 2004). Yet media reports also highlight the contribution that migrants make to the overall economies of Western industrialist countries (Sherman et al., 2019). The contribution of the African Caribbean community to the social and economic life of the UK has been immense, across the health, welfare and cultural sectors, to name a few. Despite this, racism is often at the heart of anti-immigration legislation, deportation of removal of illegal migrants, foreigners and those who do not belong are underpinned by nationalist desire to 'keep Britain white' (Wright and Madziva, 2018).

In meeting the needs of capitalism for cheap labour, the recruitment of skilled migrant labour has been an important goal of many countries' industrialised social and domestic policy (Wright and Madviza, 2018; Hewitt, 2020). Much of this migration

involves poor Black and minority ethnic women, they are the major global providers of care, yet there is a mostly hostile resistance to their presence in the host country (Kofman and Raghuram, 2015). As my findings have shown, women and mothers migrate for many reasons, economic betterment, marriage, family reunification, amongst others, often leaving their children and families behind for what often turns out to be extended periods of absence. Their migration to the industrialised countries requires the care and nurturing of their own children by other family members, this 'othermothering' means that their households, family relationships and gendered roles are often reconfigured (Reynolds, 2005). The intersections of race, gender and class both shape and impede their family relations and ability to mother in the ways they would wish, however migrant mothers actively sustain a 'transnational mothering' role (Kofman and Raghuram, 2015).

7.2 Key research findings and contribution to knowledge

Female migration is an act that often results in family separation. Women from poor countries are restricted economically and sometimes legally from bringing their children and families with them. The affordability of child-care in industrialised countries also prohibits Black and migrant women from accessible options for the care of their own children. Family reunification is challenging for these women and mothers for a number of reasons, they may spend far longer away from their children and families than anticipated. Their children become attached to their othermothers, who may be reluctant to let them move to live with their parents. In addition, on moving to live back with their mothers, parent and child may find their bond is irretrievably broken and the disappointment and heartache that follows this realisation can affect their long-term relationship (Jones, 2007). Family reunion is made more challenging by the fact that over time the mother may well have produced more children who are unprepared for the impact of the arrival of the first-born siblings. The family as a whole have to adjust to the presence of the new family member.

This project has situated Black women's testimonies of migration, work and family following their migration from the Caribbean to England. The study never meant to establish a finite cause for African Caribbean women's migration, however it does point to multiple factors that influenced their migration to England. Caribbean citizens

were pulled to the mother country by calls to come and work and rebuild the country after WW11.

The women and mothers were also pushed from their homeland due to the economic and social restrictions they encountered in their lives and the desire to give themselves and their children a better future. Their historic cultural practices and lifestyles followed them, which for many included the practice of female-centred households rather than nuclear families (Clarke, 1983). It is important to emphasise that their migration was not a consequence of the lack of opportunities for Caribbean men. They did not come to work in England due to the economic constraints of male breadwinners, but in part, because of the economic constraints on their own opportunities.

Their experiences are not homogenous, but their historic, political and economic contexts are the same. Their aspirations and expectations for betterment were high and their separation from their children and families was only meant to be temporary. The reality was that many were forced to 'abandon the dream of a quick return' (Shanin, 1990, cited in Sterling, 1992, p. 13).

Migration has been a feature of humanity for centuries, it is a natural characteristic of human beings (Leary and Kador, 2016; Guinness, 2002). Throughout time, migrants have been people who search out new places to live and settle. Part of the human condition seems to be equipped to seek out and relocate to places that can be successfully occupied and fruitfully. It is synonymous with survival in the animal world - even plants find ways to move, relocating themselves through the spreading of their seeds.

The creation of British colonies and cities has relied on the successful movement and settlement of outsiders, yet as cities and countries have developed, migration has come to be seen as a political and economic threat to the stability and of those living safely within the borders. When migrants have a different skin complexion, language and dress, this becomes even more intensified, and their ethnic and cultural differences are emphasised over their similarities. Barth (1992, cited in Jenkins, 2008) is mindful that change and transformation is as much a part of human life as stability.

The study into the migratory experiences of African Caribbean women dispenses with the longstanding tendency to homogenise women's experiences. It centers on the marginalised narratives and the exploits of ordinary Black women. New knowledge on early marriage and family reunion has been produced in studying the migration experiences of older African Caribbean women. Their multiple roles as workers and mothers and their long-time contributions to global economic and socio-political life is strongly established and affirmed. These run counter to normative, colonial traditions and so necessitates a critical, intersectional framework that more comprehensively captures the issues for female migration and evidences their decision making and multiple impacts.

This research lies at the heart of the literature on parental migration and the impact on children, however, the thesis goes beyond the children who are left behind to open up the histories of Black migrant women and mothers.

The work is positioned within Black feminist studies and is active in producing knowledge that validates Black British women's lives and values their experiences and ways of knowing. Black female experience and epistemology is enacted, 'in search of my mother's garden, I found my own (Walker, 1983, p. 242).

7.2 Limitations

A major limitation is that not all the sample were mothers who had migrated. In addition, clearly, the size of this study makes any claims to generalisability problematic.

It would have benefitted the study to have explored more of the child-care experiences of the participants. This would have been helpful in gaining more insight into their strategies for managing care of their children.

It would have benefitted the study to correlate their work histories with those of their mothers and other female relatives. So, it was not known the extent to which their own attitudes to work and mothering reflect those of their wider family.

7.3 Recommendations

The project assists in shifting perspectives from traditional notions of motherhood and family care, to more nuance, intersectional modes of understanding migration and a better understanding of Black women migrants and their subjective experiences. By examining the politics of gender and migration, unpicking the assumptions about migration from an intersectional perspective and highlighting the exclusion of Black women's voices and experiences. It is recommended that through dissemination of the findings of this project, advocacy and education for changes in social norms, public policy, technology and notions of care is generated.

As this project highlights, poor women and mothers continue to migrate for work and must often leave their children and families behind. Families separated by migration experience many challenges and they continue to have problems with family reunification. The African Caribbean women and mothers in my study had no support with family reunification and so there is a need to ensure that current women migrants and their families receive better support and solutions for complex problems such as family reunification.

The project seeks to disseminate the findings, share the findings with the community and take the project back to the community. Visual exhibitions and productions will be developed as part of the dissemination, to feature the narratives of the participants and publicly present the themes, in order to generate deeper understanding of the complex and multiple issues relating to gender, ethnicity, class and motherhood for migrant women and mothers. There is only one London–based organisation specialising in supporting family reunification where mothers have migrated to the UK. The recommendations include organising a conference for those interested in the issues and themes presented in this thesis. From this, it is hoped to generate regional interest in bringing together a core group of stakeholders to take the project forward and oversee the development of a Midland-based migration and family reunion organisation to meet the needs of past and current migrant mothers and their families.

The project is particularly of interest to family historians. It is of benefit to those who research social history, working-class and women's past lives. Therefore, it is recommended that the findings be shared via oral and online presentations to local

history groups in the towns and cities in the East Midlands. This is part of a decolonial project, making migration histories of women more visible and enabling indigenous knowledges to be heard in authentic ways.

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Appendix 1: Ethics Application and Approval

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Appendix 2: Literature Review Protocol

The literature on migration is immense. One early Google search produced over 4 million results. De Ligt and Tacoma (2016) note that American social historians and economic demographers have dominated migration research, with little scholarship within Europe until the 1980s and 1990s. The emergence and spread of migration as a global phenomenon has stimulated its focus as a major area of research. The topic has gained relevance through the need to understand and potentially resolve the complex processes in which migration takes place. Migrant processes and perspectives have been theoretically and empirically considered and so the review is interested in how this knowledge has generated critical insights into both the macro systems and structures and the micro factors that have shaped the migratory experiences of African Caribbean women (Spencer, 2003).

Content analysis of the literature on this topic includes a focus on the themes of culture, family and identity that are prominent in the findings of research studies. Grey literature from the UK and the Caribbean is included, consisting of published work by African Caribbean writers on Caribbean migration, fictional novels, poems, and Ancestral aphorisms by African and African Caribbean writers. These sources add more diverse perspectives to the mainstream social sciences literature and help to provide more situated knowledge and perspectives of the topic.

To assess the methodological strengths and drawbacks of the foremost qualitative studies pertaining to African Caribbean female migration, I employed the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme tool (CASP) (2018). Tod et al., (2020) caution that critical appraisal is a dynamic, not objective process and that there are limitations as well as benefits for qualitative researchers in using tools such as CASP. Therefore, as the literature review developed, I also followed a reflexive process. I considered questions of transparency, reflexivity, axiology and transferability alongside the core design elements such as sampling and data collection (Hampton, 2018). Because much of the literature is theoretical, some research design features are not applicable, but in most cases, I included all relevant sections.